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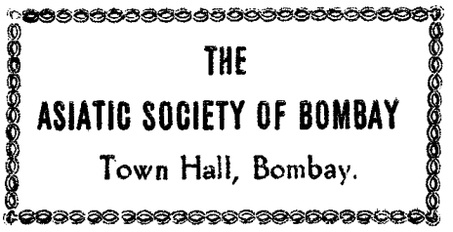

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HOLLINSHED'S

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,

AND

IRELAND.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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ENGLAND.

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1808.

MARIE

THE ELDEST DAUGHTER OF KING HENRIE THE EIGHT,

SUCCESSOR TO EDWARD THE SIXT.

MARIE eldest daughter of K. Henrie the eight, by the ladie Katharine of Spaine, his first wife, and sister vnto king Edward the sixt, by the fathers side, began hir reigne the sixt daie of Iulie, which daie the king hir brother died, and she was proclamed at London (as is before remembred in the end of the historie of king Edward the sixt) the nineteenth daie of the same moneth, in the yeare of our Lord 1553: after the creation of the world 5520, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of Charles the fift, emperor of Almaine, in the seuenth yéere of Henrie the second of that name K. of France, and in the eleuenth of Marie quéene of Scotland. The twentith of Iulie the duke of Northumberland being come backe to Cambridge, heard that the proclamation of queene Marie was come thither, whereof he being aduertised, called for a trumpetter and an herald; but none could be found. Whervpon he riding into the market place with the maior, and the lord marques of Northampton, made the proclamation himselfe, and threw vp his cap in token of ioy. ¶ Within an houre after he had letters from the councell (as he said) that he should forthwith dismisse his armie, and not come within ten miles of London: for if he did, they would fight with him, the rumor whereof was no sooner abroad, but euery man departed. And shortlie after, the duke was arrested in the kings college by one maister Sleg sargeant at arms. 1553.

Quéene Marie proclamed.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag.1064

At the last, letters were brought from the councell at London, that all men should go each his waie. Wherevpon the duke said to them that kept him; Ye doo me wrong to withdraw my libertie, sée you not the councels letters without exception, that all men should go whither they would? At which words they that kept him and the other noblemen, set them at libertie, and so continued they for that night: insomuch that the earle of Warwike was readie in the morning to haue rode awaie. But then came the erle of Arundell from the quéene to the duke into his chamber, who went out to méet him. Now as soone as he saw the earle of Arundell, he fell on his knees, and desired him to be good to him for the loue of God: Consider (saith he) I haue doone nothing but by the consents of you and all the whole councell.— My lord (quoth the earle of Arundell) I am sent hither by the quéens maiestie, and in hir name I doo arrest you. And I obeie it my lord (quoth he) I beséech you my lord of Arundell (quoth the duke) vse mercie towards me, knowing the case as it is.— My lord (quoth the earle) ye should haue sought for mercie sooner, I must doo according to commandement: herwith he committed the charge of him and the others to the gard and gentlemen that stood by.] The lord marques after this went to quéene Marie. On the fiue and twentith daie of the said moneth, the duke of Northumberland, with Francis earle of Huntington, Iohn earle of Warwike son and heire to the said duke, and two other of his yoonger sons, the lord Ambrose and the lord Henrie Dudleie, Sir Andrew Dudleie, Sir Iohn Gates capteine of the gard to king Edward the sixt, Sir Henrie Gates brethren, Sir Thomas Palmer knights, and doctor Sands were brought to the tower by the earle of Arundell. But as they entered

The duke submitteth himselfe, and is arrested by the earle of Arundell.

The lord Hastings discharged out of the tower.

tered within the tower gate, the earle of Arundell discharged the lord Hastings, taking him out of the tower with him. On the six and twentith of Iulie, the lord marques of Northampton, the bishop of London, the lord Robert Dudleie, and Sir Robert Corbet were brought from the quéenes campe vnto the tower. The eight and twentith of Iulie, the duke of Suffolke was committed to the tower, but the one and twentith of the same moneth he was set at libertie by the diligent sute of the ladie Francis grace his wife.

Duke of Suffolke committed to the tower.

After that quéene Marie was thus with full consent of the nobles and commons of the realme proclamed quéene, she being then in Northfolke, at hir castell of Framingham, repaired with all speed to the citie of London: and the third daie of the said moneth of August she came to the said citie, and so to the tower, where the ladie Iane of Suffolke (late afore proclamed quéene) with hir husband the lord Gilford, a little before hir comming, were committed to ward, and there remained almost after fiue moneths. And by the waie, as the quéene thus passed, she was ioifullie saluted of all the people, without anie misliking; sauing that it was much feared of manie, that she would alter the religion set foorth by king Edward hir brother, whereof then were giuen iust occasions: because (notwithstanding diuerse lawes made to the contrarie) she had dailie masse and Latine seruice said before hir in the tower. Yea it was doubted in like sort, that she would both adnull and innouat certeine lawes and decrées established by the yoong prince hir predecessor; which she did indeed, as one hath left testified in a memoriall of hir succession (but little vnto hir commendation) saieng:

Quéene Marie commeth to London.

At Maria Eduardi regni succedit habenis,
Confirmans iterùm regno papalia iura,
Concilióque nouas leges sancire vocato
Molitur, latas à fratre perosa priores.

Prisoners discharged.

At hir entrie into the tower there were presented to hir certeine prisoners; namelie, Thomas duke of Norffolke, who in the last yeare of king Henrie the eight (as you haue heard) was supposed to be attainted of treason: but in the parlement of this first yeare of quéene Marie, the said supposed attaindour was by the authoritie and act of parlement, for good and apparant causes alleged in the said act, declared to be vterlie frustrat and void. Also Edward Courtneie son and heir to Henrie marques of Excester, coosine germane to king Henrie the eight, and Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Durham, with other persons of great calling: but speciallie Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, whom she not onlie released out of imprisonment, but also immediatelie aduanced and preferred to be lord chancellor of England, restoring him also to his former estate and bishoprike, and remoued from the same one doctor Poinet, who a little before was placed therein by the gift of king Edward the sixt.

Stephan Gardiner made lord chancellor.

Edward Courtneie created earle of Deuonshire.

And touching Edward Courtneie, she not onelie aduanced him to the earldome of Deuonshire, but also to so much of his fathers possessions as there remained in hir hands; whereby it was then thought of manie, that she bare affection to him by the waie of marriage; but it came not so to passe (for what cause I am not able to giue anie reason) but suerelie the subjects of England were most desirous thereof.

Bishops restored, and others depriued.

Upon the receiuing of this new queene, all the bishops which had béene depriued in the time of king Edward the sixt hir brother, for the cause of religion, were now againe restored to their bishopriks; and such other as were placed in king Edward his time, remoued from their sées, and others of contrarie religion placed.—Amongest whom, Edmund Bonner doctor of the lawes, late afore depriued from the sée of London, and committed prisoner to the Marshalsea by order of king Edwards councell, was with all fauour restored to his libertie and bishoprike.—

Why Ridleie was more rigorouslie handled than the rest.

Maister Nicholas Ridleie doctor in diuintie, late before aduanced to the same sée by the said king, was hastilie displaced, and committed prisoner to the tower of London. The cause why such extremitie was vsed towards the said bishop Ridleie,

leie, more thanto the rest, was for that in the time of ladie Iane, he preached a sermon at Pauls crosse by the commandement of king Edwards councell, wherein he dissuaded the people, for sundrie causes, from receiuing the ladie Marie, as queene. ¶ On the ninth of August in the afternoone, the queene held an obsequie in the tower for king Edward, the dirge being soong in Latine, and on the morrow a masse of Requiem, whereat the quéene with hir ladies offered. The same daie the corps of king Edward was buried at Westminster, the lord treasuror, the earle of Penbroke, and the earle of Shrewesburie being chéefe mourners, with diuerse other noble men and others. Doctor Daie bishop of Chichester preached at the said buriall, and all the seruice with a communion was in English. Thus was finished the solemne funerall of that good prince, at whose birth there were not so manie reioicing hearts, but at his death there were by infinit ods manie more weeping eies, and sad spirits: whose tender bodie, though pined with sicknesse, and consumed with rottennesse, maie perhaps leaue for succéeding ages no relike to gaze vpon; yet the memorie of his name shall be euer gréene. For he was, as one trulie saith of him:

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 1067.

The buriall of king Edward.

Ille erat Europæ Phœnix, quem funere acerbo
(Vt flos vere nouo viridanti carpitur horto)
Sustulit ante diem mors inmatura Britannis,
Inuidet hæc terris pietatem & iura colentes.

The thirteenth of August doctor Bonner restored now to his bishoprike againe, appointed one late a chapleine of his called doctor Boorne to preach at Paules crosse, who was then promoted to the queens seruice, and not long after was made bishop of Bath. The said doctor taking occasion of the gospell of that daie, spake somewhat largelie in the iustifieng of bishop Bonner, being present at the sermon, which bishop (as the said preacher then openlie said) for a sermon made vpon the same text, and in the same place the same daie foure yéeres afore passed, was most vniustlie cast into the vile dungeon of the Marshalsea among theeues, and there kept during the time of king Edwards reigne. This matter being set foorth with great vehemencie, so much offended the eares of part of the audience, that they brake silence, and began to murmur and throng togither, in such sort as the maior and aldermen with other of the wiser sort then present feared much an vprore. During which muttering, one more feruent than his fellowes threw a dagger at the preacher: but who it was, came not to knowlege. By reason of which outrage the preacher withdrew himselfe from the pulpit, and one maister Bradford at the request of the preachers brother and others standing there, tooke the place, and spake so mildlie to the people, that with few words he appeased their furie: and after the said maister Bradford and maister Rogers, although men of contrarie religion, conueied the said preacher into Paules schoole, and there left him safelie.

Doctor Boorne a chapleine of bishop Bonner.

A dagger throwne at the preacher.

The next sundaie following, for feare of a like tumult or worse, order was taken that the queens gard should be present in place to defend the preacher with weapons. Wherevpon the wiser men perceiuing such a number of weapons, and that great perill was not vnlike to insue, by such appeerance of late not accustomed, would not be present at the sermon, by reason whereof there was left a small auditorie.— Wherefore afterward there was a commandement giuen by the lord maior, that the ancients of the companies should be present at the next sermon in their liueries, and so they were, whereby all became quiet. The eightéenth of August next following, the duke of Northumberland, the lord marquesse of Northampton, and the earle of Warwike son and heire to the said duke, were brought into Westminster hall, and there arreigned of high treason before Thomas duke of Norffolke high Steward of England.

The preacher at Paules crosse defended by the gard.

The duke of Northumberland arreigned.

The duke of Northumberland at his comming to the barre, vsed great reuerence towards the iudges: and protesting his faith and allegiance to the quéens maiestie, whome he confessed gréeuouslie to haue offended, he said that he meant

not

not to speake anie thing in defense of his fact, but would first vnderstand th'opinion of the court in two points. First whether a man dooing anie act by authoritie of the princes councell, and by warrant of the great seale of England, and dooing nothing without the same, maie be charged with treason for any thing which he might doo by warrant thereof? Secondlie, whether anie such persons as were equally culpable in that crime, and those by whose letters and commandements he was directed in all his dooings might be his iudges, or passe vpon his triall as his péeres? Wherevnto was answered, that as concerning the first, the great seale which he laid for his warrant, was not the seale of the lawfull quéene of the realme, nor passed by authoritie: but the seal of an vsurper, and therefore could be no warrant to him. And to the second it was alledged, that if anie were as deeplie to be touched in that case as himselfe, yet so long as no atteindor were of record against them, they were neuerthelesse persons able in law to passe upon anie triall, and not to be chalenged therefore, but at the princes pleasure. After which answer the duke vsing few words, declared his earnest repentance in the case (for he saw that to stand vpon vttering anie reasonable matter, as might séeme, would little preuail) and he mooued the duke of Norfolke to be a meane vnto the quéene for mercie, and without further answer confessed the indictment, by whose example the other prisoners arreigned with him, did likewise confesse the indictments produced against them, and therevpon had iudgement.

The dukes request to vnderstand the opinion of the court in two points.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 1069.

¶ Now when iudgement was giuen, the duke said; I beséech you my lords all to be humble suters to the quéenes maiestie, and to grant me foure requests, which are these: first, that I maie haue that death which noble men haue had in times past, and not the other: secondarilie, that hir maiestie will be gratious to my children which maie hereafter doo good seruice, considering that they went by my commandement who am their father, and not of their owne frée willes: thirdlie, that I may haue appointed to me some learned man for the instruction and quieting of my conscience: and fourthlie, that she will send two of the councell to commune with me, to whome I will declare such matters as shall be expedient for hir and the common-weale: and thus I beseech you all to praie for me.

The duke of Northumberlands foure requests after his iudgment.

The nineteenth of August, sir Andrew Dudleie, sir Iohn Gates, and sir Henrie Gates brethren, and sir Thomas Palmer knights, were arreigned at Westminster; and confessing their indictments, had iudgement, which was pronounced by the marquesse of Winchester high treasuror of England that sate that daie as chiefe iustice. On the twentith of August doctor Watson chapleine to the bishop of Winchester preached at Paules crosse, by the quéenes appointment, and for feare of the like tumult as had béene not long before, certeine lords of the councell repaired to the sermon, as the lord treasuror, the lord priuie seale, the earle of Bedford, the earle of Penbroke, the lord Wentworth, the lord Rich, and sir Henrie Gerningam capteine of the gard with two hundred of the gard, which stood about the preacher with halberts. Also the maior had warned the companies of the citie to be present in their lineries, which was well accepted of the queenes councell: and the sermon was quietlie ended.

Preacher at Paules crosse garded.

On the two and twentith of August Iohn duke of Northumberland was beheaded on the tower hill, whose bodie with the head was buried in the tower, by the bodie of Edward late duke of Sumerset. So that there lieth before the high altar two dukes betwéene two quéenes, to wit, the duke of Summerset and the duke of Northumberland betweene quéene Anne and quéene Katharine, all foure beheaded. At the same time and place also was likewise beheaded sir Iohn Gates and sir Thomas Palmer, which sir Iohn Gates in that place vsed few words, but laid downe his head without anie kercher, and had the same striken off at three blowes. Sir Thomas Palmer, as soone as he came to the scaffold, tooke euerie man by the hand, and desired them to praie for him: then putting off his gowne, he leaned vpon the east raile and said these words in effect.

Sir Iohn Gates and sir Thomas Palmer beheaded.

The

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EFFECT OF SUCH WORDS AS SIR THOMAS PALMER VTTERED ON THE SCAFFOLD AT HIS DEATH.

MY maisters (quoth he) God saue you all. It is not vnknowne vnto you wherefore I come hither, which I haue worthilie well deserued at Gods hands: for I know it, to be his diuine ordinance, by this meanes to call me to his mercie, and to teach me to know myselfe, what I am, and wherevnto we are all subiect: I thanke his mercifull goodnesse, for hee hath caused me to learne more in one little darke corner in yonder tower, than euer I learned by anie trauell in so manie places as I haue beene. For there (I saie) I haue seene God, what he is, and how vnsearchable his woonderous works are, and how infinit his mercies be: I haue seene there my selfe throghlie, and what I am, nothing but a lumpe of sin, earth, dust, and of all vilenesse most vilest: I haue seene there and knowe what the world is, how vaine, deceitfull, transitorie, and short it is; how wicked and lothsome the works thereof are in the sight of Gods maiestie; how he neither regardeth the manaces of the proud men and mightie ones, neither despiseth the humblenesse of the poore and lowlie which are in the same world; finallie, I haue seene there what death is, how nie hanging ouer all mens heds, and yet how vncerteine the time, and how vnknowne to all men, and how little it is to be feared. And should I feare death or be sad therefore? Haue I not seene two die before mine eies? Yea and within the hearing of mine eares? No, neither the sprinkling of the bloud, nor the sheading thereof, nor the bloudie ax it selfe shall make me afraid. And now taking my leaue of the same, I praie you all to praie for me. Come on good fellow (quoth he) art thou he that must doo the deed? I forgiue thee with all my hart; and then kneeling downe, and laieng his hed on the blocke, he said, I will see how meet the blocke is for my necke, I praie thee strike not yet, for I haue a few praiers to saie; and that doone, strike on Gods name, good leaue haue thou.

His praiers ended, and desiring ech man to praie for him, he laid downe his head againe, and so the executioner foorthwith tooke it from him at one stroke.—On the three and twentith of August the queene deliuered the great seale to doctor Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and made him lord chancellor. The seauen and twentith of August, the seruice began in Latine to be soong in Paules church in London. The six and twentith of August in the euening the notablest ship in England called the great Harrie was burnt at Woolwich by negligence of the mariners, she was of burthen a thousand tuns. The first of September the queene demanded a prest of the citie of London of twentie thousand pounds, to be repaied againe within fouretéene daies after Michaelmasse next folowing, which sum was leuied of the aldermen and one hundred and twentie commoners. The fourth of September was proclamed certeine new coins of gold and siluer, a souereigne of gold of thirtie shillings, the half souereigne fifteene shillings, an angell at ten shillings, the halfe angell fiue shillings. Of siluer, the grote, halfe grote and pennie: all base coines to be currant as before. Also the same daie by proclamation was pardoned the subsidie of foure shillings the pound of lands, and two shillings eight pence the pound of moouable goods, granted in the last parlement of king Edward the sixt.] Soone after this Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie and late before of king Edwards priuie councell, was committed to the tower of London, being charged of treason, not onlie for giuing aduise to the disheritting of queene Marie, but also for aiding the duke of Northumberland with certeine horsse and men against the queene, in the quarrell of the ladie Iane of Suffolke; wherein

New lord chancellor.

Latine seruice.

Great Harrie a ship burnt.

Prest to the queene.

New coines.

Subsidie pardoned.

The archbishop of Canturburie committed to the tower.

wherein (if he were culpable) he lacked the prouidence and foresight of after-claps, which doctor Parker in the insurrection of Ket vsing saued both his life and estimation.

Abr. Fl. ex I. Stow. 1067.

¶ On the seuen and twentith of September quéene Marie came to the tower by water, accompanied with the ladie Elizabeth hir sister, and other ladies, before whose arriuall there was shot a great peale of guns. The last of September quéene Marie rode through the citie of London towards Westminster, sitting in a chariot of cloth of tissue, drawne with six horsses all trapped with the like cloth of tissue.

Coronation of quéene Marie, hir pompe and traine.

She sate in a gowne of purple veluet, furred with powdered ermins, hauing on hir head a kall of cloth of tinsell, béeset with pearle and stone, and aboue the same vpon hir head a round circlet of gold, béeset so richlie with pretious stones, that the value thereof was inestimable, the same kall and circle being so massie and ponderous, that she was faine to beare vp hir head with hir hand, and the canopie was borne ouer hir chariot.

Who rode before and after hir.

Before hir rode a number of gentlemen and knights, then iudges, then doctors, then bishops, then lords, then the councell, after whome followed the knights of the Bath in their robes, the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, and the marques of Winchester lord high treasuror, next came the duke of Norffolke, and after him the earle of Oxford, who bare the sword before hir, the maior of London in a gown of crimsin veluet bare the scepter of gold, &c. After the quéenes chariot sir Edward Hastings led hir horsse in his hand: then came another chariot hauing a couering of cloth of siluer all white, and six horsses trapped with the like: therein sate the ladie Elizabeth, and the ladie Anne of Cleue: then ladies and gentlewomen riding on horsses trapped with red veluet, and their gownes and kirtles likewise of red veluet; after them folowed two other chariots couered with red sattin, and the horsses betrapped with the same, and certeine gentlewomen betwéene euerie of the said chariots riding in crimsin sattin, their horsses betrapped with the same; the number of the gentlewomen so riding were six and fortie, besides them in the chariots.

The ladie Elizabeth and the ladie Anne of Cleue.

A pageant made by strangers.

At Fanchurch was a costlie pageant made by the Genowaies: at Gracechurch corner there was an other pageant made by the Easterlings. At the vpper end of Gracesstréet there was an other pageant made by the Florentins verie high, on the top whereof there stood foure pictures, and in the middest of them and most highest, there stood an angell all in gréene, with a trumpet in his hand: and when the trumpetter (who stood secretlie in the pageant) did sound his trumpet, the angell did put his trumpet to his mouth, as though it had béene the same that had sounded, to the great maruelling of manie ignorant persons: this pageant was made with three thorough faires or gates, &c.

The conduit in Cornewall ran wine.

The conduit in Cornehill ran wine, and beneath the conduit a pageant made at the charges of the citie, and an other at the great conduit in Cheape, and a founteine by it running wine. The standard in Cheape new painted, with the waits of the citie aloft thereon plaieng. The crosse in Cheape new washed and burnished.

An other pageant at the little conduit in Cheape next to Paules was made by the citie, where the aldermen stood, and when the quéene came against them,

The recorder of London maketh a short spéech to the quéene passing by.

the recorder made a short proposition to hir, and then the chamberleine presented to hir in the name of the maior and the citie, a purse of cloth of gold, and a thousand marks of gold in it: then she rode foorth, and in Paules church-yard against the schoole, one master Heiwood sat in a pageant vnder a vine, and made to hir an oration in Latine and English.

A Dutchman on the weathercocke of Paules

Then was there one Peter a Dutchman that stood on the weathercocke of Paules steeple, holding a streamer in his hand of fiue yards long, and wauing thereof, stood sometimes on the one foot, and shooke the other, and then kneeled on his knees, to the great maruell of all people. He had made two scaffolds vnder him, one aboue the crosse hauing torches

and

and streamers set on it, and an other ouer the ball of the crosse likewise set with streamers and torches, which could not burne, the wind was so great: the said Peter had sixteene pounds thirteene shillings foure pense giuen him by the citie for his costs and paines, and for all his stuffe.

Then was there a pageant made against the deane of Paules gate, where the quéeristers of Paules plaied on vials and soong. Ludgate was newlie repared, painted, and richlie hanged, with minstrels plaieng and singing there. Then was there an other pageant at the conduit in Fleetstreet, and the temple barre was newlie painted and hanged. And thus she passed to Whitehall at Westminster, where she tooke hir leaue of the lord maior, giuing him great thanks for his pains, and the citie for their cost. On the morrow, which was the first daie of October, the quéene went by water to the old palace, and there remained till about eleuen of the clocke, and then went on foot vpon blew cloth, being railed on either side, vnto saint Peters church, where she was solemnlie crowned and annointed by Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester (for the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke were then prisoners in the tower) which coronation and other ceremonies and solemnities then vsed according to the old custome, was not fullie ended till it was nigh foure of the clocke at night that she returned from the church, before whom was then borne three swords sheathed, and one naked. The great seruice that daie doone in Westminster hall at dinner by diuerse noblemen, would aske long time to write. The lord maior of London and twelue citizens kept the high cupboord of plate as butlers: and the queene gaue to the maior for his fée a cupboord of gold with a couer weieng seuenteene ounces.]

A pageant wherein the quéeristers of Paules plaid on vials.

Quéene Marie crowned quéene by Stephan Gardiner

At the time of this quéenes coronation, there was published a generall pardon in hir name, being interlaced with so manie exceptions as they that needed the same most, tooke smallest benefit thereby. In which were excepted by name no small number, not onelie of bishops and other of the cleargie, namelie the archbishops of Canturburie and Yorke, the bishop of London, but also manie lords, knights, and gentlemen of the laitie, beside the two chiefe iustices of England called sir Edward Montacute, and sir Roger Cholmeleie with some other learned men in the law, for counselling, or at the least consenting to the depriuation of quéene Marie, and aiding of the foresaid duke of Northumberland, in the pretensed right of the before named ladie Iane, the names of which persons so being excepted, I haue omitted for shortnesse sake.

A pardon with exceptions.

As soone as this pardon was published, and the solemnitie of the feast of the coronation ended, there were certeine commissioners assigned to take order with all such persons as were excepted out of the pardon, and others, to compound with the queene for their seuerall offenses. Which commissioners sat at the deane of Paules his house, at the west end of Paules church, and there called before them the said persons apart, and from some they tooke their fees and offices granted before by king Edward the sixt, and yet neuerthelesse putting them to their fines: and some they committed to ward, depriuing them of their states and liuings: so that for the time, to those that tasted thereof, it seemed verie grieuous. God deliuer us from incurring the like danger of law againe. The fift daie of October next following, the quéene held hir hie court of parlement at Westminster, which continued vntill the one and twentith daie of the said moneth.

Commissioners.

A parlement.

In the first session of which parlement, there passed no more acts but one, and that was, to declare queene Marie lawfull heire in descent to the crowne of England by the common lawes, next after hir brother king Edward; and to repeale certeine causes of treason, fellonie, and premunire, conteined in diuers former statutes: the which act of repeale was, for that cardinall Poole was especiallie looked for (as after ye shall heare) for the reducing of the church of England to the popes obedience:

Treason Felonie. Premunire.

and

and to the end that the said cardinall now called into England from Rome, might hold his courts legantine without the danger of the statutes of the premunire, made in that case, whereinto cardinall Wolsele (when he was legat) had incurred to his no small losse, and to the charge of the clergie of England, for exercising the like power: the which act being once passed, foorthwith the queene repaired to the parlement house, and gaue therevnto hir roiall assent, and then proroged the parlement vnto the foure and twentith daie of the said moneth. In which second session were confirmed and made diuerse and sundrie statutes concerning religion, whereof some were restored, and other repealed.

The parlement proroged.

Abr. Fl. ex. I. S. pag. 1075. Charitable déeds of sir Thomas White.

¶ Sir Thomas White for this yéere maior and merchant tailor, a worthie patrone and protector of poore scholers and lerning renewed or rather erected a college in Oxenford, now called saint Iohns college, before Bernard college. He also erected schooles at Bristow and Reading. Moreouer, this worshipfull citizen in his life time gaue to the citie of Bristow two thousand pounds of readie monie to purchase lands, to the yearlie value of one hundred and twentie pounds, for the which it is decreed, that the maior, burgesses and communaltie of Bristow, in the yeare of our Lord 1567, and so yearelie during the tearme of ten yeares then next insuing, should cause to be paid at Bristow, one hundred pounds of lawfull monie. The first eight hundred pounds to be lent to sixtéene poore yoongmen clothiers, and fréemen of the same towne, for the space of ten yeares, fiftie pounds the péece of them, putting sufficient suerties for the same, and at the end of ten yeares, to be lent to other sixteene, at the discretion of the maior, aldermen, and foure of the common councell of the said citie.

A president of monie well emploied after death.

Prouision of corne for the poore.

The other two hundred pounds to be imploied in the prouision of corne, for the reléefe of the poore of the same citie, for their readie monie, without gaine to be taken. And after the end of ten yeares on the feast daie of saint Bartholomew, which shall be in the yeare of our Lord 1577, at the merchant tailors hall in London, vnto the maior and communaltie of the citie of Yorke, or to their atturnie authorised, an hundred and foure pounds, to be lent vnto foure yoongmen of the said citie of Yorke, fréemen and inhabitants (clothiers alwaie to be preferred) that is, to euerie of them fiue and twentie pounds, to haue and occupie the same for the tearme of ten yeares, without paieng anie thing for the loane, the foure pounds ouerplus of the hundred and foure pounds, at the pleasure of the maior and communaltie for their paines to be taken about the receipts and paiments of the said hundred pounds.

A perpetuall order of an hundred and foure pounds lent yearelie by course.

The like order in all points is taken for the deliuerie of an hundred and foure pounds in the yeare 1578, to the citie of Canturburie. In the yeare 1579 to Reading, 1580 to the companie of the merchant tailors, 1581 to Glocester, 1582 to Worcester, 1583 to Excester, 1584 to Salisburie, 1585 to Westchester, 1586 to Norwich, 1587 to Southhampton, 1588 to Lincolne, 1589 to Winchester, 1590 to Oxenford, 1591 to Hereford east, 1592 to Cambridge, 1593 to Shrewesburie, 1594 to Lin, 1595 to Bath, 1596 to Derbie, 1597 to Ipswich, 1598 to Colchester, 1599 to Newcastell. And then to begin againe at Bristow an hundred and foure pounds, the next yeare to the citie of Yorke, and so foorth to euerie of the said cities and townes, in the like order as before: and thus to continue for euer, as in the indentures tripartite more plainelie maie appeare.]

Sir James Hales in trouble for religion.

At this time manie were in trouble for religion, and among others, sir Iames Hales knight, one of the iustices of the common plées, which iustice being called among other by the councell of king Edward to subscribe to a deuise made for the disheriting of queene Marie, and the ladie Elizabeth hir sister, would in no wise assent to the same, though most of the other did: yet that notwithstanding, for that he at a quarter sessions holden in Kent, gaue charge

vpon

vpon the statutes of king Henrie the eight, and king Edward the sixt, in derogation of the primasie of the church of Rome, abolished by king Henrie the eight, he was first committed prisoner to the Kings bench, then to the Counter, and last to the Fleet, where, whether it were thorough extreame feare, or else by reason of such talke as the warden of the Fleet vsed vnto him, of more trouble like to insue, if he persisted in his opinion (or for what other cause, God knoweth) he was so mooued, troubled, and vexed, that he sought to rid himselfe out of this life, which thing he first attempted in the Fleet, by wounding himselfe with a penknife, well neere to death. Neuerthelesse afterward being recouered of that hurt, he seemed to be verie conformable to all the queenes procéedings, and was therevpon deliuered of his imprisonment, and brought to the quéenes presence, who gaue him words of great comfort: neuerthelesse his mind was not quiet (as afterward well appeared) for in the end he drowned himselfe in a riuer not halfe a mile from his dwelling house in Kent, the riuer being so shalow, that he was faine to lie groueling before he could dispatch himselfe, whose death was much lamented. For beside that he was a man wise, vertuous, and learned in the lawes of the realme, he was also a good and true minister of iustice, whereby he gat him great fauour and estimation among all degrees.

Sore temptations in afflictions, against which we are to praie for patience.

He drowneth himselfe.

During the aforesaid parlement, about the eighteenth daie of October, there was kept at Paules church in London a publike disputation, appointed by the quéenes commandement, about the presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, which disputation continued six daies, doctor Weston then being prolocutor of the conuocation, who vsed manie vnseemelie checks and tawnts against the one part, to the preiudice of their cause. By reason whereof the disputers neuer resolued vpon the article proponed, but grew dailie more and more into contention, without anie fruit of their long conference, and so ended this disputation, with these words spoken by doctor Weston prolocutor: "It is not the queens pleasure that we should herein spend anie longer time, and ye are well inough, for you haue the word, and we haue the sword." But of this matter ye maie read more in the booke of the monuments of the church. At this time was cardinall Poole sent for to Rome by the quéene, who was verie desirous of his comming, as well for the causes before declared, as also for the great affection that she had to him, being hir neere kinsman, and consenting with hir in religion.

A publike disputation about the reall presence in the sacrament.

Iohn Fox.

Cardinall Poole sent for home.

This message was most thankefullie receiued at Rome, and order taken to send the said cardinall hither with great expedition: but before his comming, quéene Marie had married Philip prince of Spaine, as after shall appeare. But here to touch somewhat the comming of the said cardinall. When he was arriued at Calis, there was conference had amongest the councellors of the quéene for the maner of his receiuing: some would haue had him verie honourablie met and interteined, as he was in all places where he had before passed, not onelie for that he was a cardinall, and a legat from the pope; but also for that he was the quéenes néere kinsman, of the house of Clarence. Neuerthelesse, after much debating, it was thought méetest, first, for that by the lawes of the realme (which yet were not repealed) he stood attainted by parlement, and also for that it was doubtfull how he being sent from Rome, should be accepted of the people, who in fiue and twentie yeares before, had not béene much acquainted with the pope or his cardinals, that therefore (vntill all things might be put in order for that purpose) he should come without anie great solemnitie vnto Lambeth, where (in the archbishops house) his lodging was prepared.

The councell diuided about the receiuing of the cardinall.

The third of Nouember next following, Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Can-

Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie arreigned of treason.

turburie (notwithstanding that he had once refused plainelie to subscribe to king Edwards will, in the disheriting of his sister Marie, and alledging manie reasons and arguments for the legitimation of both the kings sisters) was in the Guildhall in London arreigned and attainted of treason, namelie for aiding the duke of Northumberland with horsse and men against the queene, as aforesaid. At the same time also, the ladie Iane of Suffolke (who for a while was called queene Iane) and the lord Gilford hir husband, the lord Ambrose and lord Henrie Dudleie sonnes to the duke of Northumberland, were likewise arreigned and attainted, and thervpon led backe againe to the tower. In the beginning of Ianuarie next following, Charles the fift emperor sent into England an honorable ambassage, amongest whome was the Conte de Aiguemont admerall of the low countries, with Charles Conte de la Laing, Iohn de Montmorancie lord of Curriers, and the chancellor Nigre, with full commission to conclude a mariage betweene Philip prince of Spaine his sonne and heire, and queene Marie (as you haue heard) which ambassage tooke such place, that shortlie after all things were finished accordinglie.

Ambassadors from the emperour.

Ab. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 1077. Stephan Gardiner maketh an oration to the lords of the councell &c: touching the quéenes marriage.

¶ On the foureteenth of Ianuarie, doctor Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester lord chancellour of England, in the chamber of presence at Westminster, made to the lords, nobilitie, and gentlemen, an oration verie eloquent, wherein he declared that the queenes maiestie, partlie for amitie, and other weightie considerations had, after much sute on the emperours and prince of Spaines behalfe made, determined by the consent of the councell and nobilitie, to match hir selfe with the said prince in most godlie and lawfull matrimonie; and declared further, that she should haue for hir iointer thirtie thousand ducats by the yeare, with all the low countrie of Flanders, and that the issue (if there happened anie) betwéene them two lawfullie begotten, should be heire as well to the kingdome of Spaine, as also to the said low countrie. He said therefore that they were all bound to thanke God, that so noble, worthie, and famous a prince would vouchsafe so to humble himselfe, as in this marriage to take vpon him rather as a subiect, than otherwise. For the quéene and hir councell should rule all things as she did before, and that there should be of the councell no stranger, neither to haue custodie of any forts or castels, &c: nor to beare anie rule or office in the quéenes house, or else-where in all England, with diuerse other articles there by him rehearsed. Wherefore he said the quéenes pleasure and request was, that like good subiects for hir sake, they would most louinglie receiue him with reuerence, ioie, and honour. On the next daie, the lord maior of London with his bretheren the aldermen, were sent for to the court, and to bring with them fortie of the head commoners of the citie, vnto whome before the councell, the lord chancellor made the like oration, desiring them to behaue themselues like good subiects with all humblenesse and reioising].

Gardiner comendeth the king of Spaine.

But this marriage was not well thought of by the commons, nor much better liked of manie of the nobilitie, who for this, and for the cause of religion, conspired to raise war, rather than to see such change of the state. Of the which conspiracie though there were manie confederats; yet the first that shewed force therein, was one sir Thomas Wiat a knight in Kent, who in verie deed was driuen to preuent the time of the purposed enterprise by this hap. Diuerse of the partakers in this conspiracie, being withdrawne from London (where they had deuised their drift) home into their countries (amongst whome the said sir Thomas Wiat was one) it fell out, that whilest he was returned into Kent, where his lands and liuings chieflie laie, a gentleman of that shire, one to the said sir Thomas Wiat most déere, was by the councell for other matters committed to the Fléet. Wherevpon he verelie suspecting his secrets were bewraied, had no other shift (as he tooke it) but to put on armour,

mour, and to begin the attempt, before the time appointed with his complices. And herevpon giuing intelligence of his determination to his associats, as well at London, as else-where, on the thursdaie next following, being the fiue and twentith of Ianuarie at Maidstone, being accompanied with master Thomas Isleie and others, published a proclamation against the quéenes marriage, desiring all his neighbors, frèends, and Englishmen to ioine with him and others, to defend the realme in danger to be brought in thraldome vnto strangers: and herewith he gat him to Rochester, and met with sir George Harper by the waie, that was one appointed afore to ioine with him in that quarrell. They brake vp the bridge at Rochester, and fortified the east part of the towne, and staid there abiding the comming of more strength, and in the meane while suffered all passengers to passe quietlie thorough the towne to London, or to the sea, taking nothing from them, but onelie their weapons.

Wiat publisheth a proclamation at Maidstone.

He commeth to Rochester.

Sir George Harper.

In the meane while, sir Henrie Isleie, Anthonie Kneuet esquier, and his brother William Kneuet were busie in west Kent to raise the people there; and likewise in east Kent there were other that were of the same confederacie, which set forth the like proclamations at Milton, Ashford, and other towns there in that part of the shire: and thus in each part of Kent in a maner was great stur. But yet such was the diligence and warie circumspection of Iohn Twine at that present maior of Canturburie, for that he misliked their disordered attempts, that there was not any of that citie knowne to stur, or go forth to ioine themselues with the said sir Thomas Wiat, or with anie other of his confederats: and yet verelie the more part of the people in all other parts of that shire were maruellouslie affected to the said sir Thomas Wiats quarrell, doubting that which might follow of the quéenes matching hir selfe thus with a stranger. At Milton when a gentleman of those parts named Christopher Roper, went about to resist them that set forth this proclamation, he was taken and conueied to Rochester vnto master Wiat. Likewise maister Tucke and maister Dorrell iustices of peace, were fetched out of their owne houses, and likewise brought to Rochester, where they with the said Roper were kept as prisoners.

Christopher Roper taken.

Maister Dorrell and maister Tucke taken.

Sir Thomas Wiat had written vnto sir Robert Southwell shiriffe of Kent, to moue him in (respect of the preseruation of the common-wealth now in danger to be ouerrun of strangers, through the pretensed marriage, if it should go forward) to ioine with him and others, in so necessarie a cause for the disappointing of the same marriage, and to worke so with the lord of Aburgauennie, with whom he might doo much, that it might please him also to ioine with them. But as well the said sir Robert Southwell, as the said lord of Aburgauennie, and one George Clerke assembled themselues with such power as they might make against the said sir Thomas Wiat and his adherents; and comming to Malling on the saturdaie, being the market daie and seuen and twentith of Ianuarie, the said sir Robert Southwell hauing penned an exhortation to dissuade the people, and to bring them from hauing anie liking to Wiats enterprise, did read the same openlie vnto all the people there assembled, in confuting, reprouing, and refelling the proclamations set forth by sir Thomas Wiat and his adherents.

Sir Thomas Wiat writeth to sir Robert Southwell.

The shiriffe of Kent and the lord of Aburgauennie assemble a power against Wiat.

On the other part, sir Henrie Isleie, Anthonie Kneuet, and his brother William Kneuet being at Tunbridge, proclamed the shiriffe, the lord of Aburgauennie, and George Clerke gentleman, traitors to God, the crowne, and the common-welth, for raising the quéenes subiects, to defend the most wicked and diuelish enterprise of certeine of the wicked and peruerse councellors. And this they pronounced in their owne names and in the names of sir Thomas Wiat, sir George Harper, and of all the faithfull gentlemen of Kent, and trustie commoners of the same. This doone, they marched to Seuennocke, mening from thence to passe to Rochester. But in the meane time the foresaid 27 of Ianuarie, there came from the quéene an herald and a

An herald sent to Wiat.

trumpetter to sir Thomas Wiat, but he was not suffered to passe the bridge, and so did his message at the bridge end, in the hearing of sir Thomas Wiat and diuerse others. The effect of his message was, to offer pardon to so manie as within foure and twentie houres would depart to their houses, and become quiet subiects.

The lord warden is sent to Wiat.

Sir Thomas Cheineie lord warden sent also vnto Wiat, with words of contempt and defiance, desirous in deed to haue béene dooing with him, if hee had not mistrusted his owne people, which he should haue brought against him, as those that fauoured so greatlie Wiats cause, that they would haue beene loth to haue seene him take anie foile. And that sir Thomas Wiat knew well inough, and therefore desired nothing more than to haue him come foorth, vnderstanding that he wanted no friends, as well about him, as all other that would take in hand to represse him with force gathered in that shire. The lord of Aburgauennie, the shiriffe Warram Sentleger, and diuerse other gentlemen that were assembled at Malling, laie there within foure miles of Rochester on saturdaie at night, and hauing aduertisement that sir Henrie Isleie, the two Kneuets, and certeine other, with fiue hundred Weldishmen, being at Seuennocke, meant earlie in the morning to march towards Rochester for the aid of Wiat against the duke of Norffolke, that was come to Grauesend with fiue hundred white cotes Londoners, and certeine of the gard: and further that the said sir Henrie Isleie and the Kneuets meant in their waie to burne and spoile the house of George Clerke gentleman: they departing with fiue hundred gentlemen and likewise yeomen, verie earlie that sundaie in the morning, marched out in order till they came to Wrotham heath, where they might easilie heare the sound of their aduersaries drums, and therevpon followed after them with all spéed, till they came to a place called Barrow gréene, through which laie the right readie waie from Seuennocke towards maister Clerks house. Here the lord of Aburgauennie staied for the comming of his enimies, and vnderstanding they were at hand, placed his men in order, thinking to giue or take the ouerthrow. But they vpon their approch, misliking (as it should seeme) the match, shranke aside as secretlie as they could, by a bywaie, and were so farre gone before the lord of Aburgauennie vnderstood thereof by his espials, as for doubt of ouertaking them afore their comming to Rochester, he was driuen to make such hast for the ouertaking of them, as diuerse of his footmen were farre behind at the onset giuing.

Weldishmen, that is, such as dwel in the weld of Kent.

Wroth. heath.

Barrow gréene.

The first sight that the lord of Aburgauennie could haue of them, after they forsooke their purposed waie, was as they ascended Wrotham hill, directlie vnder Yallam maister Pechams house, where they thinking to haue great aduantage by the winning of the hill, displaied their ensignes, thinking they had béene out of danger. But the Lord of Aburgauennie made such hast after them, that ouertaking them at a field in the parish of Wrotham, a mile distant from the verie top of the hill, called Blacke soll field, after some resistance with shot and arrowes, and profer of onset made by their horssemen, they were put to flight, and chased for the space of foure miles, euen to Hartleie wood. Threescore of them were taken prisoners, and some on both sides were wounded, as commonlie commeth to passe in an ordinarie and priuat fraie: how then is it possible, that a skirmish should be vnseasoned with slaughter and bloudshed, speciallie in a sedition or insurrection, which is the plague of all common-wealths, as the poet saith:

Wrotham hill. Yallam.

Blacke soll field.

The skirmish.

———regnorum pessima pestis est Seditio.

Sir Henrie Isleie fled into Hampshire, Anthonie Kneuet made such shift, that he got that night vnto Rochester; and the same time sir George Harper departing from sir Thomas Wiat, and comming to the duke of Norffolke, submitted himselfe vnto his grace, and the duke receiued him. Which duke (as before ye haue partlie heard) being sent with fiue hundred Londoners, and certeine of the gard for his better defense, to go against the Kentishmen thus assembled with sir Thomas Wiat, was come downe

to Grauesend, set foorth from thence on mondaie the nine and twentith daie of Ianuarie, about ten of the clocke in the forenoone, marching towards Stroud on this side of Rochester, and about foure of the clocke in the after noone of the same daie, he arriued at Stroud neare vnto Rochester, hauing with him sir Henrie Iernyngham capteine of the gard, sir Edward Braie, sir Iohn Fog, knights, Iohn Couert, Roger Appleton, esquiers, Maurice Griffith the bishop of Rochester, Thomas Swan gentleman, with certeine of the gard, and others, to the number of two hundred or thereabout, besides Bret and other fiue capteins who with their bands taried behind at spittle hill néere vnto Stroud, whilest the duke went to Stroud to sée the placing of the ordinance, which being readie charged and bent vnto the towne of Rochester, and perceiuing by sir Thomas Wiat and his men by hanging out their ensignes, little to regard him, the duke commanded one of the péeces to be fired and shot off into Rochester, and as the gunner was firing the peece, sir Edward Braies eldest son came in all hast to the duke, and told him how the Londoners would betraie him.

The duke of Norffolke arriueth at Stroud.

Herewith turning backe, he might behold how Bret, and the other capteins of the white cotes with their bands being vpon the hill, and at his backe, made great and lowd shouts sundrie times, crieng; We are all Englishmen, we are all Englishmen: fashioning themselues in araie, readie bent with their weapons to set vpon the duke, if he had made anie resistance: whereupon the duke willed the péeces that were bent against Rochester, to be turned vpon Bret and his fellowes. But vpon further consideration the shot was spared, and the dukes grace, with the capteine of the gard, considering with wofull hearts their chiefe strength thus turned against them; and being thus inuironed both behind and before with enimies, shifted themselues awaie, as did also their companie. Sir Thomas Wiat accompanied with two or three, and not manie mo, came forth halfe a mile from Rochester, to méet Bret and the other capteins, amongst whom was sir George Harper, notwithstanding his former submission to the duke. Their méeting verelie séemed right ioifull both in gesture and countenance, and therewith hauing saluted each other, they entered all togither into Rochester. The lord of Aburgauennie and the shiriffe were greatlie abashed when they vnderstood of this mishap, for they doubted that such as were euill disposed before, would not be greatlie amended thereby. The shiriffe being then at Maidstone, hasted to come to Malling, where the lord of Aburgauennie laie, and vpon his comming thither, he tooke aduise to ride in post to the councell, to know their minds how they would direct them. Sir Thomas Wiat and his associats were greatlie reconforted with this new supplie added to their strength, by the reuolting thus of the Londoners: and verelie it bred no small hope in all their hearts that wished well to his enterprise, that he should the better atteine vnto the hoped end of his purpose. But it pleased God otherwise, who neuer prospereth anie that attempt such exploits without publike and lawfull authoritie.

The reuolting of the Londoners.

The duke with the capteine of the gard, &c. put to their shifts.

The shiriffe of Kent rideth to the councell.

In this meane while, the duke of Suffolke being persuaded to ioine with other in this quarell, as he that doubted (as no small number of true Englishmen then did) least the pretended mariage with the Spanish king should bring the whole nobilitie and people of this realme into bondage and thraldome of strangers, after he was once aduertised that sir Thomas Wiat had preuented the time of their purposed enterprise, he secretlie one euening departed from Sheene, and rode with all spéed into Leicestershire, where in the towne of Leicester and other places, hée caused proclamation to be made in semblable wise, as sir Thomas Wiat had doone, against the quéenes match which she meant to make with the said king of Spaine: but few there were that would willinglie hearken thereto. But now ye must vnderstand, that before his comming downe, he was persuaded that the citie of Couentrie would be opened vnto him, the more part of the citizens being throughlie bent in his fauour, in

The duke of Suffolke goeth downe into Leicestershire.

The citie of Couentrie.

in so necessarie a quarell, for defense of the realme against strangers, as they were then persuaded.

But howsoeuer it chanced, this prooued not altogither true: for whether through the misliking which the citizens had of the matter, or through negligence of some that were sent to solicit them in the cause, or chiefflie (as should séeme to be most true) for that God would haue it so, when the duke came with six or seuen score horssemen, well appointed for the purpose, presenting himselfe before the citie in hope to bée receiued, hee was kept out. For the citizens through comfort of the erle of Huntingdon that was then come downe, sent by the quéene to staie the countries from falling to the duke, and to raise a power to apprehend him, had put themselues in armor, and made all the prouision they could to defend the citie against the said duke. Wherevpon perceiuing himselfe destitute of all such aid as he looked for among his friends in the two shires of Leicester and Warwike, he got him to his manour of Astleie, distant from Couentrie fiue miles, where appointing his companie to disperse themselues, and to make the best shift each one for his owne safegard that he might, and distributing to euerie of them a portion of monie, according to their qualities, and his store at that present, he and the lord Iohn Greie his brother bestowed themselues in secret places there within Astleie parke; but through the vntrustinesse of them, to whose trust they did commit themselues (as hath béene credible reported) they were bewraied to the earle of Huntington, that then was come to Couentrie, and so apprehended they were by the said earle, and afterwards brought up to London.

The duke of Suffolke kept out of Couentrie.

The duke of Suffolke apprehended.

The duke had meant at first to haue rid awaie (as I haue credible heard) if promise had béene kept by one of his seruants, appointed to come to him to be his guide: but when he either feining himselfe sicke, or being sicke in déed, came not, the duke was constreined to remaine in the parke there at Astleie, hoping yet to get awaie after that the search had béene passed ouer, and the countrie once in quiet. Howsoeuer it was, there he was taken, as is said, togither with his brother the lord Iohn Greie; but his brother the lord Thomas got awaie indeed at that time, meaning to haue fled into Wales, and there to haue got to the sea side, so to transport himselfe ouer into France, or into some other forren part. But in the borders of Wales he was likewise apprehended through his great mishap, and follie of his man that had forgot his capcase with monie behind him in his chamber one moruing at his inne; and comming for it againe, vpon examination what he should be, it was mistrusted that his maister should be some such man, as he was in déed, and so was staied, taken, and brought vp to London, where he suffered; as after shall appeare.

The lord Iohn Greie taken.

The lord Thomas Greie taken.

But now to returne vnto sir Thomas Wiat. After that the Londoners were reuolted to him, as before ye haue heard; the next daie being tuesdaie the thirtith of Ianuarie, he marched foorth with his bands, and six péeces of ordinance (which they had gotten of the quéenes) besides their owne. And first they came to Cowling castell, an hold of the lord Cobhams, foure miles distant from Rochester, and not much out of the waie towards London, whither they were now fullie determined to go, in hope of friends which they trusted to find within and about the citie. At their comming to Cowling, knowing that the lord Cobham was within the castell, they bent their ordinance against the gate, breaking it with sundrie shots, and burning it vp with fier, made a waie through it. The said lord Cobham defended the place as stoutlie as he might, hauing but a few against so great a number, and so little store of munition for his defense: he himselfe yet discharged his gun at such as approached the gate right hardilie, and in that assault two of his men were slaine. After this assault, and talke had with the lord Cobham, sir Thomas Wiat marched to Grauesend, where he rested that night.

Cowling castell.

The lord Cobham.

The

The next daie he came to Dartford with his bands, and laie there that night, whither came to him sir Edward Hastings maister of the quéenes horsse, and sir Thomas Cornwallis knights, both being of the quéenes priuie councell, and now sent from hir vnto sir Thomas Wiat, to vnderstand the cause of his commotion.—When he vnderstood they were come, he tooke with him certeine of his band to the west end of the towne, where he had lodged his ordinance. And at the lighting downe of sir Edward Hastings and his associat, sir Thomas Wiat hauing a partisan in his hand, aduancing himselfe somewhat afore such gentlemen as were with him, traced neere them: to whome the maister of the horsse spake in substance as followeth. "The quéenes majestie requireth to vnderstand the verie cause wherefore you haue thus gathered togither in armes hir liege people, which is the part of a traitor, and yet in your proclamations and persuasions, you call your selfe a true subiect, which can not stand togither." I am no traitor quoth Wiat, and the cause wherefore I haue gathered the people, is to defend the realme from danger of being ouerrun with strangers, which must follow, this mariage taking place.

Why, quoth the quéenes agents, there be no straungers yet come, who either for power or number ye need to suspect. But if this be your onelie quarrell, because ye mislike the mariage; will ye come to communication touching that case, and the queene of hir gratious goodnesse is content ye shall be heard. I yéeld thereto, quoth sir Thomas Wiat: but for my suertie I will rather be trusted than trust, and therefore demanded, as some haue written, the custodie of the tower, and hir grace within it; also the displacing of some councellors about hir, and to haue other placed in their roomes. There was long and stout conference betwéene them, in so much that the maister of the horsse said: Wiat, before thou shalt haue thy traitorous demand granted, thou shalt die, and twentie thousand with thée. And so the said maister of the horsse, and sir Thomas Cornewallis, perceiuing they could not bring him to that point they wished, returned to the court, aduertising the quéene what they had heard of him. The same daie being the first of Februarie, proclamation was made in London by an herald, to signifie that the duke of Suffolkes companie of horssemen were scattered, and that he himselfe and his brethren were fled. Also that sir Peter Carew, and sir Gawen Carew knights, and William Gibs esquire, which being parties to the conspiracie of the said duke, with sir Thomas Wiat and others, were likewise fled. True it was that sir Peter Carew, perceiuing himselfe in danger to be apprehended, about the thrée and twentith of Ianuarie last past fled out of the realme, and escaped into France: but the other taried behind and were taken.

Wiats requests.

Proclamation that the duke of Suffolke and others were fled.

Moreouer, on this first daie of Februarie being Candlemas euen, the emperors ambassadors, of whome ye haue heard before, hearing of Wiats hastie approching thus towards London, sped themselues awaie by water, and that with all hast. The queene then lieng at hir palace of White hall beside Westminster, and hearing of hir enimies so néere, was counselled for hir safegard to take the tower of London, wherevnto she would by no meanes be persuaded. Neuerthelesse, to make hir selfe more stronger of friends in the citie, so soone as the said ambassadors were departed, she came to the Guildhall in London: against which time, order was taken by the lord maior, that the chiefe citizens in their liueries should be there present. After that the queene had taken hir place in the said hall, and silence made, she with verie good countenance vttered in effect this oration following.

The emperors ambassadors flée from Wiat.

QUEENE MARIES ORATION

IN GUILDHALL IN A SOLEMNE ASSEMBLIE.

Quéens Maries oration to the Londoners.

I AM (quoth shee) come vnto you in mine owne person, to tell you that which alreadie you doo sée and know, that is, how traitorouslie and seditiouslie a number of Kentish rebels haue assembled themselues togither against both vs and you. Their pretense (as they said at the first) was onelie to resist a mariage determined betwéene vs and the prince of Spaine. To the which pretended quarrell, and to all the rest of their euil contriued articles ye haue béene made priuie. Since which time, we haue caused diuerse of our priuie councell to resort oftsoones to the said rebels, and to demand of them the cause of their continuance in their seditious enterprise. By whose answers made againe to our said councell, it appeared that the mariage is found to be the least of their quarrell. For they now swaruing from their former articles, haue bewraied the inward treason of their hearts, as most arrogantlie demanding the possession of our person, the kéeping of our tower and not onelie the placing and displacing of our councellors; but also to vse them and vs at their pleasures.

Demands are pretended to be sent from M. wiat and his companie to quéene Marie.

Now louing subiects, what I am, you right well know. I am your quéene, to whome at my coronation when I was wedded to the realme, and to the lawes of the same (the spousall ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off) ye promised your allegiance and obedience vnto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor to the crowne of this realme of England; I not onelie take all christendoome to witnesse, but also your acts of parlement confirming the same. My father (as ye all know) possessed the regall estate by right of inheritance, which now by the same right descended vnto me. And to him alwaies ye shewed your selues most faithfull and louing subiects, and him obeied and serued as your liege lord and king: and therefore I doubt not but you will shew your selues likewise to me his daughter. Which if you doo, then maie you not suffer anie rebell to vsurpe the gouernance of our person, or to occupie our estate, especiallie being so presumptuous a traitor as this Wiat hath shewed himselfe to be; who must certeinlie, as he hath abused my ignorant subiects to be adherents to his traitorous quarrell: so dooth he intend by colour of the same, to subdue the lawes to his will, and to giue scope to the rascall and forlorne persons, to make generall hauocke and spoile of your goods. And this further I say vnto you in the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturallie a mother loueth her children, for I was neuer the mother of anie; but certeinlie a prince and gouernor may as naturallie and as earnestlie loue subiects, as the mother dooth hir child. Then assure your selues, that I being your souereigne ladie and quéene doo as earnestlie and as tenderlie loue and fauour you. And I thus louing you, cannot but thinke that ye as hartilie and faithfullie loue me againe: and so louing togither in this knot of loue and concord, I doubt not, but we togither shall be able to giue these rebels a short and speedie ouerthrow.

How he pretended the spoile of their goods itappeareth in that he comming to Southworke, did hurt neither man, woman, nor child, neither in bodie nor in a pennie of their goods.

And as concerning the case of my intended marriage, against which they pretend their quarrell, ye shall vnderstand that I entred not into the treatie thereof without aduise of all our priuie councell; yea, and by assent of those to whome the king my father committed his trust, who so considered and weighed the great commodities that might insue thereof, that they not onlie thought it very honorable, but expedient, both for the wealth of our realme, and also of all our louing subiects. And as touching my selfe (I assure you) I am not so desirous of wedding, neither so precise or wedded to my will, that either for mine owne pleasure I will choose where I lust, or else so amorous as néeds I must haue one. For God I thanke him

Quéene Marie excuseth hir mariage.

him (to whome be the praise thereof) I haue hitherto liued a virgine, and doubting nothing but with Gods grace shall as well be able so to liue still. But if as my progenitors haue done before, it might please God that I might leaue some fruit of my bodie behind me to be your gouernour, I trust you would not onelie reioise thereat, but also I know it would be to your great comfort. And certeinlie if I either did know or thinke, that this marriage should either turne to the danger or losse of anie of you my louing subiects, or to the detriment or impairing of anie part or parcell of the roiall estate of this realme of England, I would neuer consent therevnto, neither would I euer marrie while I liued. And in the word of a quéene I promise and assure you, that if it shall not probablie appéere before the nobilitie and commons in the high court of parlement, that this marriage shall be for the singular benefit and commoditie of all the whole realme; that then I will absteine, not onelie from this marriage, but also from anie other, whereof perill maie ensue to this most noble realme. Wherefore now as good and faithfull subiects plucke vp your harts, and like true men stand fast with your lawfull prince against these rebelles both our enemies and yours, and feare them not: for assure you that I feare them nothing at all, and I will leaue with you my lord Howard, and my lord treasuror to be your assistants, with my lord maior, for the defense and safegard of this citie from spoile and saccage, which is onelie the scope of this rebellious companie.

The promise of quéene Marie touching hir mariage.

After this oration ended, the citizens séeming well satisfied therewith, the queene with the lords of the councell returned to White hall from whence she came: and forthwith the lord William Howard was associate with the lord maior of London, whose name was sir Thomas White for the protection and defense of the citie. And for more suertie, as well of hir owne person, as also of hir councellors and other subiects, she prepared a great armie to meet with the said rebelles in the field, of which armie William Herbert earle of Penbroke was made generall, which earle with all spéed requisite in such a case, prepared all things necessarie to such a seruice belonging. The same daie sir Thomas Wiat hauing with him foureteene ensignes, conteining about foure thousand men, although they were accounted to be a farre greater number, marched to Detford strand, eight miles from Detford, and within foure miles of London; where vpon such aduertisement as he receiued by spiall, of the quéens being in the Guildhall, and the order of the people to hir wards, he remained that night and the next whole daie; diuerse of his owne companie doubting by his longer tarrieng there than in other places, and vpon other presumptions which they gathered, that he would haue passed the water into Essex.

Wiat marched to Detford strand.

His prisoners Christopher Roper, George Dorrell, and Iohn Tucke esquiers, who were kept somewhat strict, for that they seemed sicklie, and finding within the towne no conuenient harborough or attendance, were licenced by sir Thomas Wiat, vpon promise of their worships to be true prisoners, to prouide for themselues out from the towne, where they best might. But they breaking promise with him, sought waies to escape and come no more at him. On saturdaie following verie earlie Wiat marched to Southworke, where approching the gate at London bridge foot, he called to them within to haue it opened: which he found not so readie as he looked for. After he had beene a little while in Southworke, and began to trench at the bridge foot, and set two peeces of ordinance against the gate, diuerse of his soldiers went to Winchester place, where one of them (being a gentleman) began to fall to rifling of things found in the house. Wherewith sir Thomas Wiat seemed so much offended, that he threatned sore to hang him euen presentlie there vpon the wharfe, and so as he made others to beleeue he meant to haue doone, if capteine Bret and others had not intreated for him.

Wiat suffereth his prisoners to go abrode vpon their word.

Wiat cometh into Southworke.

The lord William Howard lord admerall of England, being appointed by the

queens commission capteine generall, with the lord maior sir Thomas White, watched at the bridge that night with three hundred men, caused the draw bridge to be hewen downe into the Thames, made rampiers and fortifications there, fensing the same with great ordinance. Wiat yet aduentured the breaking downe of a wall out of an house ioining to the gate at the bridge foot, whereby he might enter into the leads ouer the gate, and came downe into the lodge about eleuen of the clocke in the night, where he found the porter in a slumber, and his wife with other waking, and watching ouer a cole; but beholding Wiat, they began suddenlie to start as greatlie amazed. Whist quoth Wiat, as you loue your liues sit still, you shall haue no hurt. Glad were they of that warrant, and so were quiet, and made no noise. Wiat and a few with him went foorth as farre as the draw bridge: on the other side whereof he saw the lord admerall, the lord maior, sir Andrew Iud, and one or two others in consultation for ordering of the bridge, wherevnto he gaue dilligent heed and eare a good while, and was not séene.

Sir Thomas Wiats desperat attempt.

This doone, he returned and said to some of his companie; This place sirs is too hot for vs. And herevpon falling in counsell what was best to doo: some gaue aduise that it should be good to returne to Gréenewich, and so to passe the water into Essex, whereby their companie (as they thought) should increase, and then assaie to enter into London by Aldgate: and some were of opinion, that it were better to go to Kingston vpon Thames, and so further west. Other there were, among which sir Thomas Wiat himselfe was chiefe, would haue returned into Kent to méet with the lord of Aburgauenie, the lord Warden, the shiriffe, sir Thomas Moile, sir Thomas Kempe, sir Thomas Finch, and others that were at Rochester, comming on Wiats backe, with a great companie well appointed, persuading himselfe (whether truelie or not I know not) that he should find among them more friends than enimies. But whether his desire to returne into Kent grew vpon hope he had to find aid there, or rather to shift himselfe awaie, it was doubted of his owne companie; and some of them that knew him well (except they were much deceiued) reported not long before their execution, that his desire to returne into Kent, was onelie to shift himselfe ouer the sea.

Wiat and his complices fall into consultation.

The lord Warden being at Rochester (as yée haue heard) well furnished both with horsse and men, perfectlie appointed to no small number, was willing to haue followed after Wiat, and to haue shewed his good will against him in the quéens quarrell: but yet vpon deliberation had, and aduise taken with others that were there with him, he thought good first to vnderstand the quéenes pleasure how to proceed in his dealings: and heervpon he rode post to the queene himselfe, leauing the lord of Aburgauennie and the rest of the gentlemen with his and their bands behind till his returne. On sundaie the fourth of Februarie, the lord admerall caused a strong ward of three hundred men to be kept on the bridge till eight of the clocke at night, and then (for their reléefe) entred the watch of other thrée hundred; so that the bridge was thus garded both daie and night with thrée hundred men in armor. It troubled Wiat and all his companie verie sore, to sée that London did so stiffelie stand and hold out against them: for in the assistance which they looked to haue had of that citie, all their hope of prosperous spéed consisted. But now that they saw themselues greatlie disappointed therein, they meant yet to set all on a hazard. And so the first of Februarie being Shrouetuesdaie, afore six of the clocke in the morning, they departed out of Southworke, marching directlie towards Kingston ten miles distant from London, standing vpon the Thames, where they arriued about foure of the clocke in the afternoone: and finding thirtie foot or thereabout of the bridge taken awaie, sauing the posts that were left standing; Wiat practised with two mariners to swim ouer, and to conueie a barge to him, which the mariners through great promises of preferment accordinglie did, wherein

The lord warden of the cinque ports verie willing to followe after Wiat.

Wiat at his wits ends.

Wiat marcheth to Kingstone.

Wiat and certeine with him were conueied ouer: who in the meane time that the number of soldiers baited in the towne, caused the bridge to be repared with ladders, planks and beames, the same being tied togither with ropes and boords, so as by ten of the clocke in the night it was in such plight, that both his ordinance and companies of men might passe ouer without perill. And so about eleuen of the clocke in the same night, Wiat with his armie passing ouer the bridge without either resistance or perill, and before it could be once knowne at the court, marched toward London, meaning (as some haue written) to haue bin at the court gate before daie that morning. Neuertheles, before he came within six miles of the citie staieng for a péece of his great artillerie which was dismounted by the waie, his comming was discouered before daie: wherby the erle of Penbroke generall of the quéenes armie was with his men in good order of battell in S. Iames field beside Westminster, two or thrée houres yer Wiat could rech thither.

Wiat repareth the bridge at Kingstone.

Rich. Grafton.

The earle of Penbroke setteth the armie in order.

The earle hauing vnderstanding by his espials, what waie Wiat would march, placed his armie in this order. First, in a field on the west side of saint Iames were all his men of armes, and demilances; ouer against whome in the lane next to the parke, were placed all the light horssemen. All which bands of horssemen were vnder the charge of the lord Clinton, being marshall of the field. The great artillerie was planted in the middest and highest place of the causeie next to the house of saint Iames, with certeine field peeces lieng on the flanke of ech battell. After that both the armies were in sight, and that the great artillerie began to thunder from either side without harme (as it happened to either of both) Wiat perceiuing that he could not come vp the fore right waie without great disaduantage, when he was come to the parke corner, he leauing the causeie, swarued, and tooke the nether waie towards saint Iames. Which being perceiued by the quéenes horssemen, who laie on either side of him, they gaue a sudden charge, and diuided his battell asunder hard behind Wiats ensignes, whereby so manie as were not passed before with Wiat, were forced to flie backe towards Brainford: and certeine of his companie which escaped the charge, passed by the backeside of saint Iames towards Westminster, and from thense to the court: and finding the gates shut against them, staid there a while, and shot off manie arrowes into the windowes, and ouer into the garden, neuerthelesse without anie hurt there that was knowne. Wherevpon the said rebels, ouer whom one Kneuet was capteine, perceiuing themselues to be too few to doo anie great feat there, departed from thense to follow Wiat, who was gone before toward London: and being on their waie at Charingcrosse, were there incountered by sir Henrie Iernigham capteine of the queenes gard, sir Edward Braie master of the ordinance, and sir Philip Paris knights, which were sent by the order of the earle of Penbroke with a band of archers, and certeine field péeces for the rescue of the court, who incountered the said rebels at Charingcrosse aforesaid, after they had discharged their field péeces vpon them, ioined with those rebels, halfe armed, and halfe vnarmed, at the push of the pike, and verie soone dispersed their power; whereof some fled into the lane toward saint Giles, and some on the other side by a brewhouse towards the Thames. In this conflict, which was the chiefe triall of that daie, there was not found slaine to the number of twentie of those rebels. Which happened by reason that vpon their ioining with the quéens soldiors, the one part could not be discerned from the other, but onelie by the mire and durt taken by the waie, which stacke vpon their garments comming in the night: wherefore the crie on the quéenes part that daie was; Downe with the daggle tailes.

Wiat commeth to the parke corner. &c.

A skirmish at Charingcrosse betwéen Wiats powers and the quéenes forces.

But now to returne to Wiat, of whome ye heard before, who being come to the parke corner, and perceiuing the perill apparant, if he should haue marched

straight vpon the earls battels, which were ranged on either side of the causeie did therefore politikelie turne from the great causeie, marching along the wall of the house of saint Iames towards London: which could not haue béene without his no little losse of manie of his traine, if those that had the charge on that side the field, had béene as forward in seruice as the earle with his battell, and the horssemen before shewed themselues to be. Neuerthelesse Wiat following his purposed enterprise, which was to haue entered into London, where he hoped of great aid, marched on with the small companie that was left him, as far as a common inne called the Bell sauage, néere to Ludgate, beléeuing to haue found some readie there to haue receiued him; wherein his hope was much deceiued finding the said gate fast shut, and stronglie garded with a number as well of most honest citizens, as also of other bands of the quéenes assured friends. Whereupon Wiat, who comming towards the citie, made himselfe sure of his enterprise, now desperat of the same, was faine to turne his face, retiring backe againe to Temple-barre, where he with the rest of his retinue determined (as it seemed) to trie their last fortune.

Wiat marcheth alongst the wall of saint Iames towards London.

The earle of Penbroke (who all this while kept his force togither in the field) hearing of Wiats approch to London, sent to him an herald called Clarenceaux, with great communication to desist from his rebellious enterprise. Which herald did his message accordinglie, albeit that some said he promised the said Wiat his pardon; which should not séeme to be true, as well for that the herald had no such commission, as also that it was not like, that the said Wiat being then disarmed of all his forces, would haue refused mercie in such a case. For true it is, that he with a verie few of his forlorne fellowship, not manie aboue the number of one hundred persons, stood still as men amazed at the gate of the Temple-barre, till such time as sir Maurice Barkleie knight, by chance riding towards London vpon his horsse, with footcloth, without anie armour, finding the said Wiat there, persuaded him to repaire to the court, and to yéeld himselfe to the quéene. Whose aduise he followed, and incontinent mounted vp on the said sir Maurice horsse behind him, and so road to the court voluntarilie to yéeld himselfe prisoner.

An herald sent to Wiat willing him to desist from his enterprise.

Sir Thomas Wiat submitteth himselfe to the quéene.

This comming of Wiat to the court being so little looked for, was great cause of reioising to such as of late before stood in great feare of him. But more than maruell it was to sée that daie, the inuincible heart and constancie of the quéene hir selfe, who being by nature a woman, and therefore commonlie more fearefull than men be, shewed hir selfe in that case more stout than is credible. For she, notwithstanding all the fearefull newes that were brought to hir that daie, neuer abashed. Insomuch that when one or two noblemen being hir capteins, came in all hast to tell hir (though vntrulie) that hir battels were yéelded to Wiat. She nothing mooued thereat, said it was their fond opinion that durst not come néere to see the triall, saieng further that she hir selfe would enter the field to trie the truth of hir quarrell, and to die with them that would serue hir, rather than to yéeld one iot vnto such a traitor as Wiat was, and prepared hir selfe accordinglie.

The stout courage of quéene Marie.

But by the apprehension of Wiat that voiage tooke none effect: for after his comming to the court he was immediatlie committed to the Tower. As soone as the taking of Wiat was knowne, the armie (whereof mention is made before that laie in saint Iames field) was discharged, and euerie man licenced to depart to his home. And foorthwith proclamation was made, as well in the citie of London as in the suburbs of the same, that none vpon paine of death should kéepe in his or their houses anie of Wiats faction; but should bring them foorth immediatlie before the lord maior, and other the quéenes iustices. By reason of

Proclamation that none should kéepe in his house anie of Wiats faction.

of which proclamation a great multitude of their said poore caitifs were brought foorth, being so manie in number, that all the prisons in London sufficed not to receiue them: so that for lacke of place they were faine to bestow them in diuerse churches of the said citie. And shortlie after were set vp in London for a terrour to the common sort (bicause the white cotes being sent out of the citie, as before ye haue heard, reuolted from the quéens part to the aid of Wiat) twentie paire of gallowes, on the which were hanged in seuerall places to the number of fiftie persons, which gallowes remained standing there a great part of the summer following to the great griefe of good citizens, and for example to the commotioners.

¶ As for the principals of this faction, namelie Thomas Wiat, William Kneuet, Thomas Cobham, two brethren named Mantels, and Alexander Bret were brought by sir Henrie Iernингam by water to the tower prisoners, where sir Philip Denie receiued them at the bulwerke, and as Wiat passed by he said; Go traitor, there was neuer such a traitor in England. To whom sir Thomas Wiat turned, and said, I am no traitor, I would thou shouldst well know thou art more traitor than I, it is not the point of an honest man to call me so, and so went forth. When he came to the tower gate, sir Thomas Bridges lieutenant tooke in through the wicket, first Mantell, and said: Ah thou traitor, what hast thou and thy companie wrought. But he holding downe his head said nothing. Then came Thomas Kneuet, whom master chamberleine gentleman porter of the tower tooke in. Then came Alexander Bret, whome sir Thomas Pope tooke by the bosome, saieng: Oh traitor, how couldest thou find in thy heart to worke such a villanie, as to take wages, and being trusted ouer a band of men, to fall to hir enemies, returning against hir in battell. Bret answered Yea; I haue offended in that case. Then came Thomas Cobham, whome sir Thomas Poines tooke in, and said, Alas maister Cobham, what wind headed you to worke such treason; And he answered, Oh sir I was seduced. Then came in sir Thomas Wiat, whom sir Iohn Bridges tooke by the collar and said, Oh thou villen and vnhappie traitor, how couldest thou find in thy hart to worke such detestable treason to the quéenes maiestie, who gaue thée thy life and liuing once alreadie, although thou diddest before this time beare armes in the field against hir, and now to yéeld hir battell, &c. If it were not (saith he) but that the law must passe vpon thee, I would sticke thée through with my dagger. To the which Wiat holding his arms vnder his side, and looking grieuouslie with a grim looke vpon the lieutenant, said; It is no maisterie now: and so passed on. Thomas Wiat had on a shirt of maile, with sleeues verie faire, thereon a veluet cassocke, and a yellow lace, with the windlace of his dag hanging thereon, and a paire of boots on his legs, and on his head a faire hat of veluet, with a broad bone-worke lace about it. William Kneuet, Thomas, Cobham, and Bret, were the like apparelled.

Abr. Fl. ex I.S. pag. 1087, 1088, 1089.

Wiat sent to the tower.

Sir Thomas Bridges lieutenant of the tower.

The zeale of the lieutenant sheweth it self by his hot language.

On the morrow and the next daie following were brought into the tower prisoners, George Cobham, sir William Cobham, Anthonie Kneuet, Hugh Booth, Thomas Vane, Robert Rudstone, sir George Harper, Edward Wiat, Edward Fog, George Moore, and Cutbert Vaughan. The tenth of Februarie, the earle of Huntington and other gentlemen, and to the number of thrée hundred horssemen, brought to the tower as prisoners the duke of Suffolke, and the lord Iohn Greie his brother from Couentrie, where the duke had remained thrée daies after his taking in the house and custodie of Christopher Warren alderman there. The eleuenth daie sir Henrie Islеie who had fled, was brought into the tower in an old frése cote, an old paire of hosen, all his apparell not worth foure shillings. The same daie came in two of the Culpepers, one Cromar, and Thomas Rampton the duke of Suffolks secretarie.

The duke of Suffolke and the lord Greie brought to the tower.

Sir Henrie Islеie.

The

The lord Gilford Dudlie executed on the tower.

The twelfe of Februarie being mondaie, about ten of the clocke, there went out of the tower to the scaffold on the tower hill, the lord Gilford Dudleie, sonne to the duke of Northumberland, husband to the ladie Iane Greie daughter to the duke of Suffolke; and without the bulworke gate, maister Thomas Offleie one of the shiriffes of London receiued him and brought him to the scaffold, where after a small declaration he kneeled downe and said his praiers. Then holding vp his eies and hands to heauen with teares, at the last he desired the people to praie for him, and after he was beheaded. His bodie being laid in a cart, and his head in a cloth, was brought into the chappell within the tower, where the ladie Iane, whose lodging was in maister Patridges house, did see his dead carcasse taken out of the cart, as well as she did see him before aliue going to his death: a sight (as might be supposed) to hir worse than death. By this time was there a scaffold made vpon the greene ouer against the white tower, for the ladie Iane to die vpon, who being nothing at all abashed neither with feare of hir owne death, which then approched, neither with the sight of the dead carcasse of hir husband when he was brought into the chapell, came forth, the lieutenant leading hir, with countenance nothing abashed, neither hir eies anie thing moistened with teares, with a booke in hir hand, wherein she praied vntill she came to the said scaffold. Whereon when she was mounted, this noble yoong ladie as she was indued with singular gifts both of learning and knowledge, so was she as patient and mild as anie lambe at hir execution; and a little before hir death vttered these words.]

The behauior of the ladie Iane lead to execution.

THE

WORDS OF THE LADIE IANE AT HIR DEATH,

ON A SCAFFOLD

VPON THE GREENE OUER AGAINST THE WHITE TOWER.

GOOD people I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. My offense against the queenes highness was onelie in consent to the deuice of other, which now is deemed treason; but it was neuer of my seeking, but by counsell of those who should seeme to haue further vnderstanding of things than I, which knew little of the law, and much lesse of the titles to the crowne. But touching the procurement and desire therof by me, or on my behalfe, I doo wash my hands in innocencie thereof before God, and the face of all you (good christian people) this daie. And therwith she wroong hir hands wherin she had hir booke. Then (said she) I praie you all good christian people, to beare me witnesse that I die a true christian woman, and that I looke to be saued by none other meanes, but onelie by the merceie of God, in the bloud of his onelie sonne Iesus Christ; and I confesse that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, and loued myselfe and the world, and therefore this plague and punishment is iustlie and worthilie happened vnto me for my sins, and yet I thanke God of his goodnesse, that he hath giuen me a time and respit to repent. And now good people while I am aliue, I praie you assist me with your praiers.

Then kneeling downe, she said the psalme of Miserere mei Deus, in English, and then

then stood vp and gaue hir maid (called mistresse Ellin) hir gloues and handkercher, and hir booke she also gaue to maister Bridges then lieutenant of the tower, and so vntied hir gowne; and the executioner pressed to helpe hir off with it, but she desired him to let hir alone, and turned hir toward hir two gentlewomen, who helped hir off therewith, and with hir other attires, and they gaue hir a faire handkercher to put about hir eies. Then the executioner knéeled downe, and asked hir forgiuenesse, whom she forgaue most willinglie. Then he willed hir to stand vpon the straw, which doone, she saw the blocke, and then she said; I praie you dispatch me quicklie. Then she knéeled downe, saieng; Will you take it off before I laie me downe? Wherevnto the executioner answered, No madame. Then tied she the handkercher about her eies, and féeling for the blocke, she said, Where is it, where is it? One of the standers by guided hir therevnto, and she laid downe her head vpon the blocke, and then stretched forth hir bodie, and said; Lord into thy hands I commend my spirit, and so finished hir life. ¶ This was the end of the lord Gilford and the ladie Iane, whose deaths were the more hastened for feare of further troubles and stirs for hir title, like as hir father had attempted.]

The executioner asked the ladie Iane forgiuenesse.

I. Stow.

Thus (as saith maister Fox) were beheaded two innocents, in comparison of them that sat vpon them: for they did but ignorantlie accept that which the others had willinglie deuised, and by open proclamation consented to take from others, and giue to them. And verelie how vnwilling she was to take it vpon hir, there are yet liuing that can testifie. Iudge Morgan now that gaue the sentence against hir, shortlie after fell mad, and in his rauing cried continuallie to haue the ladie Iane taken awaie from him, and so ended his life. ¶ Touching this ladie Iane in the high commendation of hir godlie mind, I find this report in maister Foxes appendix to his Acts and Monuments, namelie that being on a time when she was verie yoong at Newhall in Essex at the ladie Maries, was by one ladie Anne Wharton desired to walke, and they passing by the chapell, the ladie Wharton made low curtsie to the popish sacrament hanging on the altar. Which when the ladie Iane saw maruelled why she did so, and asked hir whether the ladie Marie were there or not? Vnto whome the ladie Wharton answered no, but she said that she made hir curtsie to him that made vs all. Why quoth the ladie Iane, how can he be there that made vs all, and the baker made him. This hir answer comming to the ladie Maries eare, she did neuer loue hir after, as is crediblie reported, but esteemed hir as the rest of that christian profession. In further witnesse of which good ladies disposition (both to God and the world) besides the verses of certeine learned men extant to hir praise, these following were found written by hir owne hand with a pin:

John Fox.

Judge Morgan fell mad.

Abr. Fl. ex I. F. Mart.

Non aliena putes homini, quæ obtingere possunt,
Sors hodierna nihi, tunc erit illa tibi.

Iane Dudley.

Deo iuuante, nil nocet liuor malus,
Et non iuuante, nil iuuat labor grauis.
Post tenebras spero videre lucem.

Vpon saturdaie being the seuentéenth of Februarie the duke of Suffolke was arreigned at Westminster, and there condemned to die by his péeres, the earle of Arundell being that daie chiefe iudge. Where some haue written that he should at his last going downe into the countrie make proclamation in his daughters name, that is not so: for whereas he stood by in Leicester, when at his commandement the proclamation was there made against the queenes marriage with the prince of Spaine, &c: master Dauport then maior of that towne said to him: My lord I trust your grace meaneth no hurt to the quéenes maiestie. No saith he maister maior (laieng his

The duke of Suffolke.

his hand on his sword) he that would hir anie hurt, I would this sword were through his hart, for she is the mercifullest prince, as I haue trulie found hir, that euer reigned, in whose defence I am and will be readie to die at hir foot. ¶ On
John Fox. mondaie the nineteenth of Februarie, the lord Cobhams three sonnes and foure other men were brought to Westminster the youngest of the Cobhams, to wit maister Thomas Cobham was condemned with the other foure men, but the other two Cobhams came not to the barre. ¶ On the wednesdaie the one and twentith of Februarie the lord Thomas Greie that had beene taken (as before ye haue heard) in Wales, was brought togither with sir Iames Croft through London to the tower by a number of horssemen.

Vpon the fridaie the three and twentith of Februarie, about nine of the clocke, the duke of Suffolke was brought forth of the tower vnto the scaffold on the tower hill. And in his comming thither, there accompanied him doctor Weston, as his
The duke of Suffolke beheaded. ghostlie father: notwithstanding (as it should seeme) against the will of the said duke. For when the duke went vp the scaffold, the said Weston being on his left hand, pressed to go vp with him. The duke with his hand put him downe againe off the staires, and Weston taking hold of the duke forced him downe likewise. And as they ascended the second time, the duke againe put him downe. Then
Doctor Weston. Weston said, that it was the queenes pleasure he should so doo: wherewith the duke casting his hands abrode, ascended vp the scaffold, and paused a prettie while after, and then he said.

THE DUKE OF SUFFOLKS WORDS TO THE PEOPLE AT THE TIME OF HIS DEATH.

MAISTERS, I haue offended the queene and hir lawes, and thereby am iustlie condemned to die, and am willing to die, desiring all men to be obedient; and I praie God that this my death maie be an example to all men: beseeching you all to beare mee witnesse that I die in the faith of Christ, trusting to be saued by his bloud onelie (and by none other trumperie) the which died for me, and for all them that doo trulie repent, and stedfastlie trust in him. And I doo repent, desiring you all to pray to God for me, that when ye see my breath depart from me, you will praie to God that he maie receiue my soule. And then hee desired all men to forgiue him, saieng that the queene had forgiuen him.

Then maister Weston declared with a lowd voice that the queenes maiestie had forgiuen him. Then diuers of the standers by said with audible voice; Such forgiuenes God send thee, meaning doctor Weston. Then the duke kneeled vpon his knees, and said the psalme Miserere mei Deus, vnto the end, holding vp his hands, and looking vp to heauen. And when he had ended the psalme, he said; In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum. Then he arose and stood vp, and deliuered his cap and scarffe to the executioner, and therewith the executioner kneeled downe: and asked the duke forgiuenesse, and the duke said God forgiue thee, and I doo: and when thou doost thine office, I praie thee doo it quicklie, and God haue mercy to thee. Then stood there a man and said, My lord, how shall I doo for the monie that you doo owe me? And the duke said, Alas good fellow, I praie thee trouble me not now, but go thy waie to my officers. Then he knit a kercher about his face, and kneeled downe and said, Our father which art in heauen, &c. vnto the end: and then he said, Christ haue mercie upon me, and laid

downe

downe his head on the blocke: and the executioner tooke the axe, and at the first chop stroke off his head, and held it vp to the people, according to the common custome of execution.

Such was the end of this duke of Suffolke, a man of high nobilitie by birth, and of nature to his friend gentle and courteous, more easie in déed to be led than was thought expedient, of stomach neuerthelesse stout and hardie, hastie and soone kindled, but pacified streight againe, and sorie if in his heat ought had passed him otherwise than reason might séeme to beare, vpright and plaine in his priuate dealings, no dissembler, nor well able to beare iniuries, but yet forgiuing and forgetting the same, if the partie would séeme but to acknowlege his fault, and seeke reconcilement. Bountifull he was and verie liberall, somwhat learned himselfe, and a great fauourer of those that were learned, so that to manie he shewed himselfe a verie Mecœnas: as frée from couetousnesse, as void of pride and disdainefull hautinesse of mind, more regarding plaine meaning men, than clawbacke flatterers. And this vertue he had, he could patientlie heare his faults told him, by those whome he had in credit for their wisdome and faithfull meaning toward him, although sometime he had the hap to reforme himselfe thereafter. Concerning his last offense for the which he died, it is to be supposed, he rather tooke in hand that vnlawfull enterprise through others persuasions, than of his owne motion for any malicious ambition in himselfe.

The duke of Suffolke described.

Great pitie that so manie good gifts concurring should suffer disgrace.

But now to let this duke rest with God, we will procéed with the storie. The same daie (or as some haue noted the day before) a number of prisoners had their pardon, and came through the citie with their halters about their necks. They were in * number aboue two hundred. Vpon the saturdaie, the eight and twentith of Februarie, sir William Sentlow was committed as prisoner to the maister of the horsse to be kept. This sir William was at this time one of the ladie Elizabeths gentlemen. Vpon the sundaie being the fiue and twentith of Februarie, sir Iohn Rogers was committed to the tower. Vpon the tuesdaie in the same weeke being the seuen and twentith of Februarie, certeine gentlemen of Kent were sent into Kent to be executed there. Their names were these: the two Mantels, two Kneuets, and Bret: with these maister Rudston also, and certeine other were condemned, and should haue beene executed, but they had their pardon.

* The number of them that thus had their pardon were 240.

Gentlemen sent into Kent to be executed.

Sir Henrie Isleie knight, Thomas Isleie his brother, and Walter Mantell, suffered at Maidston, where Wiat first displaied his banner. Anthonie Kneuet and his brother William Kneuet, with an other of the Mantels, were executed at Seuenocke: Bret at Rochester was hanged in chains. On saturdaie the third of March, sir Gawen Carew, and maister Gibs were brought thorough London to the tower, with a companie of horssemen. The fifteenth daie of March next following, the ladie Elizabeth the queenes sister, and next heire to the crowne, was apprehended at hir manour of Ashridge, for suspicion of Wiats conspiracie. And from thence (being that time verie sicke) with great rigour brought prisoner to London. On the sundaie after being the seuentéenth of March, she was commited to the tower, where also the lord Courtneie earle of Deuonshire (of whome before is made mention) was for the like suspicion committed prisoner.

Execution.

Ladie Elizabeth and lord Courtneie prisoners in the tower.

¶ Touching the imprisonment of the foresaid ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, thou shalt note here for thy learning (good reader) a politike point of practise in Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, not vnworthie to be considered. This Gardiner being alwaies a capitall enimie to ladie Elizabeth, and thinking now by the occasion of maister Wiat to picke out some matter against the lord Courtneie, and so in the end to intangle the ladie Elizabeth, deuised a pestilent practise of conueiance, as in the storie here following maie appeare. The storie is this. The same daie that sir Thomas died, he desired the lieutenant to bring him to the presence of the lord Courtneie, who there before the lieutenants and the shiriffes, kneeling downe vpon

Abr. Fl. ex Ioh. Foxi martyrologio.

A point of practise of Stephan Gardiner against the ladie Elizabeth.

vpon his knées, besought the lord Courtneie to forgiue him, for that he had falselie accused both the ladie Elizabeth and him: and so being brought from thence vnto the Scaffold to suffer, there openlie in the hearing of all the people cleared the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, to be free and innocent from all suspicion of that commotion. At which confession, doctor Weston there standing by, cried to the people, saieng: Beléeue him not (good people) for he confessed otherwise before vnto the councell.

Doctor Weston against the ladie Elizabeth.

After the execution doone of sir Thomas Wiat, which was the eleuenth daie of Aprill, word was brought immediatlie to the lord maior sir Thomas White a little before dinner, how maister Wiat had cleared the ladie Elizabeth and lord Courtneie, and the words also which doctor Weston spake vnto the people. Whereunto the lord maior answering; Is this true quoth he? Said Weston so? In sooth I neuer tooke him otherwise but for a knaue. Vpon this the lord maior sitting downe to dinner (who dined the same daie at the Bridgehouse) commeth in sir Martine Bowes with the recorder, newlie come from the parlement house, who hearing of the maior and shiriffes this report of Wiats confession, both vpon the scaffold and also in the tower, maruelled thereat, declaring how there was another tale contrarie to this, told the same daie in the parlement house, which was, that sir Thomas Wiat should desire the lord Courtneie to confesse the truth, so as he had doone before.

The lord maiors iudgment of D. Weston.

Vpon this it followed not long after, that a certeine prentise dwelling in saint Laurence lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with one Denham a plaisterer being one of quéene Maries seruants, amongst other talke, made mention how sir Thomas Wiat had cleared the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, to be no consenters to his rising. Which words being brought to Gardiner (by what means I know not) incontinent vpon the same, sir Andrew Iud was sent by the said bishop to the lord maior, commanding him to bring the said prentise to the Starchamber, which was accused of these words, that he should saie that Wiat was constreined by the councell to accuse the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie. Which fellow when he was come to the Starchamber, the aforesaid Gardiner letting passe other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole multitude, how miraculouslie almightie God had brought the quéens maiestie to the crowne, the whole realme in a maner being against hir, and that he had brought this to passe for this singular intent and purpose, that this realme being ouerwhelmed with heresies, she might reduce the same againe to the true catholike faith. And where she tooke the ladie Elizabeth into hir fauour, and loued hir so tenderlie, and also the lord Courtneie, who of long time had béene deteined in prison, and by hir was set at libertie, and receiued great benefits at hir hands; and notwithstanding all this, they had conspired most vnnaturallie and traitorouslie against hir with that heinous traitor Wiat, as by the confession of Wiat (said he) and the letters sent to and fro maie plainlie appeare: yet there was some in the citie of London, which reported that Wiat was constreined by the councell to accuse the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, and yet you my lord maior (quoth he) haue not seene the same punished.

Cut prentise in London brought before Stephan Gardiner.

Stephan Gardiners tale in the Starchamber against the ladie Elizabeth.

The partie is here, said the lord maior. Take him with you (said Gardiner) and punish him according to his desert, and said further: My lord, take héed to your charge, the citie of London is a whirlepoole and a sinke of all euill rumors, there they be bred, and from thence spred into all parts of this realme. There stood by the same time the lord Shandois, who being then lieutenant of the tower, and now hearing the bishop thus speake, to sooth his tale, came in with these words as followeth: My lords (quoth he) this is a truth that I shall tell you, I being lieutenant of the tower when Wiat suffered, he desired me to bring him to the lord Courtneie; which when I had doone, he fell downe vpon his knees

The Lord Shandois false report in the Starchamber against the ladie Elizabeth and lord Courtneie.

knees before him in my presence, and desired him to confesse the truth of himselfe, as he had doone before, and to submit himselfe vnto the quéenes mercie. And thus much of this matter I thought to declare, to the intent that the reader perceiuing the procéedings of the bishop in the premisses, and comparing the same with the true testimonie of Wiat himselfe, and with the testimonie of the shiriffes, the which were present the same time when sir Thomas Wiat asked the lord Courtneie forgiuenesse, maie the better iudge of the whole case and matter for the which the ladie Elizabeth and the lord Courtneie were so long in trouble.]

On saturdaie next following being Easter euen, and the foure and twentith of March, the lord marques of Northampton, the lord Cobham, and sir William Cobham his sonne and heire, were deliuered out of the tower, where they had remained for a time, being committed thither vpon some suspicion about Wiats rebellion: as diuerse others were, wherof manie were put to death, as C. O. reporteth:

Nunc istos læsæ nunc illos quæstio torquet
Maiestatis, habet multos custodia clausos
Firma viros, atro pars plurima deditur Orco.

Not long after, quéene Marie partlie offended with the Londoners, as fauorers of Wiats conspiracie, and partlie perceiuing the more part of them nothing inclined towards hir procéedings in religion, which turned manie of them to losse, summoned a parlement to be holden at Oxford, as it were to gratifie that citie, which with the vniuersitie, towne, and countrie, had shewed themselues verie forward in hir seruice; but speciallie in restoring of the religion called catholike: for which appointed parlement there to be holden, great prouision was made, as well by the quéens officers, as by the townesmen and inhabitants of the countrie round about. But the quéens mind in short space changed, and the same parlement was holden at Westminster in Aprill next following, wherein the queene proponed two speciall matters, the one for the mariage to be had betweene hir and the prince Philip of Spaine: the other, for the restoring againe of the popes power and iurisdiction in England. As touching hir mariage, it was with no great difficultie agréed vpon; but the other request could not be easilie obteined.

A parlement summoned at Oxford but not holden.

Howbeit, it was to be wished, euen to the disappointing of that mariage (if God in counsell had so prouided) that the whole bodie of the parlement had beene semblablie affected, as it is said, that all the nations of the world were, when the sunne would néeds be maried. Against which purpose of the sun the people of all regions assembling, humblie besought Iupiter to cast in a bloeke and impediment against that wedding. But Iupiter demanding of them why they would not haue the sun maried; one stepping vp made answer for the rest, and said: Thou knowest well enough Iupiter that there is but one sun, and yet he burneth vs all: who, if he be maried and haue children, as the number of suns must néeds increase; so must their heat and feruentnesse be multiplied, whereby a generall destruction of all things in their kind will insue. Herevpon that match was ouerthrowne. But God aboue ruling by prouidence all things here beneath, had purposed this coniunction; so that it was not in the power of man to withstand or interrupt it: howbeit it was his pleasure (to what end himselfe best knoweth) to curse it with barrennesse, as he did the queene hir selfe with a short and vnpeaceable reigne (full of sedition and bloudshed) as our English poet noteth:

All nations in the world against the mariage of the sun, and why.

Quæ post Eduardi mortem conuersio rerum,
Transtulit in varias alieno, pectore partes
Brutigenas, fauet hic externis, ille perosus
Mystarum rabiem, tantis obstacula quærit
Opportuna malis: cùm iam proh dedecus ingens,
Seditio exoritur, regnorum pessima pestis.

Iohn Stow. A cat hanged in cheape.

¶ On the eight of Aprill, then being sundaie, a cat with hir head shorne, and the likenesse of a vestment cast ouer hir, with hir fore feet tied togither, and a round peece of paper like a singing cake betwixt them, was hanged on a gallows in Cheape, neere to the crosse, in the parish of saint Matthew: which cat being taken downe, was caried to the bishop of London, and he caused the same to be shewed at Pauls crosse by the preacher doctor Pendleton.]

The bishops Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridleie sent to Oxford.

On the tenth daie of Aprill following, Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, Nicholas Ridleie bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer once bishop of Worcester, who had beene long prisoners in the tower, were now conueied from thence, and caried to Windsore, and afterward to the vniuersitie of Oxford, there to dispute with the diuines and learned men of the contrarie opinion. Two daies after their comming to Oxford, which was the twelfe daie of the said moneth, diuerse learned men of both the vniuersities were sent in commission from the conuocation (which during this parlement was kept in Pauls church in London) to dispute with those prisoners in certeine articles of religion. The names of them that were in commission were these following. Of Oxford, doctor Weston prolocutor, Cole, Chadseie, Pie, Harpesfield, Smith. Of Cambridge, Yoong, Seton, Watson, Atkinson, Pheknam, Sedgewike. The thirteenth daie of Aprill these disputers assembled themselues in saint Maries church, to conuent the three persons aboue named vpon certeine articles of religion, who being brought out of prison before them, were seuerallie one after another examined of their opinions, vpon the articles proposed vnto them, whereof ye maie read in the booke of monuments of the church more at large, and there find the whole proceeding in that matter.

Commissioners.

Io. Fox in acts and monuments.

Sir Thomas Wiat arreigned.

Sir Thomas Wiat (of whome mention is made before) was about this time brought from the tower to Westminster, and there arreigned of high treason: the earle of Sussex, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, with others being his iudges. The effect of whose indictment among other things speciallie was; that he the fourteenth daie of Februarie last before, with force of armed multitude and ensignes displaied, had at Brainford raised open warres against our souereigne ladie the queene, traitorouslie pretending and practising to depriue hir of hir crowne and dignitie; and the question was demanded of him, whether he was guiltie or no? Whereat he staied, and besought the iudges that he might first aske a question, before he answered directlie to the point, and he was licenced so to doo. The question was, that if he should confesse himselfe guiltie, whether the same should not be preiudiciall vnto him, so as he by that confession should be barred from vttering such things as he had more to say? Wherevnto it was answered by the court; Maister Wiat (said they) ye shall haue both leaue and leasure to saie what you can.

The effect of Wiats indictment.

Wiat answereth not directlie to the question guiltie or vnguiltie.

Then my lords (quoth he) I must confesse my selfe guiltie, and in the end the truth of my case must inforce me. I must acknowledge this to be a iust plague for my sins, which most greeuouslie I therefore haue committed against God, who suffered me thus brutishslie and beastlie to fall into this horrible offense of the law. Wherefore all you lords and gentlemen, with other here present, note well my words, lo here and see in me the same end which all other commonlie had, which haue attempted the like enterprise from the beginning. For peruse the chronicles through, and you shall see that neuer rebellion attempted by subiects against their prince and countrie, from the beginning did euer prosper, or had euer better successe, except the case of king Henrie the fourth: who although he became a prince, yet in his act was but a rebell, for so must I call him: and though he preuailed for a time, yet was it not long but that his heires were depriued, and those that had right againe restored to the kingdome and crowne, and the vsurpation so sharplie reuenged afterward in his bloud, as it well appeared, that the long delaie of Gods vengeance

A rebels report touching rebellion.

vengeance was supplied with more greeuous plagues in the third and fourth generation. For the loue of God all you gentlemen that be here present, remember and be taught as well by examples past, as also by this my present infelicitie and most wretched case. Oh most miserable, mischiefous, brutish and bestlie furious imaginations of mine! I was persuaded that by the mariage of the prince of Spaine, the second person of this realme, and next heire to the crowne, should haue béene in danger; and that I being a free borne man, should with my countrie haue beene brought into the bondage and seruitude of aliens and strangers. Which brutish beastlie opinion then seemed to me reason, and wrought in me such effects, that it led me headlong into the practise of this detestable crime of treason. Wiats exhortation to loialtie by his owne example.

But now being better persuaded, and vnderstanding the great commoditie and honor which the realme should receiue by this marriage: I stand firme and fast in this opinion, that if it should please the queene to be mercifull vnto me, there is no subiect in this land that should more trulie and faithfullie serue hir highnes than I shall; nor no sooner die at hir graces féet in defense of hir quarrell. I serued hir highnesse against the duke of Northumberland, as my lord of Arundell can witnesse. My grandfather serued most truelie hir graces grandfather, and for his sake was set vpon the racke in the tower. My father also serued king Henrie the eight to his good contentation, and I also serued him, and king Edward his son. And in witnesse of my bloud spent in his seruice, I carrie a name. I alledge not all this to set foorth my seruice by waie of merit, which I confesse but dutie: but to declare to the whole world, that by abusing my wits, in pursuing my misaduised opinion, I haue not onelie ouerthrowne my house, and defaced all the well dooings of me and my ancestors (if euer there were anie) but also haue béene the cause of mine owne death and destruction. Neither doo I alledge this to iustifie my selfe in anie point, neither for an excuse of mine offense: but most humblie submit my selfe to the queenes maiesties mercie and pitie, desiring you my lord of Sussex, and you maister Hastings, with all the rest of this honorable bench, to be meanes to the quéenes highnesse for hir mercie, which is the greatest treasure that maie be giuen to anie prince from God, such a vertue as God hath appropriate to himselfe. Which if hir highnesse vouchsafe to extend vnto me, she shall bestow it on him, who shall be most glad to serue truelie, and not refuse to die in hir quarrell. For I protest before the iudge of all iudges, I neuer meant hurt against hir highnesse person. Wiat altereth his mind touching the queenes marriage. The fruits of rebellion by Wiats confession.

Then said the quéenes attorneie: Maister Wiat you haue great cause to be sorie, and repent for your fault, whereby you haue not onelie vndoone your selfe and your house, but also a number of other gentlemen, who being true men might haue serued their prince and countrie: yet if you had gone no further, it might haue beene borne withall the better. But being not so contented to staie your selfe, you haue so procured the duke of Suffolke (a man soone trained to your purpose) and his two brethren also: by meanes whereof without the quéenes greater mercie, you haue ouerthrowne that noble house. And yet not so staied, your attempt hath reached as far as in you laie to the second person of the realme, in whom next to the quéenes highnesse resteth all our hope and comfort, wherby hir honor is brought in question, and what danger will folow, and to what end it will come God knoweth; of all this you are the author. Wiat answered; As I will not in anie thing iustifie my selfe, so I beseech you, I being in this wretched estate, not to ouercharge me, nor to make me séeme to be that I am not. I am loth to touch anie person by name; but that I haue written I haue written. Then said the iudge, Maister Wiat, maister attornie hath well mooued you to repent your offenses, and we for our parts wish you the same. The quéenes attorneie speaketh to Wiat. Wiats answer to the quéenes attornie. The iudge speaketh.

Then

Sir Edward Hastings speech to Wiat.

Then said sir Edward Hastings maister of the quéens horsse; Maister Wiat, doo ye remember when I and maister Cornwallis were sent vnto you from the quéenes highnesse, to demand the cause of your enterprise, and what you required? Were not these your demands, that the quéenes grace should go to the tower, and there remaine; and you to haue the rule of the tower and hir person, with the treasure in kéeping, and such of hir councell as you would require to be deliuered into your hands, saieng that you would be trusted and not trust? Which words when Wiat had confessed, then said the quéenes solicitor; Your presumption was ouer great, and your attempt in this case hath purchased you perpetuall infamie, and shall be called Wiats rebellion, as Wat Tilers was called Wat Tilers rebellion. Then said

Maister Cordall late maister of the rolles speaketh.

the attornie; Maister Wiat, were you not priuie to a deuise whereby the quéene should haue béene murthered in a place where she should walke? I do not burthen you to confesse this, for thus much I must saie on your behalfe, that you misliked that deuise? That deuise (said Wiat) was the deuise of William Thomas, whome euer after I abhorred for that cause.

William Thomas meant to murther quéene Marie.

Then was a letter shewed, which Wiat being in Southworke had written to the duke of Suffolke, that he should méet him at Kingstone bridge, and from thense to accompanie him to London although he came with the fewer number. Wiat at the first did not séeme to remember anie such letter, but when it was shewed him, he confessed his hand. Then was it demanded of him among other things, whie he refused the queenes pardon when it was offered him. My lords (quoth he) I confesse my fault and offense to be most vile and heinous, for the which first

Wiats confession.

I aske God mercie, without the which I cannot challenge anie thing, such is my offense alreadie committed. And therefore I beséech you to trouble me with no more questions, for I haue deliuered all things vnto hir grace in writing. And finallie here I must confesse, that of all the voiages wherein I haue serued, this was the most desperat and painfull iorneie that euer I made. And where you asked

Wiat is sorie that he refused the quéens pardon when it was offered.

whie I receiued the quéenes pardon when it was offered vnto me; Oh vnhappie man! What shall I saie? When I was entred into this deuellish and desperat aduenture, there was no waie but wade through with that I had taken in hand: for I had thought that other had béene as farre forward as my selfe, which I found farre otherwise. So that being bent to keepe promise with all my confederats, none kept promise with me; for I like a moile went through thicke and thin with this determination, that if I should come to anie treatie, I should séeme to bewraie all my friends.

But whereto should I spend anie more words? I yéeld my selfe wholie vnto the quéenes mercie, knowing well that it is onelie in hir power to make me (as I haue deserued) an open example to the world with Wat Tiler; or else to make me participant of that pitie which she hath extended in as great crimes as mine; most humblie beséeching you all to be means for me to hir highnesse for mercie, which is my last and onelie refuge. The will of God be doone on me. Vpon this confession without further triall, he receiued the iudgement accustomed in cases of treason, which was to be hanged, drawne and quartered. And the eleuenth of Aprill next folowing he was brought to the tower hill, and there was pardoned of his

The execution of sir Thomas Wiat.

drawing and hanging, but had his head stricken off, and his bodie cut in foure quarters, and set vp in diuerse places about the citie, but his head was set vppon the gallows at Haie hill beside Hide parke.

Now here by the waie is to be noted, that he being on the scaffold readie to suffer, declared that the ladie Elizabeth and sir Edward Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, whome he had accused before (as it séemed) were neuer priuie to his doings, as farre as he knew, or was able to charge them. And when doctor Weston, being then his confessor told him that he had confessed the contrarie vnto the councell

cell, he answered thus; That I said then, I said, but that which I saie now is true. This was the end of Wiat and his conspiracie; as also the like hath béene of others attempting anie rebellion. For as their enterprise being, according to the proper qualitie thereof, considered, is flat against Gods ordinance, who hath ordeined maiestracie to be reuerenced of inferiors: so it is vnlikelie to bring other than infortunatnesse, and shamefull ouerthrowes vnto the attempters; in whome although will want not to compasse anie worke; yet force failing, they misse the marke, and all bicause rashnesse giueth them a false aime. Wherefore to conclude this tragicall discourse of Wiat, it were to be wished that the sage and safe councell of Cato were put in common practise of all men, which is, to vndertake and doo nothing aboue their strength:

Quod potes, id tentes, operis ne pondere pressus,
Succumbat labor, & frustra tentata relinquas.

The seuenth daie of Aprill next following, sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight was brought from the tower to Guildhall in London, and there arreigned of high treason, as adherent and principall councellor to the said Wiat and the duke of Suffolke, and the rest in the fore remembred conspiracie against the quéene. But he so stoutlie, and therwithall so cunninglie answered for himselfe, as well in cleering of his cause, as also in defending and auoiding such points of the lawes of the realme, as were there alleaged against him, that the quest which passed vpon his life and death found him not guiltie. With which verdict the iudges and councellors there present were so much offended, that they bound the iurie in the summe of fiue hundred pounds a pécce, to appear before the councell in the Starchamber, at a daie appointed. And according to their bond, they appeared there before the said councell upon Wednesdaie, being the one and twentith of Aprill, and saint Marks daie; from whense after certeine questioning, they were committed to prison, Emanuell Lucar and master Whetston to the tower, and the other to the Fléet.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton arreigned of high treason cléereth himselfe.

But now forsomuch as a copie of the order of sir Nicholas Throckmortons arreignement hath come to my hands, and that the same maie giue some light to the historie of that dangerous rebellion, I haue thought it not impertinent to insert the same: not wishing that it should be offensiue to anie, sith it is in euery mans libertie to weie his words vttered in his owne defense, and likewise the dooings of the quest in acquitting him, as maie séeme good to their discretions, sith I haue deliuered the same as I haue found it, without preiudicing anie mans opinion, to thinke thereof otherwise than as the cause maie moue him.

THE ORDER OF ARREIGNEMENT OF SIR EDWARD THROCKMORTON, KNIGHT, IN THE GUILDHALL OF LONDON, *THE SEUENTEENTH DAIE OF APRILL 1554.* EXPRESSED IN A DIALOG FOR THE BETTER VNDERSTANDING OF EUERY MANS PART.

SIR Thomas White knight lord maior of London, the earle of Shrewesburie, the earle of Derbie, Sir Thomas Bromleie knight lord chiefe iustice of England, sir Nicholas Hare knight master of the rolles, sir Edward Englefield knight master of the court of wards and liberties, sir Richard Southwell knight one of the priuie councell, sir Edward Walgraue knight one of the priuie councell, sir Roger Cholmeleie knight, sir William Portman knight one of the iustices of the kings bench, sir Edward

The names of the commissioners.

Edward Sanders knight one of the iustices of the common plees; master Stanford and master Dier sergeants, master Edward Griffin attournie generall, master Sendall and Peter Tichbourne clearks of the crowne, first, after proclamation made, and the commission read, the lieutenant of the tower, master Thomas Bridges, brought the prisoner to the barre: then silence was commanded, and Sendall said to the prisoner as followeth.

The quéenes learned counsell gaue euidence against the prisoner.

Senhall. Nicholas Throckmorton knight hold vp thy hand, thou art before this time indicted of high treason, &c: that thou then and there didst falselie and traitorouslie, &c: conspire and imagine the death of the quéenes maiestie, &c: and falselie and traitorouslie diddest leuie warre against the quéene within hir realme, &c: and also thou wast adherent to the quéens enimies within hir realme, giuing to them aid and comfort, &c: and also falselie and traitorouslie diddest conspire and intend to depose and depriue the quéenne of hir roiall estate, and so finallie destroie hir, &c: and also thou diddest falselie and traitorouslie deuise and conclude to take violentlie the tower of London, &c. Of all which treasons and euerie of them in manner and forme &c: art thou guiltie or not guiltie?

Throckmorton. Maie it please you my lords and maisters, which be authorised by the queenes commission to be iudges this daie, to giue me leaue to speake a few words, which dooth both concerne you and me, before I answer to the indictment, and not altogither impertinent to the matter, and then plead to the indictment.

Bromleie. No, the order is not so, you must first plead whether you be guiltie or no.

Throckmorton. If that be your order and law, iudge accordinglie to it.

Hare. You must first answer to the matter wherewith you are charged, and then you maie talke at your pleasure.

Throckmorton. But things spoken out of place, were as good not spoken.

Bromleie These be but delaies to spend time, therefore answer as the law willeth you.

Throckmorton, My lords I praie you make not too much hast with me, neither thinke not long for your dinner, for my case requireth leasure, and you haue well dined when you haue doone iustice trulie. Christ said, Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for righteousnesse.

Bromleie. I can forbeare my dinner as well as you, and care as little as you peraduenture.

Shrewesburie. Come you hither to checke vs Throckmorton? We will not be so vsed, no no, I for mine owne part haue forborne my breakefast, dinner, and supper to serue the

Throckmorton. queene.

Yea my good lord I know it right well, I meant not to touch your lordship, for

Southwell. your seruice and pains is euidentlie knowne to all men.

Master Throckmorton, this talke néedeth not, we know what we haue to doo, and

Throckmorton: you would teach vs our duties, you hurt your matter: go to, go to.

Master Southwell, you mistake me, I meant not to teach you, nor none of you, but to remember you of that I trust you all be well instructed in; and so I satisfie, my selfe, sith I shall not speake, thinking you all know what you haue to doo, or ought to know: so I will answer to the indictement, and doo plead not guiltie to

Sendall. the whole, and to euerie part thereof.

Throckmorton. How wilt thou be tried?

Bromleie. Shall I be tried as I would, or as I should?

You shall be tried as the law will, and therefore you must saie by God and by

Throckmorton. the countrie.

Is that your law for me? It is not as I would, but sith you will haue it so, I am pleased with it, and doo desire to be tried by faithfull iust men, which more feare God than the world.

The

THE NAMES OF THE IURORS.

Lucar.	Low.
Yoong.	Whetston.
Martin.	Painter.
Beswike.	Banks.
Barscarfeld.	Calthrop.
Kightleie.	Cater.

Then the iurie was called.

What time the atturnie went foorthwith to master Cholmeleie, and shewed him the shiriffes returne, who being acquainted with the citizens, knowing the corruptions and dexterities of them in such cases, noted certeine to be challenged for the quéene (a rare case) and the same men being knowne to be sufficient and indifferent, that no exceptions were to be taken to them, but onelie for their vpright honesties: notwithstanding, the atturnie prompting sergeant Dier, the said sergeant challenged one Bacon, and an other citizen peremptorilie for the quéene. Then the prisoner demanded the cause of the chalenge? The sergeant answered; we néed not to shew you the cause of the chalenge for the queene. Then the inquest was furnished with other honest men, that is to saie, Whetston and Lucar, so the prisoner vsed these words.

I trust you haue not prouided for me this daie, as in times past I knew an other gentleman occupieng this wofull place was prouided for. It chanced one of the iustices vpon gelousie of the prisoners acquitall, for the goodnesse of his cause, said to an other of his companions a iustice, when the iurie did appeare; I like not this iurie for our purpose, they séeme to be too pitifull and too charitable to condemne the prisoner. No no, said the other iudge (to wit Cholmeleie) I warrant you, they be picked fellowes for the nonce, he shall drinke of the same cup his fellowes haue doone. I was then a looker on of the pageant as others be now here: but now wo is me, I am a plaier in that wofull tragedie. Well, for these and such other like the blacke ore hath of late troden on some of their féet: but my trust is, I shall not be so vsed. Whilest this talke was, Cholmeleie consulted with the atturnie, about the iurie, which the prisoner espied, and then said as here insueth; Ah ah master Cholmeleie, will this foule packing neuer be left? Throckmorton.

Whie what do I, I praie you M. Throckmorton? I did nothing I am sure, you doo picke quarrels to me. Cholmleie.

Well maister Cholmeleie if you doo well, it is better for you, God helpe you. Throckmorton.

[The iurie then was sworne, and proclamation made, that whosoeuer would giue euidence against sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, should come in and be heard, for the prisoner stood vpon his deliuerance, wherevpon sergeant Stanford presented himselfe to speake.]

And it may please you master sergeant and the others my masters of the quéenes learned councell, like as I was minded to haue said a few words to the commissioners if I might haue had leaue for their better remembrance of their duties in this place of iustice, and concerning direct indifferencie to be vsed towards me this daie: so by your patience I doo thinke good to saie somewhat to you, and to the rest of the quéenes learned councell, appointed to giue euidence against me. And albeit you and the rest by order be appointed to giue euidence against me, and interteined to set foorth the depositions and matter against me; yet I praie you remember I am not alienate from you, but that I am your christian brother; neither you so charged, but you ought to consider equitie; nor yet so priuileged, but that you haue a dutie of God appointed you how you shall doo your office; which if you excéed, will be gréeuouslie required at your hands. It is lawfull for you to vse your gifts which I know God hath largelie giuen you, as your learning, art, Throckmorton.

and eloquence, so as thereby you doo not seduce the minds of the simple and vnlearned iurie, to credit matters otherwise than they be. For master sergeant, I know how by persuasions, inforcements, presumptions, applieng, implieng, inferring, coniecturing, deducing of arguments, wresting and exceeding the law, the circumstances, the depositions and confessions that vnlearned men may be inchanted to thinke and iudge those that be things indifferent, or at the woorst but ouersights to be great treasons; such power orators haue, and such ignorance the vnlearned haue. Almightie God by the mouth of his prophet dooth conclude such aduocates be cursed, speaking these words: Cursed be he that dooth his office craftilie, corruptlie, and maliciouslie. And consider also, that my bloud shall be required at your hands, and punished in you and yours, to the third and fourth generation. Notwithstanding, you and the iustices excuse alwaies such erronious dooings, when they be after called in question by the verdict of the twelve men: but I assure you, the purgation serueth you as it did Pilat, and you wash your hands of the bloudshed, as Pilat did of Christs. And now to your matter.

Stanford. And it please you my lords, I doubt not to proone euidentlie and manifestlie, that Throckmorton is worthilie and rightlie indicted and arreigned of these treasons, and that he was a principall deuiser, procurer, and contriuer of the late rebellion: and that Wiat was but his minister. Now saie you Throckmorton, did not you send Winter to Wiat into Kent, and did deuise that the tower of London should be taken, with other instructions concerning Wiats sturre and rebellion?

Throckmorton. Maie it please you that I shall answer particularlie to the matters obiected against me, inasmuch as my memorie is not good, and the same much decaied since my greeuous imprisonment, with want of sleepe, and other disquietnesse: I confesse I did saie to Winter that Wiat was desirous to speake with him, as I vnderstood.

Stanford. Yea sir, and you deuised togither of the taking of the tower of London, and of the other great treasons.

Throckmorton. No, I did not so, proone it.

Stanford. Yes sir, you met with Winter sundrie times as shall appeare, and in sundrie places.

Throckmorton. That granted, proueth no such matter as is supposed in the indictment.

Winters confession read by Stanford. Stanford read Winters confession, which was of this effect, that Throckmorton met with Winter one daie in tower street, and told him, that sir Thomas Wiat was desirous to speake with him, and Winter demanded where Wiat was, Throckmorton answered at his house in Kent, not farre from Gillingham, as I heard saie, where the ships lie. Then they parted at that time, and shortlie after, Throckmorton met with Winter, vnto whome Winter said; Master Wiat dooth much mislike the comming of the Spaniards into this realme, and feareth their short arriuall heere, in as much as dailie he heareth thereof, dooth see dailie diuerse of them arriue here, scattered like souldiors; and therefore he thinketh good the tower of London should be taken by a sleight, before the prince came, least that peece be deliuered to the Spaniards. How saie you Throckmorton to it? Throckmorton answered; I mislike it for diuerse respects. Euen so doo I said Winter. At another time Throckmorton met me the said Winter in Paules, when he had sent one to my house, to seeke me before, and he said to me; You are admerall of the fleet that now goeth into Spaine. I answered Yea. Throckmorton said, When will your ships be redie? I said within ten daies. Throckmorton said, I vnderstand you are appointed to conduct and carrie the lord priuie seale into Spaine, and considering the danger of the Frenchmen, which you saie

arme

arme them to the sea apace, me thinke it well doone, you put my said lord and his traine on land in the west countrie to auoid all dangers. Throckmorton said also, that Wiat changed his purpose for taking the tower of London. I said I was glad of it, and as for the Frenchmen, I care not much for them, I will so handle the matter, that the quéenes ships shall be (I warrant you) in safegard. Another time I met with master Throckmorton, when I came from the emperours ambassadors, vnto whome I declared, that the emperour had sent me a faire chaine, and shewed it vnto Throckmorton, who said; for this chaine you haue sold your countrie. I said it is neither French king nor emperour that can make me sell my countrie, but I will be a true Englishman. Then they parted. This is the summe of the talke betwixt Throckmorton and Winter.

Now my masters of the iurie, you haue heard my saiengs confirmed with Winters confession. How saie you Throckmorton, can you denie this, if you will, you shall haue Winter iustifie it to your face. Stanford.

My lords, shall it please you that I shall answer. Throckmorton.

Yea, saie your mind. Bromleie.

I may trulie denie some part of this confession, but bicause there is nothing materiall greatlie, I suppose the whole be true, and what is herein deposed, sufficient to bring me within the compasse of the indictment? Throckmorton.

It appeareth that you were of counsell with Wiat, in as much as you sent Winter downe to him, who vttered vnto him diuerse traitorous deuises. Stanford.

This is but coniecturall, yet sith you will construe it so maliciouslie, I will recompt how I sent Winter to Wiat, and then I praie you of the iurie iudge better than master sergeant dooth. I met by chance a seruant of master Wiats who demanded of me for Winter, and shewed me, that his master would gladlie speake with him: and so without anie further declaration, desired me if I met Winter to tell him master Wiats mind, and where he was. Thus much for the sending downe of Winter. Throckmorton.

Yea sir, but how saie you to the taking of the tower of London, which is treason? Attourneie.

I answer, though Wiat thought méet to attempt so dangerous an enterprise, and that Winter informed me of it, you cannot extend Wiats deuises to be mine, and to bring me within the compasse of treason. For what maner of resoning or proofe is this, Wiat would haue taken the tower, Ergo Throckmorton is a traitor; Winter dooth make my purgation in his owne confession, euen now red as it was by master sergeant, though I saie nothing: for Winter dooth auow there, that I did much mislike it. And bicause you shall the better vnderstand that I did alwaies not alow these master Wiats deuises, I had these words to Winter, when he informed me of it; I thinke master Wiat would no Englishman hurt and this enterprise cannot be doone without the hurt and slaughter of both parties. For I know him that hath the charge of the peece, and his brother, both men of good seruice, the one had in charge a péece of great importance, Bullongne I meane, which was stoutlie assailed, and notwithstanding he made a good accompt of it for his time: the like I am sure he will doo by this his charge. Moreouer, to accompt the taking of the tower, is verie dangerous by the law. These were my words to Winter. And besides, it is verie vnlike that I of all men would confederate in such a matter against the lieutenant of the tower, whose daughter my brother hath married, and his house and mine alied togither by mariage sundrie times within these few yeares. Throckmorton.

But how saie you to this, that Wiat and you had conference togither sundrie times at Warners house, and in other places? Hare.

This is a verie generall charge to haue conference, but whie was it not as lawfull Throckmorton.

for me to confer with Wiat as with you, or anie other man? I then knew no more by Wiat, than by anie other. And to prooue, to talke with Wiat was lawfull and indifferent, the last daie that I did talke with Wiat, I saw my lord of Arundell, with other noble men and gentlemen, talke with him familiarlie in the chamber of presence.

Hare. But they did not conspire nor talke of anie sturre against the Spaniards as you did pretend, and meant it against the quéene, for you, Crofts, Rogers, and Warner did oftentimes deuise in Warners house about your traitorous purposes, or else what did you so often there?

Throckmorton. I confesse I did mislike the quéenes mariage with Spaine, and also the comming of the Spaniards hither, and then me thought I had reason to doo so: for I did learne the reasons of my misliking of you master Hare, master Southwell, and others in the parlement house, there I did sée the whole consent of the realme against it; and I a hearer, but no speaker, did learne my misliking of those matters, confirmed by manie sundrie reasons amongst you; but as concerning anie sturre or vprore against the Spaniards, I neuer made anie, neither procured anie to be made; and for my much resort to master Warners house, it was not to conferre with master Wiat, but to shew my fréendship to my verie good lord the marquesse of Northampton, who was lodged there when he was inlarged.

Stanford. Did not you Throckmorton tell Winter that Wiat had changed his mind for the taking of the tower, whereby it appeared euidentlie that you knew of his dooings?

Throckmorton. Trulie I did not tell him so, but I care not greatlie to giue you that wepon to plaie you withall, now let vs see what you can make of it.

Stanford. Yea sir, that prooueth that you were priuie to Wiats mind in all his deuises and treasons, and that there was sending betwixt you and Wiat from time to time.

Throckmorton. What master sergeant? Dooth this prooue against me, that I knew Wiat did repent him of an euil deuised enterprise? Is it to know Wiats repentance sinne? No, it is but a veniall sinne, if it be anie it is not deadlie. But where is the messenger or message that Wiat sent to me touching his alteration, and yet it was lawfull inough for me to heare from Wiat at that time, as from anie other man, for anie act that I knew he had doone.

Dier. And it may please you my lords, and you my masters of the iurie, to prooue that Throckmorton is a principall dooer in this rebellion, there is yet manie other things to be declared: among other, there is Crofts confession, who saith, that he and you, and your complices, did manie times deuise about the whole matters, and hé made you priuie to all his determinations, and you shewed him that you would go into the west countrie with the earle of Deuon, to sir Peter Caroe, accompanied with others.

Throckmorton. Master Crofts is yet liuing, and is heere this daie, how happeneth it he is not brought face to face to iustifie this matter, neither hath beene of all this time? Will you know the truth? Either he said not so, or he will not abide by it, but honestlie hath reformed himselfe. And as for knowing his deuises, I was so well acquainted with them, that I can name none of them, nor you neither as matter knowne to me.

Attourneie. But whie did you aduise Winter to land my lord priuie seale in the west countrie?

Throckmorton. He that told you that my mind was to land him there, dooth p[e]rtlie tell you a reason whie I said so, if you would remember as well the one as the other: but bicause you are so forgetfull, I will recite wherefore. In communication betwixt Winter and me, as he declared to me that the Spaniards prouided to bring their prince hither, so the Frenchmen prepared to interrupt his arriuall: for they began to arme to the sea, and had alreadie certeine ships on the west coast (as he hard.) Vnto whom I said,

that

that peraduenture not onelie the quéenes ships under his charge might be in ieopardie, but also my lord priuie seale, and all his traine; the Frenchmen being well prepared to meet with them, and therefore for all euents it were good you should put my said lord in the west countrie in case you espie anie ieopardie. But what dooth this proone to the treasons, if I were not able to giue conuenient reasons to my talke?

Marie sir now commeth the proofes of your treasons, you shall heare what Cutbert Vaughan saith against you. Stanford.

Then sergeant Stanford did read Vaughans confession, tending to this effect. That Vaughan comming out of Kent, met with Throckmorton at master Warners house, who after he had doone commendations from Wiat to him, desired to know where Crofts was. Throckmorton answered, either at Arundell house where he lodgeth, or in Paules. Then Vaughan desired to know how things went at London, saieng; Master Wiat and we of Kent do much mislike the marriage with Spaine, and the comming of the Spaniards for diuerse respects: howbeit, if other countries mislike them as Kent dooth, they shall be but hardlie welcome, and so they parted. Shortlie after Throckmorton met with Vaughan in Paules, vnto whome Throckmorton declared with sundrie circumstances, that the Westerne men were in a readinesse to come forwards, and that sir Peter Caroe had sent vnto him euen now, and that he had in order a good band of horssemen, and an other of footmen. Then Vaughan demanded what the earle of Deuonshire would doo? Throckmorton answered he will mar all, for he will not go hence, and yet sir Peter Caroe would méet him with a band both of horssemen and footmen, by the waie at Andeuer for his safegard, and also he should haue béene well accompanied from hence with other gentlemen, yet all this will not mooue him to depart hence. Moreouer, the said earle hath (as is said) discouered all the whole matter to the chancellor, or else it is come out by his tailor, about the trimming of a shirt of male, and the making of a cloke. At an other time, Vaughan saith, Throckmorton shewed him that he had sent a post to sir Peter Caroe, to come forward with as much spéed as might be, and to bring his force with him. And also Throckmorton aduised Vaughan to will master Wiat to come forward with his power: for now was the time, in as much as the Londoners would take his part if the matter were presented to them. Vaughan said also, that Throckmorton and Warner should haue ridden with the said earle westward. Moreouer the said Vaughan deposed, that Throckmorton shewed him in talke of the earle of Penbroke, that the said earle would not fight against them, though he would not take their parts. Also Vaughan said, that Throckmorton shewed him that he would ride downe into Barkeshire to sir Francis Englefields house, there to méet his eldest brother, to mooue him to take his part. And this was the sum of Cutbert Vaughans confession. Vaughans confession was read by Stanford.

How saie you? Dooth not here appeare euident matter to proone you a principall, who not onelie gaue order to sir Peter Caroe and his adherents, for their rebellious acts in the west countrie, but also procured Wiat to make his rebellion, appointing him and the others also, when they should attempt their enterprise, and how they should order their dooings from time to time. Besides all this euident matter, you were speciallie appointed to go awaie with the earle of Deuon as one that would direct all things, and giue order to all men. And therefore Throckmorton sith this matter is so manifest, and the euidence so apparant, I would aduise you to confesse your fault, and submit your selfe to the quéenes mercie. Stanford.

How saie you, will you confesse the matter, and it will be best for you? Bromleie.

No, I will neuer accuse my selfe vniustlie, but in as much as I am come hither to be tried, I praie ye let me haue the law fauourablie. Throckmorton.

It is apparant that you laie at London as a factor, to giue intelligence as well to them in the west, as to Wiat in Kent. Attourneie.

How

Throckmorton. How prooue you that, or who dooth accuse me but this condemned man?

Attourneie. Whie will you denie this matter? You shall haue Vaughan iustifie his whole confession here before your face.

Throckmorton. It shall not néed, I know his vnshamfastnesse, he hath aduowed some of this vntrue talke before this time to my face, and it is not otherwise like, considering the price, but he will doo the same againe.

Attourneie. My Lord and masters, you shall haue Vaughan to iustifie this héere before you all, and confirme it with a booke oth.

Throckmorton. He that hath said and lied, will not being in this case sticke to sweare and lie.

¶ Then was Cutbert Vaughan brought into the open court.]

Sendall. How saie you Cutbert Vaughan, is this your owne confession, and will you abide by all that is here written?

Vaughan. Let me sée it and I will tell you.

¶ Then his confession was shewed him.]

Attourneie. Bicause you of the iurie the better may credit him, I praie you my lords let Vaughan be sworne.

¶ Then was Vaughan sworne on a booke to saie nothing but the truth.]

Vaughan. It may please you my lords and masters, I could haue béene well content to haue chose seauen yeares imprisonment, though I had béene a frée man in the law, rather than I would this daie haue giuen euidence against sir Nicholas Throckmorton; against whome I beare no displeasure: but sith I must needs confesse my knowledge, I must confesse all that is there written is true. How saie you master Throckmorton, was there anie displeasure betwéene you and me, to mooue me to saie aught against you?

Throckmorton. None that I know. How saie you Vaughan, what acquaintance was there betwéene you and me, and what leters of credit or token did you bring me from Wiat, or anie other, to mooue me to trust you?

Vaughan. As for acquaintance, I knew you as I did other gentlemen: and as for letters, I brought you none other but commendations from master Wiat, as I did to diuerse other of his acquaintance at London.

Throckmorton. You might as well forge the commendations as the rest: but if you haue doone with Vaughan my lords, I praie you giue me leaue to answer.

Bromleie. Speake and be short.

Throckmorton. I speake generallie to all that be here present, but speciallie to you of my iurie, touching the credit of Vaughans depositions against me, a condemned man, and after to the matter: and note I praie you the circumstances, as somewhat materiall to induce the better. First I praie you remember the small familiaritie betwixt Vaughan and me, as he hath aduowed before you, and moreouer, to procure credit at my hand, brought neither letter nor token from Wiat, nor from anie other to me, which he also hath confessed here: and I will suppose Vaughan to be in as good condition as anie other man here, that is to saie, an vncondemned man: yet I referre it to your good iudgement, whether it were like that I, knowing onelie Vaughans person from an other man, and hauing none other acquaintance with him, would so frankelie discouer my mind to him in so dangerous a matter. How like (I saie) is this, when diuerse of these gentlemen now in captiuitie, being my verie familiars, could not depose anie such matter against me, and neuerthelesse vpon their examinations haue said what they could? And though I be no wise man, I am not so rash as to vtter to an vnknowne man (for so I may call him in comparison) a matter so dangerous for me to speake, and him to heare. But bicause my truth and his falshood shall the better appeare vnto you, I will declare his inconstancie in vttering this his euidence. And for my better credit, it may please

you

you master Southwell, I take you to witnesse, when Vaughan first iustified this his vniust accusation against me before the lord Paget, the lord Chamberleine, you master Southwell, and others, he referred the confirmation of this his surmised matter, to a letter sent from him to sir Thomas Wiat, which letter dooth neither appeare, nor anie testimonie of the said master Wiat against me touching the matter: for I doubt not sir Thomas Wiat hath béen examined of me, and hath said what he could directlie or indirectlie. Also Vaughan saith, that yoong Edward Wiat could confirme this matter, as one that knew this pretended discourse betwixt Vaughan and me, and therevpon I made sute that Edward Wiat might either be brought face to face to me, or otherwise be examined.

Master Throckmorton you mistake your matter, for Vaughan said, that Edward Wiat did know some part of the matter, and also was priuie of the letter that Vaughan sent sir Thomas Wiat. Southwell.

Yea sir, that was Vaughans last shift, when I charged him before the master of the horsse and you, with his former allegations touching his witnesse, whome when he espied would not doo so lewdlie as he thought, then he vsed this alteration. But where be Edward Wiats depositions of anie thing against me? Now it appeareth neither his first nor his last tale to be true. For you know master Bridges, and so dooth my lord your brother, that I desired twice or thrice Edward Wiat should be examined, and I am sure, and most assured he hath béene willed to saie what he could, and here is nothing deposed by him against me, either touching anie letter or other conference. Or where is Vaughans letter sent by sir Thomas Wiat concerning my talke? Throckmorton

But now I will speake of Vaughans present estate in that he is a condemned man, whose testimonie is nothing worth by anie law. And bicause false witnesse is mentioned in the gospell, treating of accusation, hearke I praie you what S. Ierome saith, expounding that place. It is demanded whie Christs accusers be called false witnesses, which did report Christs words not as he spake them. They be false witnesses saith S. Ierome, which doo ad, alter, wrest, double, or doo speake for hope to auoid death, or for malice to procure an other mans death: for all men maie easilie gather, he cannot speake trulie of me, or in the case of another mans life, where he hath hope of his owne by accusation. Thus much speaketh S. Ierome of false witnesse. By the ciuill law there be manie exceptions to be taken against such testimonies: but bicause we be not gouerned by that law, neither haue I my triall by it, it shall be superfluous to trouble you therewith, and therefore you shall heare what your owne law dooth saie. There was a statute made in my late souereinge lord and master his time, touching accusation, and these be the words.

Be it enacted, that no person nor persons, &c: shal be indicted, arreigned, condemned, or conuicted for anie offense of treason, petit treason, misprision of treson, for which the same offendor shall suffer anie pains of death, imprisonment, losse of forfeiture of his goods, lands, &c: vnlesse the same offendor be accused by two sufficient and lawfull witnesses, or shall willinglie without violence confesse the same. And also in the sixt yeare of his reigne, it is thus ratified as insueth.

That no person nor persons shall be indicted, arreigned, condemned, conuicted or attainted of the treasons or offenses aforesaid, or for anie other treasons that now be, or hereafter shall be; vnlesse the same offendor or offendors be therof accused by two lawfull and sufficient accusers, which at the time of the arreignement of the parties so accused (if they be then liuing) shall be brought in person before the said partie accused, and auow and mainteine that they haue to saie against the said partie, to prooue him giltie of the treasons or offense conteined

conteined in the bill of indictment laid against the partie arreigned, vnlesse the said partie arreigned shall be willing without violence to confesse the same. Here note (I praie you) that our law dooth require two lawfull and sufficient accusers to be brought face to face, and Vaughan is but one, and the same most vnlawfull and insufficient. For who can be more vnlawfull and insufficient, than a condemned man, and such one as knoweth to accuse me is the meane to saue his owne life? Remember (I praie you) how long and how manie times Vaughans execution hath béene respited, and how often he hath béene coniured to accuse (which by Gods grace he withstood vntill the last houre) what time perceiuing there was no waie to liue, but to speake against me or some other (his former grace being taken awaie) did redéeme his life most vniustlie and shamefullie, as you sée.

Hare. Why should he accuse you more than anie other, séeing there was no displeasure betwixt you, if the matter had not béene true?

Throckmorton. Bicause he must either speake of some man, or suffer death, and then he did rather choose to hurt him whom he least knew, and so loued least, than anie other well knowen to him, whome he loued most. But to you of my iurie I speake speciallie, and therefore I praie you note what I saie. In a matter of lesse weight than triall of life and land, a man maie by the law take exceptions to such as be impaneled, to trie the controuersies betwixt the parties: as for example. A man maie chalenge that the shiriffe is his enimie, and therefore hath made a pareiall returne; or bicause one of the iurie is the shiriffe my aduersaries seruant: and also in case my aduersaries villen or bondman be impaneled, I may lawfullie chalenge him, bicause the aduersarie part hath power ouer his villens lands and goods, and hath the vse of his bodie for seruile office: much more I may of right take exception to Vaughans testimonie, my life and all that I haue depending thervpon, and the same Vaughan being more bound to the quéenes highnesse my aduersarie (that wo is me therefore) but so the law dooth here so terme hir maiestie, than anie villen is to his lord: for hir highnesse hath not onlie power ouer his bodie, lands, and goods, but ouer his life also.

Stanford. Yea, the exception are to be taken against the iurie, in that case, but not against the witnesse or accuser, and therefore your argument serueth little for you.

Throckmorton. That is not so, for the vse of the iurie, and the witnesse and the effect of their dooings dooth serue me to my purpose, as the law shall discusse. And thus I make my comparison. By the ciuill law the iudge dooth giue sentence vpon the depositions of the witnesse, and by your law the iudge dooth giue iudgement vpon the verdict of the iurie; so as the effect is both one to finish the matter, triall in law, as well by the depositions of the witnesse, as by the iuries verdict, though they varie in forme and circumstance: and so Vaughans testimonie being credited, may be the materiall cause of my condemnation, as the iurie to be induced by his depositions to speake their verdict, and so finallie therevpon the iudge to giue sentence. Therefore I may vse the same exceptions against the iurie, or anie of them, as the principall meane that shall occasion my condemnation.

Bromleie. Why doo you denie, that euerie part of Vaughans tale is vntrue?

Attournie. You may sée he will denie all, and saie there was no such communication betwixt them.

Throckmorton. I confesse some part of Vaughans confession to be true, as the name, the places, the time, and some part of the matter.

Attournie. So you of the iurie may perceiue the prisoner dooth confesse some thing to be true.

Throckmorton. As touching my sending to sir Peter Caroe, or his sending to me, or concerning my

my aduise to maister Wiat to stur or to repaire hither, or touching the earle of Deuonshire parting hence, and my going with him, and also concerning the matter of the erle of Penbroke, I doo aduow and saie that Vaughan hath said vntrulie.

As for my lord of Penbroke, you need not excuse the matter, for he hath shewed himselfe cleere in these matters like a noble man, and that we all know. Southwell.

Why what was the talke betwixt Vaughan and you so long in Paules, if these were not so, and what meant your oft meetings? Hare.

As for our often meetings, they were of no set purpose, but by chance, and yet no oftener than twise. But sithence you would know what communication passed betwixt vs in Paules church, I will declare. We talked of the incommodities of the marriage of the queene with the prince of Spaine, and how grieuous the Spaniards would be to vs here. Vaughan said, that it should be verie dangerous for anie man, that trulie professed the gospell to liue here, such was the Spaniards crueltie, and especiallie against christian men. Wherevnto I answered it was the plague of God iustlie come vpon vs; and now almightie God dealt with vs as he did with the Israelites, taking from them for their vnthankefulnesse their godlie kings, and did send tyrants to reigne ouer them. Euen so he handled vs Englishmen, which had a most godlie and vertuous prince to reigne ouer vs, my late souereigne lord and maister king Edward, vnder whome we might both safelie and lawfullie professe Gods word, which with our lewd dooings, demeanor, and liuing, we handled so irreuerentlie, that to whip vs for our faults he would send vs strangers, yea such verie tyrants to exercise great tyrannie ouer vs, and did take awaie the vertuous and faithfull king from amongst vs: for euerie man of euerie estate did colour his naughtie affections with a pretense of religion, and made the gospell a stalking horsse to bring their euill desires to effect. This was the summe of our talke in Paules somewhat more dilated. Throckmorton.

That it may appéere yet more euidentlie how Throckmorton was a principall dooer and counsellor in this matter, you shall heare his owne confession of his owne hand writing. ¶ The clearke began to read, Throckmorton desired maister Stanford to read it, and the iurie well to marke it. Then maister Stanford did read the prisoners owne confession to this effect: that Throckmorton had conference with Wiat, Caroe, Croftes, Rogers, and Warner, as well of the quéenes marriage with the prince of Spaine, as also of religion, and did particularlie confer with euerie the forenamed, of the matters aforesaid. Moreouer, with sir Thomas Wiat the prisoner talked of the brute that the Westerne men shuld much mislike the comming of the Spaniards into this realme, being reported also that they intended to interrupt their arriuall here. And also that it was said, that they were in consultation about the same at Excester. Wiat also did saie, that sir Peter Caroe could not bring the same matter to good effect, nor that there was any man so meet to bring it to good effect, as the erle of Deuonshire, and speciallie in the west parts, insomuch as they drew not all by one line. Stanford.

Then Throckmorton asked how the Kentishmen were affected to the Spaniards? Wiat said; The people like them euill inough, and that appeered now at the comming of the countie of Egmount, for they were readie to stur against him and his traine, supposing it had bin the prince. But said Wiat, sir Robert Southwel, maister Baker, and maister Moile, and their affinitie, which be in good credit in some places of the shire, will for other malicious respects hinder the libertie of their countrie. Then Throckmorton should saie; Though I know there hath béene an vnkindnesse betwixt maister Southwell and you for a monie matter, wherein I trauelled to make you fréends, I doubt not, but in so honest a matter as this is, he will for the safegard of his countrie ioine with you, and so you may

be sure of the lord Aburgauennie and his force. Then Wiat said, It is for another matter than for monie that we disagree, wherein he hath handled me and others verie doublie, and vnneighborlie; howbeit, he can doo no other, neither to me, nor to anie other man, and therefore I forgiue him. Item, with sir Peter Caroe, Throckmorton had conference touching the impeachment of the landing of the said prince, and touching prouision of armour and munition as insueth, that is to saie, that sir Peter Caroe told Throckmorton that he trusted his countriemen would be true Englishmen, and would not agree to let the Spaniards to gouerne them. Item, the said sir Peter Caroe said, the matter importing the French king, as it did, he thoght the French king would worke to hinder the Spaniards comming hither, with whome the said sir Peter did thinke good to practise for armour, munition, and monie.

Then Throckmorton did aduise him to beware that he brought anie Frenchmen into the realme forceablie, inasmuch as he could as euill abide the Frenchmen after that sort as the Spaniards. And also Throckmorton thought the French king vnable to giue aid to vs, by meanes of the great consumption in their owne warres. Maister Caroe said; As touching the bringing in of the Frenchmen, he meant it not, for he loued neither partie, but to serve his owne countrie, and to helpe his countrie from bondage: declaring further to Throckmorton, that he had a small barke of his owne to worke his practise by, and so he said, that shortlie he intended to depart to his owne countrie, to vnderstand the deuotion of his countrimen. Item Throckmorton did say, he would for his part hinder the coming in of the Spaniards as much as he could by persuasion. Item to sir Edward Warner, he had and did beemone his owne estate, and the tyrannie of the time extended vpon diuerse honest persons for religion, and wished it were lawfull for all of ech religion to liue safelie according to their conscience; for the law (Ex officio) will be intollerable, and the clergies discipline now maie rather be resembled to the Turks tyrannie, than to the teaching of christian religion. ¶ This was the summe of the matter which was read in the foresaid confession, as maters most greeuous against the prisoner.] Then Throckmorton said; Sithence maister sergeant you haue read and gathered the place (as you thinke) that maketh most against me, I praie you take the pains, and read further, that hereafter whatsoeuer become of me, my words be not peruerted and abused to the hurt of some others, and especiallie against the great personages, of whom I haue beene sundrie times (as appeareth by my answers) examined, for I perceiue the net was not cast onelie for little fishes, but for the great ones, Iuxta adagium.

Stanford. It shall be but losse of time, and we haue other things to charge you withall, and this that you desire dooth make nothing for you.

Dier. And for the better confirmation of all the treasons obiected against the prisoner, and therein to prooue him guiltie, you of the iurie shall heare the duke of Suffolks depositions against him, who was a principall, and hath suffered accordinglie. ¶ Then the said sergeant read the dukes confession touching the prisoner, amounting to this effect, that the lord Thomas Greie did informe the said duke, that sir Nicholas Throckmorton was priuie to the whole deuises against the Spaniards, and was one that should go into the west countrie with the earle of Deuonshire.]

Throckmorton. But what dooth the principall author of this matter saie against me, I meane the lord Thomas Greie who is yet liuing? Why be not his depositions brought against me, for so it ought to be, if he can saie anie thing? Will you know the truth? Neither the lord Thomas Greie hath said, can saie, or will saie anie thing against me, notwithstanding the duke his brothers confession and accusation, who hath affirmed manie other things besides the truth. I speake not without

certeine knowledge: for the lord Thomas Greie being my prison-felow for a small time, informed me, that the duke his brother had misreported him in manie things, amongst others in matters touching me, which he had declared to you maister Southwell, and other the examinors not long ago. I am sure if the lord Thomas could, or would haue said anie thing, it should haue beene here now. And as to the dukes confession, it is not materiall: for he dooth referre the matter to the lord Thomas report, who hath made my purgation.

And it please you my lords and you my maisters of the iurie, besides these matters touching Wiats rebellion, sir Peter Caroes treasons and confederating with the duke of Suffolke, and besides the prisoners conspiracie with the earle of Deuonshire, with Crofts, Rogers, Warner, and sundrie others in sundrie places, it shall manifestlie appeare vnto you, that Throckmorton did conspire the queenes maiesties death, with William Thomas, sir Nicholas Arnold, and other traitors intending the same, which is the greatest matter of all others, and most to be abhorred. And for proofe hereof, you shall heare what Arnold saith. ¶ Then was sir Nicholas Arnolds confession read, saieng that Throckmorton shewed to him, riding betwixt Hinam and Crosse laund in Glocestershire, that Iohn Fitz Williams was verie much displeased with William Thomas. The atturnie.

William Thomas deuised, that Iohn Fitzwilliams should kill the queene, and Throckmorton knew of it, as appeareth by Arnolds confession. Attourneie.

First I denie that I said anie such thing to maister Arnold, and though he be an honest man, he may either forget himselfe, or deuise meanes how to vnburthen himselfe of so weightie a matter as this is; for he is charged with the mater as principall. Which I did perceiue when he charged me with his tale, and therefore I doo blame him the lesse, that he seeketh how to discharge himselfe vsing me as a witnesse, if he could so transferre the deuise to William Thomas. But trulie I neuer spake anie such words vnto him. And for my better declaration, I did see Iohn Fitzwilliams here euen now, who can testifie, that he neuer shewed me of any displesure betwixt them, and as I know nothing of the displeasure betwixt them, so I know nothing of the cause: I pray you my lords let him be called to depose in this matter what he can. Then Iohn Fitzwilliams drew to the barre, and presented himselfe to depose his knowledge in the matter in open court. Throckmorton.

I praie you my lords suffer him not to be sworne, neither to speake, we haue nothing to doo with him. The atturnie.

Why should he not be suffered to tell truth? And why be ye not so well contented to heare truth for me as vntruth against me? Throckmorton.

Who called you hither Fitzwilliams, or commanded you to speake? You are a verie busie officer. Hare.

I called him, and doo humblie desire that he maie speake, and be heard as well as Vaughan; or else I am not indifferentlie vsed, especiallie seeing maister attourneie dooth so presse this matter against me. Throckmorton.

Go your waies Fitzwilliams, the court hath nothing to doo with you: peraduenture you would not be so readie in a good cause. Then Iohn Fitzwilliams departed the court, and was not suffered to speake. Southwell.

Sithence this gentlemans declaration may not be admitted, I trust you of the iurie can perceiue, it was not for anie thing he had to saie against me, but contrariwise that it was feared he would speake for me. And now to maister Arnolds depositions against me, I saie I did not tell him anie such words, so as if it were materiall, there is but his yea and my naie. But bicause the words be not fore strained against me, I praie you maister atturneie why might not I haue told maister Arnold, that Iohn Fitzwilliams was angrie with William Thomas, Throckmorton.

and yet know no cause of the anger? It might be vnderstand, to disagrée oftentimes. Who dooth confesse that I know anie thing of William Thomas deuise touching the quéenes death? I will answer, No man. For maister Arnold dooth mention no word of that matter, but of the displeasures betwixt them. And to speake that, dooth neither proue treason, nor knowledge of treason. Is here all the euidence against me that you haue to bring me within the compasse of the indictment?

Stanford. Me thinke the matters confessed by others against you, togither with your owne confession, will weie shrewdlie. But how saie you to the rising in Kent, and to Wiats attempt against the quéens roiall person at hir palace?

Bromleie. Why doo you not read Wiats accusation to him, which dooth make him partener to his treasons?

Southwell. Wiat hath gréeuouslie accused you, and in manie things that others haue confirmed.

Throckmorton. Whatsoeuer Wiat hath said of me in hope of his life, he vnsaid it at his death. For since I came into this hall, I heard one saie (but I know him not) that Wiat vpon the scaffold did not onelie purge my ladie Elizabeth hir grace, and the erle of Deuonshire, but also all the gentlemen in the tower, saieng they were all ignorant of the sturre and commotion. In which number I take my selfe.

Hare. Notwithstanding he said, all that he had written and confessed to the councell, was true.

Throckmorton. Naie sir, by your patience, maister Wiat said not so, that was maister doctors addition.

Southwell. It appeareth you haue had good intelligence.

Throckmorton. Almightie God prouided that reuelation for me this daie since I came hither: for I haue bin in close prison these eight and fiftie daies, where I heard nothing but what the birds told me, which did flie ouer my head. And now to you of my iurie I speake speciallie, whome I desire to marke attentiuelie what shall be said. I haue beene indicted, as it appeareth, and now am arreigned of compassing the queenes maiesties death, of leuieng war against the quéene, of taking the tower of London, of deposing and depriuing the quéene of hir roiall estate, and finallie to destroie hir, and of adherence to the quéenes enimies. Of all which treasons, to proue me guiltie, the quéens learned councell hath giuen in euidence these points materiall; that is to saie; for the compassing or imagining the quéenes death, and the destruction of hir roiall person, sir Nicholas Arnolds depositions, which is, that I should saie to the said sir Nicholas in Glocestershire, that maister Iohn Fitzwilliams was angrie with William Thomas.

Wherevnto I haue answered, as you haue heard, both denieng the matter: and for the proofe on my side, doo take exceptions, because there is no witnesse but one. And neuerthelesse, though it were granted, the depositions proue nothing concerning the quéenes death. For leuieng of warre against the quéene, there is alleged my conference with sir Thomas Wiat, sir Iames Crofts, sir Edward Rogers, sir Edward Warner. Against the mariage with Spaine, and the comming of the Spaniards hither, which talke I doo not denie in sort as I spake it, and ment it: and notwithstanding the malicious gathering this daie of my conference, proueth yet no leuieng of warre. There is also alleged for proofe of the same article, sir Iames Crofts confession, which (as you remember) implieth no such thing, but generall talke against the mariage with Spaine. And of my departing westward with the earle of Deuon, which the said Iames dooth not auow, and therefore I praie you consider it as not spoken. There is also for proofe of the said article, the duke of Suffolks confession, with whome I neuer had conference; and therefore he auouched the tale of his brothers mouth, who hath made my purgation

purgation in those matters; and yet if the matter were proued, they be not greatlie materiall in law. There is also alleged for the further proofe of the same article, and for deposing and depriuing the quéene of hir roiall estate, and for my adhering to the quéenes enimies, Cutbert Vaughans confession, whose testimonie I haue sufficientlie disprooued by sundrie authorities and circumstances, and principallie by your owne law, which dooth require two lawfull and sufficient witnesses to be brought face to face. Also for the taking of the tower of London, there is alleged Winters depositions, which vttereth my misliking, when he vttered vnto me sir Thomas Wiats resolution and deuise for attempting of the said péece. And last of all, to inforce these matters, mine owne confession is ingréeued against me, wherein there dooth appeare neither treason, neither concelement of treason, neither whispering of treason, nor procurement of treason.

And forsomuch as I am come hither to be tried by the law, though my innocencie of all these points materiall obiected, be apparant to acquit me, whereto I doo principallie cleaue: yet I will for your better credit and satisfactions, shew you euidentlie, that if you would beléeue all the depositions laid against me, which I trust you will not doo, I ought not to be attainted of the treason comprised within my indictment, considering the statute of repeale the last parlement, of all treasons, other than such as be declared in the fiue and twentith yeare of king Edward the third, both which statutes, I pray you my lords, maie be read here to the inquest.

Bromleie. No sir, there shall be no bookes brought at your desire, we doo all know the law sufficientlie without booke.

Throckmorton. Doo you bring me hither to trie me by the law, and will not shew me the law? What is your knowledge of the law to these mens satisfactions, which haue my triall in hand? I praie you my lords, and my lords all, let the statutes be read, as well for the quéene, as for me.

Stanford. My lord chiefe iustice can shew the law, and will, if the iurie doo doubt of anie point.

Throckmorton. You know it were indifferent that I should know and heare the law whereby I am adiudged, and forasmuch as the statute is in English, men of meaner learning than the iustices can vnderstand it, or else how should we know when we offend?

Hare. You know not what belongeth to your case, and therefore we must teach you: it appertaineth not to vs to prouide bookes for you, neither sit we here to be taught of you, you should haue taken better héed to the law before you had come hither.

Throckmorton. Because I am ignorant, I would learne, and therefore I haue more need to sée the law, and partlie as well for the instructions of the iurie, as for my own satisfaction, which mee thinke were for the honor of this presence. And now if it please you my lord chiefe iustice, I doo direct my speech speciallie to you. What time it pleased the quéenes maiestie, to call you to this honorable office, I did learne of a great personage of hir highnesse priuie councell, that amongst other good instructions, hir maiestie charged and inioined you to minister the law and iustice indifferentlie without respect of persons. And notwithstanding the old error amongst you, which did not admit anie witnesse to speake or anie other matter to be heard in the fauor of the aduersarie, hir maiestie being partie; hir highnesse pleasure was, that whatsoeuer could be brought in the fauor of the subiect, should be admitted to be heard. And moreouer, that you speciallie, and likewise all other iustices, should not persuade themselues to sit in iudgement otherwise for hir highnesse, than for hir subiect. Therefore this maner of indifferent proceeding being principallie inioined by Gods commandement, which

I had

I had thought partlie to haue remembred you and others here in commission, in the beginning, if I might haue had leaue; and the same also being commanded you by the quéens owne mouth: me thinke you ought of right to suffer me to haue the statutes read openlie, and also to reiect nothing that could be spoken in my defense; and in thus dooing, you shall shew your selues woorthie ministers, and fit for so woorthie a mistresse.

Bromleie. You mistake the matter, the queene spake those words to maister Morgan chiefe iustice of the common plées: but you haue no cause to complaine, for you haue béene suffered to talke at your pleasure.

Hare. What would you doo with the statute booke? The iurie dooth not require it, they haue heard the euidence, and they must vpon their conscience trie whether you be guiltie or no, so as the booke needeth not; if they will not credit the euidence so apparant, then they know not what they haue to doo.

Cholmleie. You ought not to haue anie books read here at your appointment, for where dooth arise anie doubt in the law, the iudges sit here to informe the court, and now you doo but spend time.

The atturnie. I pray you my lord chiefe iustice repeat the euidence for the queene, and giue the iurie their charge, for the prisoner will kéepe you here all daie.

Bromleie. How saie you? Haue you anie more to saie for your selfe?

Throckmorton. You seeme to giue and offer me the law, but in verie déed I haue onelie th forme and image of the law; neuerthelesse, sith I cannot be suffered to haue the statutes red openlie in the booke, I will by your patience gesse at them as I maie, and I praie you to helpe me if I mistake, for it is long since I did sée them. The statute of repeale made the last parlement, hath these words: Be it enacted by the quéene, that from hencesforth none act, deed, or offense, being by act of parlement or statute made trea on, petit treason, or misprision of treason, by words, writing, printing, ciphering, déeds, or otherwise whatsoeuer, shall be taken, had, déemed, or adiudged treason, petit treason: but onelie such as be declared or expressed to be treason, in or by an act of parlement made in the fiue and twentith yeare of Edward the third, touching and concerning treasons, and the declaration of treasons, and none other. Here may you sée, this statute dooth referre all the offenses aforesaid, to the statute of the fiue and twentith yeare of Edward the third, which statute hath these words touching and concerning the treasons that I am indicted and arreigned of, that is to saie: Whosoeuer dooth compasse or imagine the death of the king, or leuie warre against the king in his realme, or being adherent to the kings enimies within this realme, or elsewhere, and be thereof probablie attainted by open déed by people of their condition; shall be adiudged a traitor. Now I praie you of my iurie which haue my life in triall, note well what things at this daie be treasons, and how these treasons must be tried and decerned; that is to say, by open déed, which the lawes dooth at some time terme (Ouert act.) And now I aske notwithstanding my indictment, which is but matter alleged, where dooth appeare the open déed of anie compassing or imagining the queenes death? Or where dooth appeare anie open déed of being adherent to the quéens enimies, giuing to them aid and comfort? Or where dooth appeare anie open déed of taking the tower of London?

Bromleie. Why doo not you of the quéenes learned councell answer him? Me thinke, Throckmorton, you need not haue the statutes, for you haue them méetlie perfectlie.

Stanford. You are deceiued to conclude all treasons in the statute of the fiue and twentith yeare of Edward the third; for that statute is but a declaration of certeine treasons, which were treasons before at the common law. Euen so there dooth remaine

maine diuerse other treasons at this daie at the common law, which be expressed by that statute, as the iudges can declare. Neuerthelesse, there is matter sufficient alleged and prooued against you, to bring you within the compasse of the same statute.

I praie you expresse those matters that bring me within the compasse of the statute of Edward the third. For the words be these: And be thereof attainted by open déed: By people of like condition. Throckmorton.

Throckmorton you deceiue your selfe, and mistake these words; By people of their condition. For thereby the law dooth vnderstand the discouering of your treasons. As for example: Wiat and the other rebels, attainted for their great treasons, alreadie declare you to be his and their adherent, in as much as diuerse and sundrie times you had conference with him and them about the treason, so as Wiat is now one of your condition, who (as all the world knoweth) hath committed an open traitorous fact. Bromleie.

By your leaue my lord, this is a verie strange and singular vnderstanding. For I suppose the meaning of the law-makers did vnderstand these words: By people of their condition; of the state and condition of those persons which should be on the inquest to trie the partie arreigned, guiltie or not guiltie, and nothing to the bewraieng of the offense by another mans act, as you saie. For what haue I to doo with Wiats acts, that was not nigh him by one hundred miles? Throckmorton.

Will you take vpon you to skill better of the law than the iudges? I doubt not but you of the iurie will credit as it becommeth you. The atturnie.

Concerning the true vnderstanding of these words: By people of their condition, my lord chiefe iustice here hath declared the truth, for Wiat was one of your condition, that is to saie, of your conspiracie. Cholmleie.

You doo not denie, Throckmorton, but that there hath beene conference and sending betwéene Wiat and you: and he and Winter dooth confesse the same, with others, so as it is plaine; Wiat may be called one of your condition. Hare.

Well, séeing you my iudges rule the vnderstanding of these words in the statute, by people of your condition, thus strangelie against me: I will not stand longer vpon them. But where dooth appeare in me an open déed wherevnto the treason is speciallie referred? Throckmorton.

If three or foure doo talke, deuise, and conspire togither of a traitorous act to be doone, and afterwards one of them dooth commit treason, as Wiat did, then the law dooth repute them, and euerie of them as their acts, so as Wiats acts doo implie and argue of your open déed: and so the law dooth terme it and take it. Bromleie.

These be maruellous expositions and wonderfull implications, that another mans act whereof I was not priuie, should be accounted mine: for Wiat did purge me that I knew nothing of his stirre. Throckmorton.

Yea sir, but you were a principall procurer and contriuer of Wiats rebellion, though you were not with him when he made the stirre. And as my lord here hath said, the law alwaies dooth adiudge him a traitor, which was priuie, and dooth procure treason, or anie other man to commit treason, or a traitorous act, as you did Wiat and others: for so the Ouert act of those which did it by your procurement, shall in this case be accounted your open deed. We haue a common case in the law, if one by procurement should disseize you of your land, the law holdeth vs both wrong doers, and giueth remedie as well against the one as the other. Hare.

For Gods sake applie not such constructions against me, and though my present estate dooth not mooue you, yet it were well you should consider your office, and thinke what measure you giue to others, you your selues I saie shall assuredlie receiue the same againe. The state of mortall life is such, that men know full little what hangeth ouer them. I put on within these xii. moneths such a mind, that I Throckmorton.

most

most wofull wight was as vnlike to stand here, as some of you that sit there. As to your case last recited, whereby you would conclude; I haue remembred and learned of you maister Hare, and you maister Stanford in the parlement house, where you did sit to make lawes, to expound and explane the ambiguities and doubts of law sincerelie, and that without affections. There I saie I learned of you, and others my maisters of the law, this difference betwixt such cases as you remembred one euen now, and the statute whereby I am to be tried. There is a maxime or principle in the law, which ought not to be violated, that no penall statute maie, ought, or should be construed, expounded, extended, or wrested, otherwise than the simple words and nude letter of the same statute dooth warrant and signifie. And amongest diuerse good and notable reasons by you there in the parlement house debated (maister sergeant Stanford) I noted this one, whie the said maxime ought to be inuiolable. You said, considering the priuate affections manie times both of princes and ministers within this realme, for that they were men, and would and could erre, it should be no securitie, but verie dangerous to the subiect, to refer the construction and extending of penall statutes to anie iudges equitie (as you termed it) which might either by feare of the higher powers be seduced, or by ignorance and follie abused: and that is an answer by procurement.

Bromleie. Notwithstanding the principall (as you alledge it) and the precisenesse of your sticking to the bare words of the statute, it dooth appéere and remaine of record in our learning, that diuerse cases haue béene adiudged treason, without the expresse words of the statute, as the quéenes learned councell there can declare.

The attornie. It dooth appeere the prisoner did not onelie intise or procure Wiat, Caro, Rogers, and others, to commit their traitorous act, and there dooth his open facts appéere, which Vaughans confession dooth witnesse, but also he did mind shortlie after to associat himselfe with those traitors; for he minded to haue departed with the earle of Deuonshire westward.

Throckmorton. My innocencie concerning these matters I trust sufficientlie appéereth by my former answers, notwithstanding the condemned mans uniust accusation. But because the true vnderstanding of the statute is in question, I saie procurement, and speciallie by words onelie, is without the compasse of it, and that I doo learne and proone by the principle which I learned of maister Stanford.

Stanford. Maister Throckmorton, You and I maie not agrée this daie in the vnderstanding of the law, for I am for the quéene, and you are for your selfe; the iudges must determine the matter.

Bromleie. He that dooth procure another man to commit a felonie or a murther, I am sure you know well enough the law dooth adiudge the procurer there a felon or a murtherer; and in case of treason it hath béene alwaies so taken and reputed.

Throckmorton. I doo and must cleaue to my innocencie, for I procured no man to commit treson: but yet for my learning I desire to heare some case so ruled when the law was as it is now. I doo confesse it, that at such time there were statutes prouided for the procurer, councellor, aider, abetter, and such like, as there were in king Henrie the eights time; you might lawfullie make this cruell construction, and bring the procurer within the compasse of the law. But these statutes being repealed, you ought not now so to doo: and as to the principall procurer in felonie and murther, it is not like as in treason; for the principall and accessaries in felonie and murther be triable and punishable by the common law: and so in those cases the iudges maie vse their equitie, extending the determination of the fault as they thinke good: but in treson it is otherwise, the same being limited by statute, which I saie and aduow is restreined from anie iudges construction, by the maxime that I recited.

Happie for Throckmorton that those statutes stood then repealed.

Stanford. Your lordships doo know a case in Richard the thirds time, where the procurer to counterfeit false monie, was iudged a traitor, and the law was as it is now.

Maister

Maister sergeant dooth remember you Throckmorton of an experience before our time, that the law hath béene so taken: and yet the procurer was not expressed in the statute, but the law hath béene alwaies so taken. Hare.

I neuer studied the law, whereof I doo much repent me: yet I remember, whilest penall statutes were talked of in the parlement house, you the learned men of the house remembred some cases contrarie to this last spoken of. And if I miss-report them, I praie you helpe me. In the like case you speake of concerning the procurer to counterfeit false monie: at one time the procurer was iudged a felon, and at another time neither felon nor traitor; so as some of your predecessors adiudged the procurer no traitor in the same case, but leaned to their principall, though some other extend their constructions too large. And here is two cases with me, for one against me. Throckmorton.

Because you replie vpon the principall, I will remember where one taking the great seale of England from one writing and putting it to another, was adiudged a traitor in Henrie the fourths time, and yet his act was not within the expresse words of the statute of Edward the third. There be diuerse other such like cases that maie be alledged and need were. Bromleie.

I praie you my lord chiefe iustice call to your good remembrance, that in the selfe same case of the seale, iustice Spilman, a graue and well learned man, since that time, would not condemne the offendor, but did reprooue that former iudgment by you last remembred, as erronious. Throckmorton.

If I had thought you had béene so well furnished in booke cases, I would haue béene better prouided for you. Stanford.

I haue nothing but I learned of you speciallie maister sergeant, and of others my maisters of the law in the parlement house, and therefore I maie saie with the prophet (salutem ex inimicis nostris.) Throckmorton.

You haue a very good memorie. Southwell.

If the prisoner maie auoid his treasons after this manner, the quéenes suretie shall be in great ieopardie. For Iacke Cade the blacke smith, and diuere other traitors, sometime alledging the law for them, sometime they meant no harme to the king, but against his councell, as Wiat, the duke of Suffolke, and these did against the Spaniards, when there was no Spaniards within the realme. The duke and his brethren did mistake the law, as you doo: yet at length did confesse their ignorance, and submitted themselues: and so were you best to doo. The attornie.

As to Cade and the blacke smith, I am not so well acquainted with their treasons as you be: but I haue read in the chronicle, they were in the field with a force against the prince, whereby a manifest act did appéere. As to the duke of Suffolkes doo-ings, they apperteine not to me. And though you would compare my spéech and talke against the Spaniards to the dukes acts, who assembled a force in armes, it is euident they differ much. I am sorie to ingréeue anie other mans dooings, but it serueth me for a péece of my defence, and therefore I wish that no man should gather euill of it; God forbid that words and acts be thus confounded. Throckmorton.

Sir William Stanleie vsed this shift that the prisoner vseth now; he said he did not leuie warre against king Henrie the seauenth, but said to the duke of Buckingham, that in a good quarrell he would aid him with with fiue hundred men; and neuerthelesse Stanleie was for those words atteinted, who (as all the world knoweth) had before that time serued the king verie faithfullie and trulie. The attornie.

I praie you maister attorneie doo not conclude against me by blind contraries Whether you alledge Stanlies case truelie or no, I know not. But admit it be as you saie, what dooth this prooue against me? I promised no aid to maister Wiat nor to anie other. The duke of Buckingham leuied warre against the king, with whome Stanleie was confederat so to doo as you saie. Throckmorton.

I praie you my lords that be the queens commissioners, suffer not the prisoner to The attornie.

vse the quéenes learned councell thus, I was neuer interrupted thus in my life, nor I neuer knew anie thus suffered to talke, as this prisoner is suffered; some of vs will come no more at the barre and we be thus handled.

Bromleie. Throckmorton you must suffer the quéenes learned councell to speake, or else we must take order with you, you haue had leaue to talke at your pleasure.

Harc. It is prooued that you did talke with Wiat against the comming of the Spaniards, and deuised to interrupt their arriuall; and you promised to doo what you could against them: wherevpon Wiat being incoraged by you, did leuie a force, and attempted waire against the quéenes roiall person.

Throckmorton. It was no treason nor no procurement of treason, to talke against the comming hither of the Spaniards, neither was it treason for me to saie I would hinder their comming hither as much as I could (vnderstanding me rightlie as I meane it) yea though you would extend it to the worst, it was but words, it was not treason at this daie as the law standeth. And as for Wiats dooing, they touch me nothing; for at his death when, it was no time to report vntruelie, he purged me.

Bromleie. But sundrie cases remembred here by the queenes learned councell (as you haue heard) that procurement which did appeare none otherwise but by words and those you would make nothing, hath béene of long time, and by sundrie well learned men in the lawes adiudged treason. And therefore, your procurement being so euident as it is, we maie lawfullie saie it was treason, bicause Wiat performed a traitorous act.

Throckmorton. As to the said alleaged forepresidents against me, I haue recited as manie for me, and I would you my lord chiefe iustice should incline your iudgments rather after the example of your honourable predecessors, iustice Markam, and others, which did eschue corrupt iudgements, iudging directlie and sincerelie, after the law and the principles in the same, than after such men as swaruing from the truth, the maxime, and the law, did iudge corruptlie, maliciouslie, and affectionatlie.

Bromleie. Iustice Markam had reason to warrant his dooings: for it did appeare, a merchant of London was arreigned and slanderouslie accused of treason for compassing and imagining the kings death, he did saie he would make his sonne heire of the crowne, and the merchant meant it of a house in Cheapside at the signe of the crowne, but your case is not so.

Throckmorton. My case dooth differ I grant, but speciallie bicause I haue not such a iudge: yet there is an other cause to restreine these your strange and extraordinarie constructions: that is to saie, a prouiso in the latter end of the statute of Edward the third, hauing these words: Prouided alwaies, if anie other case of supposed treason shall chance hereafter to come in question or triall before anie iustice, other than is in the said statute expressed, that then the iustice shall forbeare to adiudge the said case, vntill it be shewed to the parlement to trie whether it should be treason or felonie. Here you are restreined by expresse words to adiudge anie case, that is not manifestlie mentioned before, and vntill it be shewed to the parlement.

Pirtman. That prouiso is vnderstood of cases that maie come in triall which hath béene in vre, but the law hath alwaies taken the procurer to be a principall offendor.

Sanders. The law alwaies in cases of treason dooth account all principals and no accessaries as in other offenses, and therefore a man offending in treason, either by couert act or procurement, wherevpon an open deed hath insued, as in this case, is adiudged by the law a principall traitor.

Throckmorton. You adiudge (me thinke) procurement verie hardlie, besides the principall, and besides the good prouiso, and besides the good example of your best and most godlie learned predecessors, the iudges of the realme, as I haue partlie declared, and notwithstanding this grieuous racking and extending of this word procure-

ment,

ment, I am not in the danger of it, for it dooth appeare by no deposition that I procured neither one or other to attempt anie act.

The iurie haue to trie whether it be so or no, let it weie as it will. Stanford.

I know no meane so apparant to trie procurement as by words, and that meane is probable inough against you, as well by your owne confession, as by other mens depositions. Hare.

To talke of the quéenes marriage with the prince of Spaine, and also the comming hither of the Spaniards, is not to procure treson to be doone: for then the whole parlement house, I meane the common house did procure treason. But sith you will make no difference betwixt words and acts, I praie you remember a statute made in my late souereigne lord and masters time, king Edward the sixt, which apparantlie expressed the difference. These be the words: Whosoeuer dooth compasse or imagine to depose the king of his roiall estate by open preaching, expresse words or saiengs, shall for the first offense loose and forfet to the king all his and their goods and cattels, and also shall suffer imprisonment of their bodies at the kings will and pleasure. Whosoeuer, &c: for the second offense shall loose and forfet to the king the whole issues and profits of all his or their lands, tenements and other hereditaments, benefices, prebends, and other spirituall promotions. Whosoeuer, &c: for the third offense, shall for tearme of life or liues of such offender or offenders, &c: and shall also forfet to the kings maiestie, all his or their goods and cattels, and suffer during his or their liues perpetuall imprisonment of his or their bodies. But whosoeuer, &c: by writing, ciphering, or act, &c: shall for the first offense be adiudged a traitor, and suffer the paines of death. Here you maie perceiue how the whole realme and all your iudgements hath before this vnderstood words and acts diuerselie and apparantlie. And therfore the iudgements of the parlement did assigne diuersitie of punishments, bicause they would not confound the true vnderstanding of words and deeds, appointing for compassing and imagining by word, imprisonment: and for compassing and imagining by open déed, paines of death. Throckmorton.

It is agréed by the whole bench, that the procurer and the adherent be déemed alwaies traitors, when as a traitorous act was committed by anie one of the same conspiracie: and there is apparant proofe of your adhering to Wiat, both by your owne confession and other waies. Bromleie.

Adhering and procuring be not all one, for the statute of Edward the third dooth speake of adhering, but not of procuring; and yet adhering ought not to be further extended, than to the quéenes enimies within hir realme, for so the statute dooth limit the vnderstanding. And Wiat was not the quéenes enimie, for he was not so reputed when I talked with him last, and our speech implied no enimie, neither tended to anie treason, or procuring of treason: and therefore I praie you of the iurie note, though I argue the law, I alleage mine innocencie, as the best part of my defense. Throckmorton.

Your adhering to the quéenes enimies within the realme, is euidentlie prooued: for Wiat was the queenes enimie within the realme, as the whole realme knoweth it, and he hath confessed it both at his arreignement and at his death. Hare.

By your leaue, neither Wiat at his arreignement nor at his death, did confesse that he was the quéenes enimie when I talked last with him; neither was he reputed nor taken in foureteene daies after, vntill he assembled a force in armes, what time I was at your house master Englefield, where I learned the first intelligence of Wiats stirre. And I aske you who dooth depose that there passed anie maner of aduertisement betwixt Wiat and me, after he had discouered his dooings, and shewed himselfe an enimie? If I had béene so disposed, who did let me that I did not repaire to Wiat, or to send to him, or to the duke of Suffolke either, who Throckmorton.

was in mine owne countrie, and thither I might haue gone and conueied my selfe with him, unsuspected for my departing homewards.

Englefield. It is true that you were there at my house, accompanied with others your brethren, and to my knowledge, ignorant of these matters.

Bromleie. Throckmorton, you confessed you talked with Wiat and others against the comming of the Spaniards, and of the taking of the tower of London, wherevpon Wiat leuied a force of men against the Spaniards he said, and so you saie all: but in deed it was against the quéene, which he confessed at length: therefore Wiats acts doo prooue you counsellor and procurer, howsoeuer you would auoid the matter.

Throckmorton. My thinke you would conclude against me with a mishapen argument in logike, and you will giue me leaue, I will make an other.

Stanford. The iudges sit not here to make disputations, but to declare the law, which hath béene sufficientlie doone, if you would consider it.

Hare. You haue heard reason and the law, if you will conceiue it.

Throckmorton. Oh mercifull God, oh eternall father, which séest all things, what maner of proceedings are these? To what purpose serueth the statute of repeale the last parlement, where I heard some of you here present, and diuerse other of the queenes learned councell, grieuouslie inueie against the cruell and bloudie lawes of king Henrie the eight, and against some lawes made in my late souereigne lord and masters time, king Edward the sixt. Some termed them Dracos lawes, which were written in bloud: some said they were more intollerable than anie laws that Dionysius or anie other tyrant made. In conclusion, as manie men, so manie bitter tearmes and names those lawes had. And moreouer, the preface of the same statute dooth recite, that for words onelie, manie great personages, and others of good behauiour, haue béene most cruellie cast awaie by these former sanguinolent thirstie lawes, with manie other suggestions for the repeale of the same. And now let vs put on indifferent eies, and throughlie consider with our selues, as you the iudges handle the constructions of the statute of Edward the third, with your equitie and extentions, whether we be not in much woorse case now than we were when those cruell laws yoked vs. These lawes albeit they were grieuous and captious, yet they had the verie propertie of a law after saint Paules description. For those lawes did admonish vs, and discouer our sinnes plainelie vnto vs, and when a man is warned, he is halfe armed. These lawes, as they be handled, be verie baits to catch vs, and onelie prepared for the same, and no laws: for at the first sight they ascerteine vs we be deliuered from our old bondage, and by the late repeale the last parlement, we liue in more securitie. But when it pleaseth the higher powers to call anie mans life and saiengs in question, then there be constructions, interpretations, and extentions reserued to the iustices and iudges equitie, that the partie triable, as I am now, shall find himselfe in much woorse case than before when those cruell lawes stood in force. Thus our amendment is from Gods blessing into the warme sunne. But I require you honest men which are to trie my life, consider these opinions of my life, iudges be rather agréeable to the time, than to the truth: for their iudgements be repugnant to their owne principle, repugnant to their godlie and best learned predecessors opinions, repugnant I saie to the prouiso in the statute of repeale made in the last parlement.

The attornie. Master Throckmorton quiet your selfe, and it shall be the better for you.

Throckmorton. Master atturnie, I am not so vnquiet as you be, and yet our cases are not alike: but bicause I am so tedious to you, and haue long troubled this presence, it maie please my lord chiefe iustice to repeat the euidence wherewith I am charged, and my answers to all the obiections, if there be no other matter to laie against me.

¶ Then

¶ Then the chiefe iustice remembred particularlie all the depositions and euidences giuen against the prisoner, and either for want of good memorie, or good will, the prisoners answers were in part not recited: wherevpon the prisoner craued indifferencie, and did help the iudges old memorie with his owne recitall.]

My masters of the iurie, you haue to enquire whether sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, here prisoner at the barre, be giltie of these treasons, or anie of them, whereof he hath beene indicted and this daie arreigned, yea or no. And if you find him giltie, you shall inquire what lands tenements, goods, and cattels he had at the daie of his treasons committed, or at anie time since: and whether he fled for the treasons or no, if you find him not giltie. Sendall.

Haue you said what is to be said? Throckmorton.

Yea for this time. Sendall.

Then I praie you giue me leaue to speake a few words to the iurie. The weight and grauitie of my cause hath greatlie occasioned me to trouble you here long, and therefore I mind not to interteine you here long, with anie prolix oration: you perceiue notwithstanding this daie great contention betwixt the iudges and the quéenes learned councell on the one partie, and me the poor and wofull prisoner on the other partie. The triall of our whole controuersie, the triall of my innocencie, the triall of my life, lands, and goods, and the destruction of my posteritie for euer, dooth rest in your good iudgements. And albeit manie this daie haue greatlie inueied against me, the finall determination thereof is transferred onelie to you. How grieuous and horrible the shedding of innocents bloud is in the sight of almightie God, I trust you doo remember. Therefore take héed (I saie) for Christs sake, doo not defile your consciences with such heinous and notable crimes. They be grieuouslie and terriblie punished, as in this world and vale of miserie vpon the childrens children to the third and fourth generation, and in the world to come with euerlasting fire and damnation. Lift vp your minds to God, and care not too much for the world, looke not backe to the fleshpots of Aegypt, which will allure you from heauenlie respects, to worldlie securitie, and can thereof neither make you anie suertie. Beléeue I praie you, the queene and hir magistrats be more delighted with fauourable equitie than with rash crueltie. And in that you be all citizens, I will take my leaue of you with S. Paules farewell to the Ephesians, citizens also you be, whom he tooke to record that he was pure from sheding anie bloud, a speciall token and doctrine left for your instruction, that euerie of you maie wash his hands of innocents bloud shed, when you shall take your leaue of this wretched world. The holie ghost be amongest you. Throckmorton.

Come hither sergeant, take the iurie with you, and suffer no man to come at them, but to be ordered as the law appointeth, vntill they be agreed vpon their verdict. Sendall.

It may please you my lords and maisters which be commissioners, to giue order that no person haue access or conference with the iurie, neither that anie of the quéenes learned councell be suffered to repaire to them, or to talke with anie of them, vntill they present themselues here in open court, to publish their verdict. Throckmorton.

¶ Vpon the prisoners sute on this behalfe, the bench gaue order that two sergeants were sworne to suffer no man to repaire to the iurie, vntill they were agreed according vnto order. Wherevpon then the prisoner was by commandement of the bench withdrawne from the barre, and the court adiourned vntill thrée of the clocke at afternoone, at which houre the commissioners returned to the Guildhall, and there did tarie vntill the iurie were agréed vpon the verdict. And about fiue of the clocke, their agréement being aduertised to the commissioners, the said prisoner, sir Nicholas Throckmorton was againe brought to the barre, where also the iurie did repaire; and being demanded whether they were agréed vpon their verdict, answered vniuersallie with one voice, Yea. Then it was asked who should speake for them: they answered, Whetston, the foreman.]

Nicholas

Sendall. Nicholas Throckmorton knight, hold vp thy hand.

Throckmorton. Then the prisoner did so vpon the summons.

Sendall. You that be of the iurie, looke vpon the prisoner.

Iurie. The iurie did as they were inioined.

Sendall. How saie you, is maister Throckmorton knight there prisoner at the bar, giltie of the treasons whereof he hath bene indicted and arreigned in manner and forme, yea or no?

Whetston. No.

Sendall. How saie you, did he flie from them?

Whetson. No, we find no such thing.

Throckmorton. I had forgotten to answer that question before, but you haue found according to truth: and for the better warrantie of your dooings, vnderstand that I came to London, and so to the quéenes councell vnbrought, when I vnderstood they demanded for me: and yet I was almost an hundred miles from hence, where if I had not presumed vpon my truth, I could haue withdrawne my selfe from catching.

Bromleie. How saie you the rest of you, is Whetstones verdict all your verdicts?

Iurie. The whole inquest answered Yea.

Bromleie. Remember your selues better, haue you considered substantiallie the whole euidence in sort as it was declared and recited; the matter dooth touch the quéenes highnesse, and your selues also, take good héed what you doo.

Whetston. My lord, we haue throughlie considered the euidence laid against the prisoner, and his answers to all these matters, and accordinglie we haue found him not giltie agréeable to all our consciences.

Bromleie. If you haue doone well, it is the better for you.

Throckmorton. It is better to be tried, than to liue suspected. Blessed be the Lord God of Israell, for he hath visited and redéemed his people, and hath raised vp a mightie saluation for vs in the house of his seruant Dauid. And it may please you my lord cheefe iustice, forsomuch as I haue bene indicted and arreigned of sundrie treasons, and haue according to the law put my triall to God and my countrie, that is to saie, to these honest men which haue found me not giltie, I humblie beseech you giue me such benefit, acquittall and iudgement, as the law in this case dooth appoint.

¶ When the prisoner had said these words the commissioners consulted togither.]

Throckmorton. Maie it please you my lord chéef iustice to pronounce sentence for my discharge?

Bromleie. Whereas you doo aske the benefit that the law in such case dooth appoint I will giue it you; to wit, that where you haue béene indicted of sundrie high treasons, and haue béene héere this daie before the queenes commissioners and iustices arreigned of the said treasons, wherevnto you haue pleaded not giltie, and haue for triall therein put your selfe on God and your countrie, and they haue found you not giltie, the court dooth award that you be cléerly discharged, paieng your fees. Notwithstanding master lieutenant take him with you againe, for there are other matters to charge him withall.

Throckmorton. It maie please you my lords and masters of the Q. highnesse priuie councell, to be on my behalfe humble sutors to hir maiestie, that like as the law this daie (God be praised) has purged me of the treasons wherewith I was most dangerouslie charged: so it might please hir excellent maiestie to purge me in hir priuat iudgement, and both forgiue and forget my ouerrash boldnesse, that I vsed in talke of hir highnes marriage with the prince of Spaine, matters too far aboue my capacitie, and I verie vnable to consider the grauitie thereof, a matter impertinent for me a priuat person to talke of, which did apperteine to hir highnesse priuie councell to haue in deliberation

deliberation. And if it shall please hir highnesse of hir bountifull liberalitie, to remit my former ouersight, I shall thinke my selfe happie for triall of the danger that I haue this daie escaped, and maie thereby admonish me to eschue things aboue my reach, and also to instruct me to deal with matters agréeable to my vocation. And God saue the quéenes maiestie, and grant the same long to reigne ouer vs. And the same Lord be praised for you the magistrats, before whome I haue had my triall this daie indifferentlie by the law, and you haue procéeded with me accordinglie; and the grace of God be amongst you now and euer.

¶ There was no answer made by anie of the bench to the prisoners sute, but the atturnie did speake these words.]

The atturnie. And it please you my lords, forsomuch as it séemeth that these men of the iurie, which haue strangelie acquited the prisoner of his treasons whereof he was indicted, will forthwith depart the court, I praie you for the the quéene, that they, and euerie of them maie bée bound in a recognisance of fiue hundred pounds a péece, to answer to such matters as they shall be charged with in the quéenes behalfe, whensoeuer they shall be charged or called.

Whetston. I praie you my lords be good to vs, and let vs not be molested for discharging our consciences trulie. We be poore merchantmen and haue great charge vpon our hands, and our liuings doo depend vpon our trauels, therefore it maie please you to appoint vs a certeine daie for our appearance, for perhaps some of vs maie be in forren parties about our businesse.

¶ Thus much for sir Nicholas Throckmortons arreignement, wherein is to be considered, that the repealing of certeine statutes in the last parlement, was the chiefe matter he had to alledge for his aduantage: whereas the repealing of the same statutes was meant notwithstanding for an other purpose (as before you haue partlie heard) which statutes or the effect of the chiefe branches of them haue béene since that time againe reuiued, as by the bookes of the statutes it maie better appeare, to the which I referre the reader.] The eight and twentith of Aprill, the lord Thomas Greie, brother to the duke of Suffolke, was beheaded at the tower hill, a proper gentleman, and one that had serued right valiantlie both in France and Scotland, in the daies of the late kings Henrie and Edward.

The. lord Tho. Greie beheaded.

Vpon Saturdaie the eight and twentith of Aprill, sir Iames crofts and maister William Winter were brought from the tower to the Guildhall in London, where sir Iames Crofts was arreigned: but bicause the daie was farre spent, maister Winter was not arreigned, but caried backe againe to the tower with the said sir Iames Crofts. William Thomas, of whome mention is made before in the historie of sir Thomas Wiat, with certeine other, were arreigned and condemned for the conspiring of the murther and killing of the quéene vpon the sudden: and for that offense, the said William Thomas was the eightéenth daie of Maie, drawne, hanged, and quartered at Tiburne. The ninetéenth daie of Maie next following, the ladie Elizabeth sister to quéene Marie, was deliuered out of the tower, and committed to the custodie of sir Thomas Williams knight, afterward lord Williams of Tame, by whome hir grace was more courteouslie intreated than some would haue wished. Wherefore shortlie after she was committed to the manour of Woodstocke, vnder the custodie of sir Henrie Beningfield of Drenborough in the countie of Norffolke, knight at whose hands she found not the like courtesie, who (as it is well knowne) vsed his office more like a gailor than a gentleman, and with such rigour as was not meet to be shewed to such an estate, which extremitie of crueltie to a person of great dignitie notwithstanding hir innocencie, is verie well noted by C. O. in Eirenarchia siue Elisabetha, where he saieth:

William Thomas arreigned and condemned.

The ladie Elizabeth deliuered out of the tower.

Sir Henrie Beningfield knight.

——odio quoque tenditur acri
Suspicio vehemens in te clarissima princeps
Elisabetha, caputque tuum: quòd vixeris insons,
Quódque animi candor culpa noxáque remotus
Hactenus inuidiæ renitens hebetarit ocellos,
Ah luore tumens sacer obliuiscitur ordo.
Implacata cohors spumante exæstuat ira
Furfuris eiusdem, donec custodibus* agna
(Arcebat Deus ipse lupos) committitur arctis
Asseruanda locis; vi libertatis adempta.

* Elizabetha.

Rich. Grafton. But here is to be noted, not so much the vnciuill nature of the man as the singular lenitie, and gratious clemencie of that gentle and vertuous princesse, who afterward (as shall appeare) comming to the possession of the crowne as hir rightfull inheritance, was at that time so farre from reuenge of iniuries receiued, that whereas diuerse princes haue requited much lesse offenses with losse of life, she neuer touched him either with danger of life, or losse of lands or goods, nor neuer procéeded further than to discharge him of the court: which manie thought was the thing that pleased him best. At whose departing from hir presence, she vsed onelie these words, or the like in sense: God forgiue you that is past, and we doo: and if we haue anie prisoner whome we would haue hardlie handled and streialie kept, then we will send for you.

Quéene Elizabeths words to Beningfield hir butcherlie keeper in the time of hir durance.

The fiue and twentith of Maie, the erle of Deuonshire was brought out of the tower at three of the clocke in the morning, sir Thomas Tresham knight, and maister Chamberlaine of Suffolke, with certeine of the gard, being appointed to attend on him to Fodringham castell in Northamptonshire, where he was assigned to remaine vnder custodie of the said sir Thomas Tresham and others. ¶ On the tenth of Iune, the foresaid doctor Pendleton preached at Paules crosse, at whome a gun was shot, the pellet wherof went verie neere him, and light on the church wall: but the shooter could not be found.] The eleuenth of Iune the lord Iohn Greie, brother to the late duke of suffolke, was arreigned at Westminster in the kings bench, and there condemned: but yet through the painfull trauell and diligent sute of the ladie Greie his wife, his pardon was obteined, and so he escaped with life, and was at length set at libertie, as shall after appeare.

A gun shot at the preacher:

Anno Reg. 2. The lord Iohn Greie arreigned pardoned, and released.

¶ The two and twentith of Iune was proclamation made, forbidding the shooting in handguns, and bearing of weapons. The fifteenth of Iulie, Elizabeth Croft, a wench about eightéene yeares old, stood vpon a scaffold at Paules crosse all the sermon time, where she confessed, that she being mooued by diuerse lewd persons therevnto, had vpon the fourteenth of March last before passed, counterfeited certeine speaches in an house without Aldresgate of London, through the which the people of the whole citie were woonderfullie molested, for that all men might heare the voice, but not sée hir person. Some said it was an angell, some a voice from heauen, some the Holie-ghost, &c. This was called the spirit in the wall: shée had laine whistling in a strange whistle made for that purpose, which was giuen hir by one Drakes: then where there diuerse companions confederat with hir, which putting themselues amongst the prease, tooke vpon them to interpret what the spirit said, expressing certeine seditious words against the quéene, the prince of Spaine, the masse, and confession, &c.]

Abr. Fl. ex I. Stow. 1091. A spirit in a wall without Aldersgate dooth penance at Paules crosse for abusing the people, &c.

But now in this meane while that these things thus passed here in England, the prince of Spaine prepared for his hither comming, vnto whome had béene sent the earle of Bedford lord priuie seale, and the lord Fitzwaters, accompanied with diuerse noblemen and gentlemen, who arriuing at the Corone in Galisia, were receiued

The prince of Spains preparation to come into England.

verie

verie honorablie. And forsomuch as the prince was then at vale Dolido, distant from thence neere hand an hundred leagues, they were desired to staie there for their better ease, till he might haue conuenient oportunitie to repaire thither: which neuerthelesse he could not doo so soone as he pretended to haue desire thereto, as well by reason of the sickenesse of his sister, the princes Dowager of Portugall, as by other weightie affaires. But being at length rid of such incumbers, and come into Galisia, the English Ambassadors met him at saint Iames de Compostella. And after he had in presence of a great number of noble men and gentlemen there ratified the contract, and swoorne to obserue the couenant, he departed towards Corone, where within a few daies after he imbarked, and accompanied with the number of an hundred and fiftie saile, directed his course toward England.

The English Ambassadors meet him at S. Iames of Compostella.

The lord admerall hauing continuallie béene abrode on the seas for the space of three moneths or more, with a naule of eight and twentie ships and other vessels, accompanied also with the viceadmerall of the low countries, that had vnder his gouernance fourteene ships of the emperours, met with the said prince the nineteenth of Iulie, about the Néedles, and from thence accompanied him vnto Southampton, where he arriued the morrow after the twentith of Iulie, the earle of Arundell lord steward of the quéenes house being sent from hir to present to him the George and the garter of the order (of the which fellowship he was at the last chapiter holden by the confréers chosen one of the companie) met him vpon the water, and at his comming to land, presented the said George and garter vnto him. At his landing he was receiued by the lord treasuror, the bishop of Lincolne, the lord Saint-Iohn, and others, by whome he was first coueied to the church, and from thence to his lodging.

The arriuall of the prince of Spaine in Southampton.

He is received of the nobilitie and lords.

After his landing, the lord chancellor accompanied with diuerse gentlemen, was sent from the queene to bid him welcome on hir behalfe; and so was he visited by diuerse noble personages whilest he remained at Southampton, sent thither for that purpose. And he on the other part sent diuerse on his noble men to visit hir maiestie on his behalfe. Mondaie the thrée and twentith of Iulie, he departed from Southampton towards Winchester, whither shée was the saturdaie before remoued from Bishops Waltham. On the waie he was accompanied, beside the noblemen and gentlemen of his owne traine, with the marques of Winchester, the earles of Arundell, Darbie, Worceter, Bedford, Rutland, Penbroke, Surrie: the lords Clinton, Cobham, Willoughbie, Darcie, Matrauers Talbot, Strange, Fitzwaren, and North, with manie other noblemen and gentlemen, and their traines, to the number of two thousand horsses. At his comming to the church in Winchester, the lord chancellor accompanied with the bishops of Durham, Elie, London, Lincolne, Chichester, and diurse other prelats, were readie to receiue him. After he had made his praiers he was conueied to his lodging prepared for him in the deans house.

He commeth to Winchester, where the quéen was resident of purpose to interteine him.

The quéene hir selfe was lodged in the bishops palace, whither his highnesse the next daie came, and was receiued by hir in the hall, in most courteous and louing manner. And after such salutations and talke ended, as was thought conuenient for the time, he returned to his lodging where, he continued all that night and the next daie being the fiue and twentith of Iulie, the mariage was openlie solemnized. At the which were present, the ambassadors of the emperor, the king of Romans, the king of Bohem, of Venice, Florence, Farrare, and Sauoie, with certeine agents of other states in Italie. As for the shot of ordinance, the diuerse kinds of musicke, the sumptuous and costlie apparell, trappers, and other furniture, readie prouided against the receiuing of him, with other ceremonies vsed aswell about the mariage, as in other places he was to be receiued, were suerlie such, and eueie thing doone in such good order, as better for such a purpose might not lightlie be deuised. Nobles of Spaine were, the duke of Alua, the duke of Medina celi, the

The queens lodging in the bishops palace.

The mariage solemnized and what states of Italie and Spaine were present at it.

The names of the noble men that came over from Spaine with the prince.

admerall of Castilla, the marques of Bergues, the marques of Piscara, the marques of Saria, the marques of Valli the marques of Aguillar, the earle of Egmund, the earle of Horne, the earle of Feria, the earle of Clinchon, the earle of Oliuares, the earle of Saldana, the earle of Modica, the earle of Fuentesalida, the earle of Landriano, the earle of Castellar, Don Ruigomes, the bishop of Cuenca, Don Iohn de Benauides; and diuerse others.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE CONDITIONS OF THIS MARIAGE BETWEENE BOTH THE PRINCES.

But no? forsomuch as some would happilie be desirous to know the conditions of this memorable mariage betwixt these two high princes the consequence wherof might haue proued of so great importance, although by the quéenes decease the effect was made void, I haue thought good to recite in briefe the chiefe articles thereof.

He to be intituled king during the matrimonie, &c.

1 It was couenanted that he should enioie the title and name of king, during the matrimonie, and should aid her highnesse (being his wife) in the administration of hir realmes and dominions; but yet he should permit and suffer hir to haue the whole disposition of all benefices, offices, lands, reuenues, and fruits, of the said realmes and dominions, and that the same should be bestowed vpon such as were hir naturall borne subiects, and that all matters of the said realmes and dominions should be treated and handled in the same toongs, wherein of old they haue béene woont to be treated.

She to be intituled to his dominions during the mariage.

2 That the quéene by vertue of the said mariage should be admitted into the societie of the realmes and dominions of the said prince of Spaine, as well such as he now presentlie hath, as such other also as during the matrimonie may come to him.

Hir dowrie if she suruiued him.

3 And for hir dowrie, in case she ouerliued him, she was appointed to receiue yéerlie thrée score thousand pounds, after the value of fortie groats Flemmish monie the pound, to be allotted vpon all the realms, lands, and patrimoniall dominions of his father the emperor, that is to saie, fortie thousand pounds to be assigned vpon the realms of Spaine, Castile, and Aragon, according to the custome of those realms. The other twentie thousand pounds were appointed vpon the dukedoms, earledoms, and dominions of Brabant, Flanders, Henalt, Holland, and othe patrimoniall lands and inheritances of the said emperor in the low countries of Germanie; in like maner as the ladie Margaret of England, sometime wife and widow of the lord Charles, sometime duke of Burgogne, had and receiued of the same. And if anie parcell or parcels thereof be alienated, then in lieu thereof, other lands should be in due forme assigned foorth for hir to enioy, lieng neere to the residue of hir dower.

Touching the issue of hir bodie male or female.

4 The issue that should chance to come of this mariage, touching the right of the mothers inheritance in the realme of England, and the other realmes and dominions depending of the same, aswell the males as females should succeed in them, according to the laws, statutes, and customs of the same.

Touching the prince of Spaines disposing of his lands after his decease.

5 And as touching the lands that the said prince of Spaine shall leaue behind him, first there should be reserued vnto his eldest sonne the lord Charles of Austrich, infant of Spaine, and to the children and heires of him descending, as well females as males all and singular their rights, which to the said prince doo either then, or thereafter should belong, or should at anie time be deuolued to him in the realmes of Spaine, of both the Sicils, in the dukedome of Millaine, and other

other lands and dominions in Lumbardie and Italie, which neuerthelesse shall be burdened and charged with the foresaid dower of fortie thousand pounds. And if it fortuned the said lord Charles to die, and the issue of his bodie to faile, then the eldest son of this matrimonie should succeed, and be admitted vnto the said right, according to the nature, lawes, and customs of those realmes and dominions. The same eldest son should also succéed in all the dukedoms, earledoms, dominions, and patrimoniall lands belonging vnto the said emperor father to the said prince of Spaine, as well in Burgogne, as in the low countries, in the dukedoms of Brabant, Luxemburgh, Gelderland, Zutphane, Burgongne, Fréeseland, in the countries of Flanders, Arthois, Holland, Zeland, Namure, and the land beyond the Isles, and all other whatsoeuer therevnto belonging.

Touching the lord Charles and his descendents if heire male came by this mariage.

6 But if the said lord Charles, or they that should come of him, remaine in life; and that there be anie male child by this matrimonie: the said lord Charles and his descendents should then be excluded from the said lands and patrimoniall dominions of the low countries, and of Burgongne, and the same should descend vnto the said eldest son borne of this matrimonie. And to the other children borne thereof, as well males as females, a conuenient portion and dower should be allotted in the realme of England, and dominions depending of the same, and in the said lands and patrimoniall dominions of the low countries: and neither the eldest sonne of this matrimonie, nor the sons begotten in the same, should pretend anie right in the realme of Spaine, or in the dominions of the same, and reserued to the said lord Charles the infant, otherwise than by their fathers and grandfathers disposition.

What is to be doone if heire male faile, and there be none but issue female.

7 Moreouer, if it fortune no issue male to be borne of this matrimonie, but onelie females, in that case the eldest female should with full right succéed in the said lands and dominions of the low countries, so as neuerthelesse she being minded to choose a husband anie noble man not borne in England, or in the low countries, without the consent of the said lord Charles the infant, in that case the right of the succession should remaine to the said lord Charles, in the said dominions of the low countries, Burgongne, and their appurtenances. And yet neuerthelesse in that case, both she and the other daughters also descending of this matrimonie, shall be indowed of their fathers lands and possessions aswell in Spaine, as in the low countries.

What for want of issue by the lord Charles.

8 And for want of the said lord Charles, and issue of him, and none but daughters remaining of this mariage, the eldest daughter in that case should succéed, not onelie in the lands of the low countries; but also in the realmes of Spaine, England, and the rest, after the nature, the lawes, and customs of the same.

A prouiso touching succession.

9 Herewith was a prouiso accorded, that whatsoeuer he or she should be that should succéed in them, they should leaue to euerie of the said realms, lands, and dominions, whole and entire their priuileges, rites and customs, and gouerne the same by the naturall borne of the same realmes, dominions, and lands, &c.

Touching a perpetuall league or bond of fraternitie &c.

10 Finallie, that betwéene the said emperor, the prince and his successors, their realmes, and the said quéene, it was concluded, that from thenseforth there should be an entire and sincere fraternitie, vnitie, and most strict confederacie for euer, &c: so as they shuld mutuallie aid ech other in all things, according to the strength, forme, and effect of the latter tretise of a strict amitie, bearing date at Westminster in the yéere 1542: the declaration of which treatie beareth date at Vteright, the sixtéenth of Ianuarie, in the yeare 1546.

IN ANOTHER TREATISE

WERE THESE ARTICLES FOLLOWING COMPRISED.

No stranger to be admitted to anie office, &c: in England.

FIRST, that the prince of Spaine should not promote, admit, or receiue vnto anie office, administration, or benefice in the realme of England, or dominions to the same belonging, anie stranger, or persons not borne vnder the subiection of the said quéene.

Englishmen to attend at the court.

2 That he should receiue into his household and court, gentlemen and yeomen of the said realme of England in a conuenient number, estéeming, interteining, and nourishing them as his proper subiects, and bring none with him in his retinue that will doo anie wrong to the subiects of the said realme; and if they doo, he to correct them with condigne punishment, and to see them expelled his court.

The state in no point to be innouated.

3 That he shall doo nothing whereby anie thing be innouated in the state and right either publike or priuat, or in the lawes and customs of the said realme of England, or the dominions therevnto belonging; but shall kéepe to all estates and orders their rights and priuileges.

The quéene not to be conueied out of hir owne territories.

4 That he shall not leade awaie the quéene out of the borders of hir graces realme, vnlesse she hir selfe desire it; or carrie the children that may be borne of this matrimonie out of the same realme, vnlesse it be otherwise thought good by the consent and agréement of the nobilitie of England.

The prince of Spaines title to end with the quéenes death.

5 And in case no children being left, the said queene doo die before him, he shall not challenge anie right at all in the said kingdome, but without impediment shall permit the succession therof to come vnto them to whome it shall belong, by the right and lawes of the realme.

The iewels, &c: of the land not to be carried out, alienated, vsurped, &c.

6 Item that he shall not beare nor carrie ouer out of the said realme, the iewels and pretious things of estimation. Neither shall he alienat or doo awaie anie whit of the appurtenances of the said realme of England, or suffer anie part of them to be vsurped by his subiects, or anie other. But shall see that all and singular places of the realme, and speciallie the forts and frontires of the same be faithfullie kept and preserued to the vse and profit of the said realme, and by the naturall borne of the same.

No ships, guns, ordinance, &c: to be remooued, conueied, &c: out of the land.

7 He shall not suffer anie ship, guns, ordinance whatsoeuer of warre or defense, to be remooued or conueied out of the same realme; but shall contrariwise cause them diligentlie to be kept and viewed when need requireth; and shall so prouide that the same maie be alwaies readie in their strength and force for defense of the realme.

Peace to be mainteined in this realme without medling in other forren nations warres.

8 Item the realme of England by occasion of this matrimonie, shall not directlie nor indirectlie be intangled with the warre that is betwéene the emperor father to the said prince of Spaine, and Henrie the French king; but he the said prince (as much as in him maie lie) on the behalfe of the said realme of England, shall sée the peace betwéene the said realmes of France and England obserued, and shall giue no cause of anie breach, by which couenant the latter treatise of a strict amitie should not be in anie point derogated, but the same still to remaine in the former force, &c.

But now to returne where we left. At the time of the solemnization of the foresaid marriage holden at Winchester (as before ye haue heard) the emperors ambassadors being present, openlie pronounced, that in consideration of that

marriage, the emperor had giuen and granted to the said prince his sonne the kingdome of Naples and Ierusalem, with diuerse other seats and segniories. The solemnitie of that marriage ended, the king of heralds called Garter, openlie in the church in the presence of the king, the queene, and the lords as well of England as Spaine, all the people being present, solemnelie proclamed the title and stile of those two princes, as followeth: Philip and Marie by the grace of God king and queene of England, France, Naples, Ierusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, princes of Spaine and Sicilie, archdukes of Austrich, dukes of Millaine, Burgundie, and Brabant, counties of Haspurge, Flanders, and Tiroll. The proclamation being ended, the trumpets blew, and the king with the queene came forth of the church hand in hand and two swords borne before them, and so returned to their palace.

The emperors gift to the prince his sonne.

The title of estate belonging both to Philip and Marie proclamed by the herald.

¶ By this time report had sufficientlie sounded abrode all that happened, speciallie the solemnities executed about this roiall marriage; whereby some supposed that this land would haue become a golden world, and that such amitie would haue insued betweene both nations, as nothing should dissolue. But others were of a contrarie opinion, supposing (as it came to passe indéed) that the peoples minds would be alienated and estranged from the disposition whereto they were addicted in king Edwards daies, and that manie would become heauie hearted vpon heare-saie of this coniunction; much more pensife and grieued at the meditation of the miseries which were like immediatlie to follow; as C. O. noteth in discoursing on this matter, saieng as here followeth:

Succedit regi defuncto, sceptra capescens
Fœmina, cui nomen Maria est, soror vna duarum
Ex stirpe Henrici: quæ paucis nupta diebus,
Post homini externo consanguineóque Philippo,
Coniugio tali subtristes reddidit Anglos,
Námque duas gentes rarò coalescere cernas
Vnanimes patria plerunque & amore diremptas.

Of this marriage (saith maister Fox) as the papists chieflie séemed to be verie glad, so diuerse of them after diuerse studies, did shew foorth their inward affections: some made interludes and pageants, and some drew foorth genealogies, deriuing his pedegrée from Edward the third, and Iohn of Gant; some made verses. Amongst all other maister White then bishop of Lincolne in his poeticall veine, being droonken with ioie of the marriage, spued out certeine verses; the copie whereof we haue here inserted, to impart vnto common knowledge.

John Fox in the Acts and Monuments.

PHILIPPI & MARIÆ GENEALOGIA,

Qua ambo principes ex Iohanne de Gandauo Eduardi tertij, Angliæ, Franciæque regis filio descendisse ostenduntur, White Lincolniense authore.

Ille parens regum Gandaua ex vrbe Iohannes
Somersetensem comitem profert Iohannem.
Somersetensis venit hoc patre dux Iohannes,
Qui Margaretam Richemundi habuit comitissam.
Hæc dedit Henricum, qui regni septimus huius
Henrico octauo solium regale reliquit.
Hoc patre propitio, & fausto quasi sydere nata
Iure tenes sacram, teneásque Maria coronam.

VERSES

VERSES OF MAISTER WHITE BISHOP OF LINCOLNE,

CONCERNING THE MARRIAGE OF PHILIP AND MARIE.*

*These verses are answered in master Fox by the learned.

Nubat vt Angla Anglo, regina Maria Philippo,
Inque suum fontem regia stirps redeat,
Noluit humani generis demon vetus hostis,
Sed Deus Anglorum prouida spes voluit.
Nollet Scotus inops, timidúsque ad prælia Gallus,
Cæsar, & Italia, & Flandria tota volet.
Noluit Hæreticus (stirps Caiphæ) pontificum grex
Pontificum sed grex Catholicus voluit.
Octo vxorati Patres in dæmone nollent:
Quinque Cathenati pro pietate volent.
Noluit Iohannes Dudley Northumbrius vrsus,
Sed fidum regni Concilium voluit.
Noluit ætatis nostræ Catilina Viatus,
Sed proceres & plebs & pia turba volet.
Nollet Graius dux, & Cantia terra rebellans:
Nos quoniam Dominus sic voluit, volumus.
Clarior effectus repetat sua limina sanguis,
Cùm sit Philippo iuncta Maria viro.]

But to procéed. As soone as the feasting and solemnitie of the said marriage was ended, the king and quéene departed from Winchester, and by easie iournies came to Windsore castell, where the fift of August being sundaie, he was stalled according to the order of the garter, and there kept S. Georges feast himselfe in his roiall estate, and the earle of Sussex was also the same time stalled in the order. At which time an herald tooke downe the armes of England at Windsore, and in the place of them would haue set the armes of Spaine, but he was commanded to set them vp againe by certeine lords. The seuenth of August was made a generall hunting with a toile raised of foure or fiue miles in length, so that manie a déere that day was brought to the quarrie. The eleuenth of August they remooued to Richmond, and from thence the 17 of the same moneth they came by water to London, landing at the bishop of Winchesters house, through which they passed both to Southworke parke, and so to Suffolke place, where they lodged that night: and the next daie being saturdaie and the nineteenth of August, they being accompanied with a great number of nobles and gentlemen, rode from thence ouer the bridge, and passed through London vnto Westminster.

King Philip stalled at Windsor

Iohn Fox.

A generall hunting.

The king and quéene come through London to Westminster.

¶ Now as the king came to London bridge, and as he entred at the drawbridge, was a vaine great spectacle set vp, two images representing two giants, one named Corineus, and the other Gogmagog holding betweene them certeine Latine verses, which for the vaine ostentation of flatterie I ouerpasse. And as they passed ouer the bridge, there was a number of ordinance shot at the tower, such as by old mens report the like hath not béene heard or séene these hundred yéeres. From London bridge they passed to the conduit in Gratious stréet, which was finelie painted, and among other things, the nine worthies, whereof king Henrie the eight was one. He was painted in harnesse hauing in one hand a sword, and in the other hand a booke, wherevpon was written Verbum Dei, deliuering the same booke

Abr. Fl. ex Ioh. Foxi martyrologic. Vaine pageants of London.

booke (as it were) to his sonne king Edward, who was painted in a corner by him. But herevpon was no small matter made, for the bishop of Winchester lord chancellor, sent for the painter, and not onelie called him knaue for painting a booke in king Henries hand, and speciallie for writing therevpon Verbum Dei: but also ranke traitor and villen, saieng to him that he should rather haue put the booke into the quéenes hand (who was also painted there) for that she had reformed the church and religion, with other things according to the pure and sincere word of God indéed. The painter answered and said, that if he had knowne that that had beene the matter wherefore his lordship sent for him, he could haue remedied it, and not haue troubled his lordship.

Winchester cannot abide the booke called Verbum Dei.

The painter sent for to the bishop of Winchester.

The painters answer.

The bishop answered and said, that it was the quéenes maiesties will and commandement, that he should send for him; and so commanding him to wipe out the booke and Verbum Dei too: he sent him home. So the painter departed, but fearing least he should leaue some part either of the booke, or of Verbum Dei, in king Henries hand: he wiped awaie a péece of his fingers withall. Here I passe ouer and cut off other gauds and pageants of pastime shewed vnto him in passing through London, with the flattering verses set vp in Latine, wherein were blazed out in one place the fiue Philips, as the fiue worthies of the world, Philip of Macedonia, Philip the emperor, Philippus Audax, Philippus Bonus, Philip prince of Spaine and king of England. In another poetrie king Philip was resembled by an image representing Orpheus, and all English people resembled to brute and sauage beasts following after Orpheus harpe, and dansing after king Philips pipe. Not that I reprehend the art of the Latine verses, which was fine and cunning; but that I passe ouer the matter, hauing other grauer things in hand, and therefore passe ouer also the sight at Paules church side, of him that came downe vpon a rope tied to the batlements with his head before, neither staieng himselfe with hand or foot: which shortlie after cost him his life.

Fiue Philips.

But one thing by the waie I cannot let passe, touching the yoong florishing rood newlie set vp against this present time, to welcome king Philip into Paules church. The setting vp of which rood was this, and may make as good a pageant as the best. Anno 2. Mariæ Boner in his roialtie, and all his prebendaries about him in Paules quéere, the rood laid along vpon the pauement, and also all the doores of Paules being shut, the bishop with other said and soong diuerse praiers by the rood: that being doone they annointed the rood with oile in diuers places, and after the annointing crept vnto it and kissed it. After that they tooke the said rood and weied him vp and set him in his old accustomed place, and all the while they were dooing thereof, the whole quéere sang Te Deum, and when that was ended, they rang the bels, not onlie for ioy, but also for the notable and great fact they had doone therein.

The erecting vp of the rood of Paules.

Bishop Boners god the rood of Pauls set vp with Te Deum.

Not long after this, a merrie fellow came into Paules, and spied the rood with Marie and Iohn new set vp, wherto (among a great sort of people) he made low curtsie and said: Sir, your maistership is welcome to towne, I had thought to haue talked further with your maistership, but that ye be héere clothed in the quéenes colours. I hope ye be but a summers bird, for that ye be dressed in white and gréene, &c. The prince thus being in the church of Paules, after doctor Harpesfield had finished his oration in Latine, set forward through Fléetstreet, and so came to White hall, where he with the quéene remained foure daies after, and from thence remooued vnto Richmond. After this, all the lords had leaue to depart into their countries, with strict commandement to bring all their harnesse and artillerie into the tower of London with all spéed. Now remained there no English lord at the court but the bishop of Winchester.

Salutation to the rood of Paules.

From Richmond they remooued to Hampton court, where the hall doore within the

the court was continuallie shut, so that no man might enter, vnlesse his errand were first knowne: which seemed strange to Englishmen that had not beene vsed thereto. The seuentéenth daie of September, was a proclamation in London, that all vagabonds and maisterlesse men, as well strangers as Englishmen, should depart the citie within fiue daies: and strictlie charging all inholders, vittelers, tauerners, and alehousekéepers, with all other that sold vittels, that they (after the said fiue daies) should not sell anie meat, drinke, or anie kind of vittels or releefe to anie seruingman whatsoeuer, vnlesse he brought a testimoniall from his maister to declare whose seruant he was, and were in continuall houshold with his said maister, vpon paine to runne in danger of the law if they offend herein.]

A proclamation for the auoiding of maisterlesse men out of the citie of London

In September, the duke of Norffolke departed this life at Freminghaim castell in Norffolke, and there was honorablie buried among his ancéstors. ¶ The 26 of October, a Spaniard was hangd at Charingcrosse for killing an Englishman, there was offered for his life by other strangers 500 crownes, but all that would not staie iustice.] On fridaie the same 26 of October, those honest men that had béene of Throckmortons quest, being in number eight (for the other foure were deliuered out of prison, for that they submitted themselues, and said they had offended like weakelings, not considering truth to be truth, but of force for feare said so) these eight men I saie (whereof maister Emanuell Lucar and maister Whetston were chéefe) were called before the councell in the Starrechamber, where they affirmed that they had doone all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good consciences, euen as they should answer before GOD at the daie of iudgement. Where maister Lucar said openlie before all the lords that they had doone in the matter like honest men, and true and faithfull subiects: and therefore they humblie besought my lord chancellor and the other lords, to be meanes to the king and quéenes maiesties, that they might be discharged and set at libertie: and said that they were all contented to submit themselues to their maiesties, sauing and reseruing their truth, consciences, and honesties.

Death of the Duke of Norfolke.

A Spaniard hanged iohn Stow.

Eight of maister Throckmortons iurie appéere in the starchamber.

The lords taking their words in maruellous euill part, iudged them worthie to paie excessiue fines. Some said they were worthie to paie 1000 pounds a péece. Other said that Lucar and Whetston were worthie to paie a thousand marks a péece, and the rest fiue hundred pounds a peece. In conclusion, sentence was giuen by the lord chancellor that they should paie a thousand marks a peece, he that paid least; and that they should go to prison againe, and there remain till further order were taken for their punishment. The thirtith of October being tuesdaie, the lord Iohn Greie was deliuered out of the tower, and set at libertie. Vpon saturdaie the tenth of Nouember, the shiriffes of London had commandement to take an inuentarie of each one of their goods, which were of maister Throckmortons quest, and to seale vp their doores, which was doone the same daie.

The hard iudgement of the lords against those eight honest men.

The L. Iohn Greie set at libertie.

Further extremitie against Throckmortons quest.

Maister Whetston, and maister Lucar, and maister Kightlie, were adiudged to paie two thousand pounds a péece, and the rest a thousand marks a péece, to be paid within one fortnight after. From this paiment were exempted those foure which confessed a fault, and therevpon had submitted themselues, whose names are these: maister Loe, maister Pointer, maister Beswicke, and maister Cater. The 12 of Nouember being mondaie, the parlement began at Westminster, to the beginning whereof both the king and quéene rode in their parlement robes, hauing two swords borne before them. The earle of Penbroke bare his sword, and the earle of Westmerland bare the quéenes. They had two caps of maintenance likewise borne before them: whereof the earle of Arundell bare the one, and the earle of Shrewesburie the other. During this parlement, cardinall Poole landed at Douer vpon wednesdaie, being the 21 of Nouember, who being receiued with much honor in all other countries through which hee had passed, was receiued here at the

Iohn Fox.

A parlement whereat the king and queene are present.

Cardinall Poole arriueth at Douer.

the first, with no great shew, for the causes aboue mentioned. The same daie on the which he arriued, an act passed in the parlement house, for his restitution in bloud, vtterlie repealing (as false and most slanderous) that act made against him in K. Henrie the eights time. And on the next daie being thursdaie and the 22 of Nouember, the king and queene both came to the parlement house to giue their roiall assent, and to establish this act against his comming. On saturdaie the foure and twentith of Nouember, he came to the court, and after went to Lambeth where his lodging was prepared.

An act for the restitution in bloud of cardinall Poole.

On wednesdaie following in the after noone, he came into the parlement house, being at that present kept in the great chamber of the court of the White hall, for that the quéene by reason of sicknesse was not able to go abrode (where the king and quéene sitting ynder the cloth of estate, and the cardinall sitting on the right hand, with all the other estates of the realme being present) and the knights and burgesses of the common house being also called thither, the bishop of Winchester being lord chancellor, spake in his maner. "My lords of the vpper house, and you my maisters of the nether house, here is present the right reuerend father in God, my lord cardinall Poole, legat A Latere, come from the apostolike sée of Rome, as ambassador to the king and quéenes maiesties, vpon one of the weightiest causes that euer happened in this realme, and which apperteineth to the glorie of God, and your vniuersall benefit; the which ambassage, their maiesties pleasure is to bee signified vnto you all by his owne mouth, trusting that you will receiue and accept it in as beneuolent and thankefull wise, as their highnesse haue doone, and that you will giue attentiue and inclinable eare vnto his grace, who is now readie to declare the same." So soone as the lord chancellor had ended his tale, the cardinall began and made a long and solemne oration, the which for shortnesse sake I haue collected into these few articles, remitting the reader to maister Foxes Acts and Monuments, where they shall find the same wholie and entierlie as by him it was vttered.

Cardinall Poole cometh into the parlement house.

The words of the bishop of Winchesterthen lord chancellor.

Rich. Grafton.

1 First, he yéelded most heartie thanks to the king and queene, and next vnto the whole parlement; that of a man exiled and banished from this commonweale, they had restored him againe to be a member of the same, and to the honour of his house and familie, and of a man hauing no place, neither here nor elsewhere within the realme, to haue admitted him into a place where to speake, and to be wheard.

The effect of the cardinals oration in the assemblie of parlement.

2 Secondlie, that his especiall comming was for the restitution of this realme to the ancient estate, and to declare that the sée apostolike hath a speciall care of this realme aboue all other: and chieflie for that this Iland first of all other prouinces of Europe, receiued the light of Christs religion from the sée of Rome.

He sheweth the speciall cause of his comming into England.

3 Thirdlie, he exhorted that though the realme had swarued from the catholike vnitie, that yet being better informed, we ought to returne into the bosome of the church, most open to receiue all penitents. For the persuasion wherof he brought a number of old examples, what perill and hurt hath happened vnto them that haue swarued and gone from the church of Rome, namelie Greece and Germanie.

He exhorteth to a generall returne into the bosome of the church.

4 Fourthlie, how much we are bound to God for the king and quéens maiesties, and how miraculouslie God had saued and defended our queene from hir enimies in most dangerous times: and also that hée hath prouided to ioine with hir in mariage, such a noble prince as king Philip was, and one of hir owne religion.

He declareth how wonderfullie god had preserued Q. Marie.

5 Fifthlie, he exhorted them all to obedience of these two princes, and to call vpon God for issue to be had betweene them, adding that king Philips father the emperour, had amongst other princes trauelled most for the restitution of the peace

He exhorteth to obedience and treateth of restoring this realme to the vnitie of the church.

peace and vnitie of the church. But as almightie God said vnto Dauid, though he had a mind and will to build his temple: yet bicause he had shed bloud, he should not build it. And so bicause the emperour hath had so manie warres, and shed so much bloud: therefore hee could not atteine to bring perfect peace to the church. But trulie (said he) this gratious prince king Philip his sonne, as I conceiue, is appointed of God to it, considering now the calling of him to be ioined with so catholike a princesse, as is the queene of this realme, one without all doubt sent likewise of God, for the restoring of the said realme to the vnitie of the church, from whence it hath erred and gone astraie, as it dooth and maie manifestlie appeare.

He protesteth that he ment the preiudice of no man, &c.

6 Sixtlie, he protested that his commission was not to preiudice anie person, for he came not to destroie, but to build; he came to reconcile, and not to condemne; he came not to compell, but to call againe; he came not to call anie thing in question alreadie doone: but his commission was of grace and clemencie to all such as would receiue it. For touching all matters past, and doone, they should be cast into the sea of forgetfulnesse, and neuer more to bee thought vpon.

He sheweth the means of procuring the foresaid reconciliation.

7 Finallie (said he) the meane whereby to receiue this high benefit, is first to reuoke and repeale all such lawes as are impediments, blocks and barres to this most gratious reconciliation. For like as he himselfe had no place to speake there, before such lawes were abrogated and remooued as stood in his waie: euen so they could not receiue the grace offered from the see apostolike, vntill these like impediments of lawes made against the see of Rome, were vtterlie abolished and repealed. And so in conclusion aduertised them, first for the glorie of God, and next for the conseruation and suertie of the wealth and quietnesse of the whole realme, that they should earnestlie trauell therein, and that then he would make them participants of the benefit of his commission.

The next daie the whole court of parlement drew out the forme of a supplication, and the next daie following, when the king, the queene, and the cardinall, with all the nobles and commons were assembled againe in the great chamber of the White hall aforesaid, the bishop of Winchester there shewed what the parlement had determined concerning the cardinals request, and then offered to the king and queene the said supplication, to be by them presented to the cardinall. Wherein would be noted the readinesse of the assemblie to submit themselues to antichristian slauerie: but omitting to giue iudgement, marke their supplication, the copie whereof followeth.

A SUPPLICATION EXHIBITED TO CARDINALL POOLE BY THE PARLEMENT.

This supplication was exhibited to the king and queene.

WE the lords spirituall and temporall, and commons in this present parlement assembled, representing the whole bodie of the realme of England and dominions of the same, in the name of our selues particularlie, and also of the said bodie vniuersallie, offer this our most humble supplication to your maiesties, to this end and effect; that the same by your gratious intercession and meane maie be exhibited to the most reuerend father in God the lord cardinall Poole legat, sent speciallie hither from our most holie father pope Iulie the third, and the see apostolike of Rome. Wherin we doo declare our selues verie sorie and repentant of the long schisme and disobedience happening in this realme, and the domi-

nions of the same, against the sée apostolike, either by making, agréeing, or executing of anie lawes, ordinances or commandements against the primasie of the same sée, or otherwise dooing or speaking that might impugne or preiudice the same. Offering our selues, and promising by this our supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our said repentance, we be and shall be euer readie, vnder and with the authorities of your maiesties, to the vttermost of our power, to doo that shall lie in vs, for the abrogation and repealing of all the said lawes and ordinances, made and enacted to the preiudice of the sée apostolike, as well for our selues as for the whole bodie whome we represent. Wherevpon we humblie beséech your maiesties, as persons vndefiled in offense of his bodie towards the said sée, which neuerthelesse God by his prouidence hath made subiect to you, so to set foorth this our humble sute, as we the rather by your intercession maie obteine from the sée apostolike, by the said most reuerend father, as well particularlie as generallie, absolution, release, and discharge from all dangers of such censures and sentences as by the lawes of the church we be fallen into. And that we maie as children repentant, be receiued into the bosome and vnitie of Christs church: so as this noble realme, with all the members thereof, maie in this vnitie and perfect obedience to the see apostolike, and popes for the time being, serue God and your maiesties to the furtherance and aduancement of his honour and glorie, Amen.

Promise in signe of repentance to make full amends by being reconciled to the catholike church.

This supplication being first openlie read, the same was by the chancellor deliuered, to the king and quéene, with petition to them, to exhibit the same to the lord cardinall. And the king and quéene rising out of their seats, and dooing reuerence to the cardinall, did deliuer the same vnto him. The cardinall perceiuing the effect thereof to answer to his expectation, did receiue it most gladlie at their maiesties hands. And then, after that hée had in few words giuen thanks vnto God, and declared what great cause hée had to reioise aboue all others, that his comming from Rome into England had taken such most happie successe; then he caused his commission to bée read (wherby it might appeare he had authoritie from the pope to absolue them) which commission was verie long and large. And that being doone, and all the parlement on their knées, this cardinall, by the popes authoritie, gaue them absolution in maner following.

The king and quéene exhibit the supplication to Poole the proud prelat.

AN ABSOLUTION PRONOUNCED BY CARDINALL POOLE TO THE PARLEMENT HOUSE.

OUR lord Iesus Christ, which with his most pretious bloud hath redeemed and washed vs from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase vnto himselfe a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the father hath appointed head ouer all his church; he by his mercie absolue you. And we by the apostolike authoritie giuen vnto vs by the most holie lord pope Iulius the third (his vicegerent in earth) doo absolue and deliuer you, and euerie of you, with the whole realme, and the dominions thereof, from all heresie and schisme, and from all and euerie iudgements, censures and paines for that cause incurred. And also we doo restore you againe to the vnitie of our mother the holie church, as in our letters of commission more plainelie shall appeare.

Pope Iulie the third gaue cardinall Poole his authoritie apostolike.

After this generall absolution receiued, the king and the quéene, and all the lords with the rest, went into the kings chappell, and there sang Te Deum with

great ioy and gladnesse, for this new reconciliation. The report whereof with great speed flew to Rome, as well by the French kings letters, as also by the cardinals. Whereupon the pope caused solemne processions to be made in Rome, namelie one, wherein he himselfe with all his cardinals were present, passing with as great solemnitie and pompe as might be, giuing thanks to God with great ioy, for the conuersion of England to his church. At what time also he not a little commended the diligence of cardinall Poole, and the deuotion of the king and quéene. And on Christmas euen next following, he set foorth by his buls a generall pardon to all such as did reioise in the same reconciliation.

Solemne procession at Rome for the new reconcilement of England to the catholike church.

A report that the quéene was with child.

The eight and twentith of Nouember next following, it was commonlie reported, that the quéene was quicke with child, and therefore commandement was giuen by Edmund Bonner then bishop of London (and as it was said not without the commandement of the councell) that there should be made in most solenne manner one generall procession in London, wherein the maior, and all the companies of the citie were in their liueries, at whose returne to the church of Pauls, there was soong verie solemnlie Te Deum for ioy therof. The same daie at this procession was present ten bishops with all the prebendaries of Paules. The copie of the councels letter implieng the aforesaid commandement, touching the generall procession here followeth, Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

A COPIE OF A LETTER SENT FROM THE COUNCELL VNTO EDMUND BONNER BISHOP OF LONDON, CONCERNING QUEENE MARIE CONCEIUED WITH CHILD.

The councels letter to bishop Bonner of the quéenes conceiuing of child

If Quéene Marie were quicke with child on the 28. of the moneth of Nouember and afterward did labour in the moneth of Iune, then went she almost seuen moneths quicke with child.

AFTER our hartie commendations vnto your good lordship. Whereas it hath pleased almightie God amongst other his infinit benefits of late most gratiouslie powred vpon vs and this whole realme, to extend his benediction vpon the quéens maiestie in such sort, as she is conceiued and quicke of child; whereby (hir maiestie being our naturall liege ladie, quéene and vndoubted inheritor of this imperial crowne) good hope of certeine succession in the crowne is giuen vnto vs, and consequentlie, the great calamities, which (for want of such succession might otherwise haue fallen vpon vs and our posteritie) shall by Gods grace be well auoided, if we thankefullie acknowledge this benefit of almightie God, indeuoring our selues with earnest repentance to thanke, honor, and serue him as we be most bounden. These be not onelie to aduertise you of these good news, to be by you published in all places within your dioces; but also to praie and require you, that both your selfe doo giue God thanks with vs for this his especiall grace, and also giue order that thanks maie be openlie giuen by singing of Te Deum in all the churches within your said doices; and that likewise all priests and other ecclesiasticall ministers, in their masses and other diuine seruices, may continuallie praie to almightie God, so to extend his holie hand ouer his maiestie, the kings highnesse and this whole realme, as this thing being by his omnipotent power gratiouslie thus begun, may by the same be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glorie of his name. Whereunto albeit we doubt not ye would of your selfe haue had speciall regard without these our letters: yet for the earnest desire we haue to haue this thing doone out of hand, and diligentlie continued, we haue also written these our letters.

letters, to put you in remembrance: and so bid your lordship most hartilie well to fare. From Westminster the 27 of Nouember. 1554.

YOUR ASSURED AND LOUING FRIENDS

S. Winton. Chancel.	Iohn Bathon.
Arundell.	R. Rich.
F. Shrewesburie.	Thomas Warthom
Edward Darbie.	Iohn Huddilstone.
Henrie Sussex.	R. Southwell.

Vpon this letter of the councels sent to bishop Bonner (signifieng the good news of quéene Marie to be not onelie conceiued, but also quicke with child, which was in the moneth of Nouember the eight and twentith daie) it is out of count what great talke began at this time to rise in euerie mans mouth, with busie preparation and much adoo, especiallie among such as séemed in England to carrie Spanish hearts in English bodies. In number of whome here is not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condigne commendation for his worthie affection towards his prince and hir issue, one sir Richard Southwell who being the same time in the parlement house, when as the lords we occupied in other affaires and matters of importance, suddenlie starting vp for fulnesse of ioy, burst out in these words following: Tush, my maisters (quoth he) what talke ye of these matters; I would haue you take some order for our yoong maister that is now comming into the world apace, least he find vs vnprouided, &c. By the which words both of him, and also by the foresaid letters of the councell, and the common talke abroad, it may appeare what an assured opinion was then conceiued in mens heads of quéene Marie, to be conceiued and quicke with child. In somuch that at the same time, and in the same parlement, there was eftsoones a bill exhibited, and an act made vpon the same, the words whereof for the more euidence, I thought here to exemplificat.

The words of sir Richard Southwell in the parlement house for his yoong maister.

THE WORDS OF THE ACT.

ALBEIT we the lords spirituall and temporall, and the commons in this present parlement assembled, haue firme hope and confidence in the goodnes of almightie God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculouslie preserued the quéenes maiestie from manie great imminent perils and dangers; euen so he will of his infinit goodnesse giue hir highnesse strength, the rather by our continuall praiers to passe well the danger of deliuerance of child, wherewith it hath pleased him (to all our great comforts) to blesse hir: yet for so much as all things of this world be vncerteine, and hauing before our eies the dolorous experience of this inconstant gouernment during the time of the reigne of the late king Edward the sixt, doo plainlie sée the manifold inconueniences, great dangers and perils that maie insue to this whole realme, if foresight be not vsed to preuent all euill chances, if they should happen. For the eschewing hereof, we the lords spirituall and temporall and the commons in this present parlement assembled; for and in consideration of a most speciall trust and confidence that we haue and repose in the kings maestie, for and concerning the politike gouernment, order, and administration of this

Order taken by parlement for quéene Maries child.

this realme in the time of the yoong yéeres of the issue or issues of hir maiesties bodie to be borne, if it should please God to call the quéenes highnesse out of this present life, during the tender yeares of such issue or issues (which God for bid) according to such order and maner as hereafter in this present act his highnesse most gratious pleasure is, should be declared and set foorth, haue made our humble sute by the assent of the quéens highnesse, that his maiestie would vouchsafe to accept and take vpon him the rule, order, education and gouernment of the said issue or issues to be borne as is aforesaid, vpon which our sute being of his said maiestie most gratiouslie accepted, it hath pleased his highnes, not onlie to declare, that like as for the most part his maiestie verely trusteth that almightie God (who hath hitherto preserued the quéens maiestie) to giue this realme so good an hope of certeine succession in the blood roiall of the same realm, will assist hir highnes with his graces and benedictions to sée the fruit of hir bodie well brought forth, liue and able to gouerne (whereof neither all this realme, ne all the world besides, should or could receiue more comfort than his maiestie should and would) yet if such chance should happen, his maiestie at our humble desires is pleased and contented not onelie to accept and take vpon him the cure and charge of the education, rule, order, and gouernment of such issues, as of this most happie mariage shall be borne betwéene the quéenes highnes and him: but also during the time of such gouernment, would by all waies and meanes studie, trauell and imploie himselfe to aduance the weale, both publike and priuat, of this realme and dominions thereto belonging, according to the said trust in his maiestie reposed, with no lesse good will and affection than if his highnes had béene naturallie borne among vs. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the king and the quéens most excellent maiesties, by assent of the lords spirituall and temporall, and the commons in this present parlement assembled, and by the authoritie of the same, &c: as it is to be séene in the act more at large ratified and confirmed at the same parlement, to the same intent and purpose.

Trust disappointed.

Thus much out of the act and statute I thought to rehearse, to the intent the reader maie vnderstand, not so much how parlements maie sometimes be deceiued (as by this child of quéene Marie may appéere) as rather what cause we Englishmen haue to render most earnest thanks vnto almightie God, who so mercifullie against the opinion, expectation, and working of our aduersaries, hath helped and deliuered vs in this case: which otherwise might haue opened such a window to the Spaniards, to haue entred and replenished this land, that peraduenture by this time Englishmen should haue inioied no great quiet in their owne countrie. The Lord therefore make vs perpetuallie mindfull of his benefits, Amen.

Parlements maie be deceiued.

Thus we sée then how man dooth purpose, but God disposeth as pleaseth him. For all this great labor, prouision, and order taken in the parlement house for their yoong maister long looked for, comming so surelie into the world; in the end appéered neither yoong maister nor yoong maistresse that anie man yet to this daie can heare of. Furthermore as the labor of the laie sort was herein deluded, so no lesse ridiculous it was to behold what little effect the praiers of the popes churchmen had with almightie God, who trauelled no lesse with their processions, masses, and collects, for the happie deliuerance of this yoong maister to come, as here followeth to be séene.

The praiers of the papists of what litle effect they are with God.

A PRAIER

A PRAIER MADE BY DOCTOR WESTON DEANE OF WESTMINSTER, DAILIE TO BE SAID FOR THE QUEENES DELIUERANCE.

A Praier for quéene Marie and hir child, turned out of Latine into English.

O MOST righteous Lord God, which for the offense of the first woman, has threatened vnto all women a common, sharpe, and inéuitable maledictiõ, and hast inioined them that they should conceiue in sinne; and being conceiued, should be subiect to manie and gréeuous torments, and finallie be deliuered with the danger and icopardie of their life: we beséech thée for thine exceeding great goodnesse and botomlesse mercie, to mitigate the strictnes of that law. Asswage thine anger for a while, and cherish in the bosome of thy fauour and mercie our most gratious quéene Marie, being now at the point of hir deliuerance. So helpe hir, that without danger of hir life, she maie ouercome the sorow, and in due season bring foorth a child, in bodie beautifull and comelie, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterward she forgetting the trouble, maie with ioie, laud and praise the bountifulnesse of thy mercie; and togither with vs, praise and blesse both thée and thy holie name world without end. This (O Lord) we desire thee, we beseech thee, and most hartilie craue of thée. Heare vs (O Lord) and grant vs our petition. Let not the enimies of thy faith and of thy church saie; Where is their God?

A SOLEMNE PRAIER MADE FOR KING PHILIP AND QUEENE MARIES CHILD, THAT IT MAIE BE A MALE CHILD, WELFAUOURED AND WITTIE &c.

A deuout praier made by the catholikes for quéene Marie being great and quicke with child.

O MOST mightie Lord God, which regardest the praier of the humble, and despisest not their request, bow downe from thine high habitation of the heauens, the eies of thy mercie vnto vs wretched sinners, bowing the knees of our harts, and with manie and déepe sighs bewailing our sinnes and offenses humblie with eies intent, and hands displayed, praieng and beseeching thee, with the shield of thy protection, to defend Marie thy seruant and our quéene, who hath none other helper but thee, and whome through thy grace thou hast willed to be conceiued with child; and at the time of hir trauell gratiouslie with the helpe of thy right hand deliuer hir, and from all danger with the child in hir conceiued, mercifullie preserue. It hath seemed good in thy sight (mercifull father) by thy seruant Marie to worke these woonders, that is to saie; in hir hands to vanquish and ouerthrow the stout enimie, and to deliuer vs thy people out of the hands of * heretikes, infidels, enimies to thée, and to the crosse of thy beloued sonne Iesus Christ, that of thy seruant thou mightest speake in farre countries. Therefore for these woonderfull workes which thou dooest to thy seruants, thou art magnified Lord God for euer, and we thy people blesse thée the God of heauen. which hast wrought vpon vs this great mercie, and hast excluded from vs the heretike, the enimie of truth, and the persecutor of thy church. We know, we know

* The Papists call the protestants heretikes and enimies to the crosse of Christ, euen as Achab called Elias the disturber of Israell, when he was onelie the disturber himselfe.

know that we haue grieuouslie (Lord) sinned, that we haue beene deceiued by vanitie, and that we haue forsaken thée our God. Our iniquities be multiplied on our head, and our sinnes be increased vp to heauen, and we our selues haue offended, and our princes and our priests: for these our sinnes haue deserued an hypocrit to our prince, our sinnes haue deserued a tyrant to our gouernor that should bring our life vnto bitternesse. We be not worthie to haue so gentle and mercifull a queene, so godlie a ruler, and finallie so vertuous a prince. At the verie beginning of whose reigne, a new light, as it were of Gods religion, séemed to vs for to spring and arise. The Iews did blesse the widow Iudith with one voice; saieng: Thou art the glorie of Ierusalem, thou art the ioie of Israell, thou art the honor of our people, for that thou hast loued chastitie, and thou shalt be blessed for euer.

Qéene Marie compared of the papists to quéene Iudith.

And we the English people with one agréeable consent doo crie: Thou Marie art the glorie of England, our ioie, the honour of thy people, for that thou hast imbraced chastitie: thine hart is strengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thée, and therefore thou shalt be blessed for euer. But bow downe, O most mercifull father thine eare, and open thine eies, and behold our affliction, and our humble confession. Thou knowest Lord, that against Philip, not by humane, but by thy ordinance our king, and against thy seruant Marie by thy prouidence our quéene, the restorers and mainteiners of thy testament, and of the faith and most constant defenders of thy church; thou knowest (I saie) that against these our two gouernors (the enimies of thy holie testament, and of the church thy spouse) be most ranke rebels, and spitefull murmurers, walking after their lusts, whose mouth speaketh words of pride, to the end they maie set vp the kingdome of heretikes and schismatikes. By the power of their hands they would change thy promises, and destroie thine inheritance, and stop and shut vp the mouths of them that praise thée, and extinguish the glorie of thy catholike church and altar.

Marke how for getting his praier he falleth to the praising of quéen Marie.

The testament setteth vp onelie the glorie of Christ.

If the charging of Gods promises, destroieng his inheritance, stopping the mouth of Gods people if contentions, warres, and schismes be tokens of heretikes, who so great heretikes as the papists be?

It is manifest and plaine, how manie contentions, how manie conspiracies and seditions, how great warres, what tumults, how manie and how great troublesome vexations, how manie heresies and schismes (for these be the most readie deuises and euident tokens of heretickes) for our sinnes doo hang ouer us, if thy seruant be taken from this life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwelling place in the middest of his people, to the intent to deliuer vs out of the hands of our enemies. Turne therefore thy countenance vnto vs, shew vs, O Lord, thy face. Punish vs for our sinnes according to thy will and pleasure, onelie now deliuer vs. We bowing the knées of our heart, beseech thée that thou wilt not reserue vnto vs punisment for euer, and we shall praise thée, all the daies of our life. Heare our crie, and the praier of thy people, and open to them the treasure of thy mercie, thy gratious fauour, the spring of liuelie water. Thou that hast begun, make in the hand of thy seruant a perfect worke. Suffer not, we praie thee, the faithlesse rebels to saie of thy seruant and hir councellors, that they haue deuised matters which they cannot performe. And grant vnto thy seruant an happie and an easie trauell. For it is not impossible to thy power, nor indecent to thy iustice, nor vnwoonted vnto thy mercie.

Crie vp lowdder you priests peraduenture your god is a sléepe.

The Lord gaue a promise to Sara and Elisabeth; so did he not to queene Marie.

It is well knowne vnto vs, how maruellouslie thou diddest worke in Sara of the age of fourescore and ten yeares, and in Elizabeth the barren, and also farre stricken in age: for thy councell is not in the power of men. Thou Lord that art the searcher of hearts and thoughts, thou knowest that thy seruant neuer lusted after man, neuer gaue hir selfe to wanton companie, nor made hir selfe partaker with them that walke in lightnesse: but she consented to take an husband with thy feare, and not with hir lust. Thou knowest that thy seruant took an husband, not for car-

nall pleasure, but onelie for the desire and loue of posteritie, wherein thy name might be blessed for euer and euer. Giue therefore vnto thy seruants Philip our king, and Marie our quéene, a male issue, which maie sit in the seat of thy kingdome. Giue vnto our quéene thy seruant, a little infant in fashion and bodie comelie and beautifull, in pregnant wit notable and excellent.

Grant the same to be in obedience like Abraham, in hospitalitie like Lot, in chastitie and brotherly loue like Ioseph, in meeknesse and mildnesse like Moses, in strength and valiantnesse like Samson. Let him be found faithfull as Dauid after thy heart. Let him be wise among kings as the most wise Salomon. Let him be like Iob, a simple and an vpright man, fearing God and eschewing euill. Let him finallie be garnished with the comelinesse of all vertuous conditions, and in the same let him wax old and liue, that he maie see his childrens children to the third and fourth generation. And giue to our souereigne lord and ladie, king Philip and quéene Marie, thy blessing and long life vpon earth. And grant that of them maie come kings and quéenes which maie stedfastlie continue in faith, loue, and holinesse. And blessed be their séed of our God, that all nations maie know thou art onelie God in all the earth, which art blessed for euer and euer, Amen.

It is not best such one to be granted vnto you, for being like Abraham Ioseph, Moses, and Salomon, he maie chance smell out your corrupt doctrine, and to detest your bloudie tyrannie, &c.

AN OTHER PRAIER

FOR QUEENE MARIE, AND HIR CONCEIUED CHILD.

O ALMIGHTIE father, which diddest sanctifie the blessed virgine and mother of Marie in hir conception, and in the birth of Christ our sauiour, thy onelie sonne; also by thy omnipotent power diddest safelie deliuer the prophet Ionas out of the whales bellie: defend, O Lord we béseech thée, thy seruant Marie our quéene, with child conceiued, and so visit hir in and with thy godlie gift of health, that not onelie the child thy creature within hir conteined, maie ioifullie come from hir into this world, and receiue the blessed sacraments of baptisme and confirmation, inioieng therewith dailie increase of all princelie and gratious gifts both of bodie and soule; but that also she, the mother, through thy speciall grace and mercie, maie in time of hir trauell auoid all excessiue dolour and paine, and abide perfect and sure from all perill and danger of death, with long and prosperous life, thorough Christ our Lord, Amen. ¶ And thus much shall suffice touching this great adoo about quéene Marie and hir babe.]

An other praier for the same.

The second daie of December being sundaie, cardinall Poole came to Pauls church in London with great pompe hauing before him a crosse, two pillers and two pollares of siluer, and was there solemnlie receiued by the bishop of Winchester, chancellor of England, who met him with procession. And shortlie after, king Philip came from Westminster by land, being accompanied with a great number of his nobles. And the same daie, the bishop of Winchester preached at Pauls crosse, in the which sermon he declared, that the king and quéene had restored the pope to his right of primasie; and that the thrée estates assembled in parlement, representing the whole bodie of the realme, had submitted themselues to his holinesse, and to his successors for euer. And in the same also, he greatlie praised the cardinall, and set foorth the passing high authoritie that he had from the sée of Rome, with much other glorious matter, in the commendation of the church of Rome, which he called the see apostolike. This sermon being ended, the king and the cardinall riding together,

Cardinall Poole commeth to Pauls crosse with great pompe.

Certeine points of Stephen Gardiners sermon.

The king and the cardinall ride togither.

gither, returned to White hall, and the king had his sword borne before him, and the cardinall had onelie his crosse, and no more.

Prince of Piemount commeth into England.

The seauen and twentith daie of the said moneth, Emanuell Philibert earle of Sauoie and prince of Piemount came into England, accompanied with diuerse other lords and gentlemen strangers, who were receiued at Grauesend by the earle of Bedford lord priuie seale, and conueied by water through London bridge to White hall, where the king and queene then laie. ¶ On the ninth of Ianuarie next following, the prince of Orange was in like manner receiued at Grauesend, and from thence conueied to the court, being at White hall. The twelfth of Ianuarie, the said prince of Orange, with other lords, was conducted by the lord chamberlein to the tower of London, where was shewed vnto him the ordinance, artillerie, munitions and armorie, with the mint, &c: and so was brought into the white tower, from whence as he returned through the long gallerie, all the prisoners saluted him: vnto whome the prince said, he was sorie for their captiuitie, and trusted the king and queene would be good vnto them. At his departing from the tower, he gaue the gunners ten peeces of Flemmish gold at fiue shillings the peece, and the warders other ten peeces, as a reward.]

1. Stow. 1053. Prince of Orange.

Fiue of Throckmortons iurie released.

Vpon wednesdaie the 12 of December, fiue of the eight men which laie in the Fleet, that had passed vpon sir Nicholas Throckmortons triall, were discharged and set at libertie vpon their fines paid, which was two hundred and twentie pounds a peece. The other three put up a supplication, therein declaring their goods did not amount to the summe of that which they were appointed to paie: and so vpon that declaration, paieng three score pounds a peece, they were deliuered out of prison on saint Thomas daie before Christmas, being the one and twentith of December. The two and twentith of the same moneth, the parlement (which began the two and twentith of Nouember before) was dissolued, wherein among other acts passed there, the statute Ex officio, and other lawes made for punishment of heresies were reuiued. But chiefelie, the popes most liberall bull of dispensation of abbeie land was there confirmed, much to the contentation of manie, who not without cause suspected by this new vnion, to lose some peece of their late purchase. ¶ On new yeares daie at night was a great tumult betweene Spaniards and Englishmen at Westminster, whereof was like to haue insued great mischiefe, through a Spanish frier which got into the church and wroong alarum. The occasion was about two whores which were in the cloister of Westminster with a sort of Spaniards, whereof whilest some plaied the knaues with them, other some did keepe the entrie of the cloister with dags and harnesse. In the meane time certeine of the deanes men came into the cloister, and the Spaniards discharged their dags at them, and hurt some of them. By and by the noise of this dooing came into the streets, so that the whole towne was vp almost, but neuer a stroke was stricken. Notwithstanding, the noise of this dooing with the deans men, and also the ringing of the alarum made much adoo, and a great number also to be sore afraid.]

Parlement dissolued.

Abr. Fl. ex Ioh. Foxi martyrologio. A sturre betweene the Spaniards and Englishmen at Westminster.

1555

Vpon fridaie the eighteenth of Ianuarie, all the councell, by name, the lord chancellor, the bishop of Elie, the lord treasuror, the earle of Shrewesburie, the comptrollor of the queenes house, secretarie Bourne, and sir Richard Southwell master of the ordinance and armorie, went to the tower, and there the same daie discharged and set at libertie all the prisoners of the tower, or the more part of them, namelie, the archbishop of Yorke, the late duke of Northumberlands sonnes, the lords Ambrose, Robert, and Henrie; also, sir Andrew Dudleie, sir Iames Croftes, sir Nicholas Throckmorton, sir Iohn Rogers, sir Nicholas Arnold, sir George Harper, sir Edward Warner, sir William Sentlow, sir Gawen Carew, William Gibbes esquier, Cutbert Vaughan, and diuerse others.

1. S. pag. 1095.

Prisoners deliuered out of the tower.

Moreouer, about this season diuerse learned men being apprehended, and in prison

for matters of religion, were brought before the bishops of Winchester and London, and other the bishops and commissioners appointed therefore: who vpon the constant standing of the said learned men in their opinions, which they had taken vpon them to mainteine, as grounded vpon the true word of God, as they protested, proceeded in iudgement against them, and so diuerse of them were burned at London in Smithfield, and in diuerse other places. Naie not onelie by fire but by other torments were the good christians persecuted, whose zeale was hot in religion and defiance of the pope: insomuch that then he was counted Gods enimie, which tooke not the pope for the friend of Christ (whome he hateth with hostilitie) as C. O. noteth verie trulie in his Elisabetha, saieng: Trouble and persecution for religion.

——nam creditur hostis
Esse Dei, papam si quis pius asserit hostem
Esse Dei, veros Christi qui tollit honores.

In Februarie next following, doctor Thirlebie bishop of Elie, and Anthonie lord Montacute, with a verie honorable traine of gentlemen and others, rode foorth of the citie of London towards Rome as ambassadors sent from the king and quéene, to confirme this new reconciliation to the pope. A young stripling, whose name was William Fetherstone, a millers sonne, about the age of eightéene yeares, named and bruted himselfe to be king Edward the sixt, whereof when the quéene and the councell heard, they caused with all diligence inquirie to be made for him, so that he was apprehended in Southworke, or (as other haue) at Eltham in Kent the tenth of Maie, and brought before the councell at Hampton court, and there examined. And it was demanded of him why he so named himselfe? To which he counterfetting a manner of simplicitie, or rather frensie, would make no direct answer, but praied pardon; for he wist not what he said: affirming further, that he was councelled so to saie, and to take vpon him the name, whereof he accused certeine persons: but his talke was not found true, wherefore he was committed to the Marshalseie, as a lunatike foole. Ambassadors out of England to Rome. William Fetherstone, alias Constable a boie, nameth himselfe king Edward the sixt.

On the eight and twentith daie of Maie next following, the aforesaid counterfet prince was brought in a cart from the Marshalseie thorough the citie of London, with a paper ouer his head, wherein was written, that he named himselfe king Edward. And from thence was conueied to Westminster, being led round about the hall, and shewed to all the people there: and afterward he was taken out of the cart and stripped, and then whipped round about the palace at the same carts taile, and then thorough Westminster into Smithfield, and then banished into the north, in which countrie he was borne, and had béene some time lackie to sir Peter Mewtas, and without more punishment was discharged, and set at libertie. But the next yeare following, for that he had spred abroad that king Edward was aliue, and that he had spoken with him, he was againe apprehended, and arreigned of high treason, whereof being condemned, he shortlie after was drawne vnto Tiburne, and there hanged and quartered the thirtéenth of March. ¶ Here, as in a fit and conuenient place, the obseruation of the daie and moneth offering no lesse, it is not amisse to set downe the speech of quéene Marie vttered to sundrie of hir lords, touching a motion which no doubt certeine popish prelats had put into hir mind; the effect whereof followeth as I find in master Fox. Iohn Stow. The counterfet king executed. Abr. Fl. ex Ioh. Foxi martyrologio.

Before I passe this moneth of March (saith he) I cannot but leaue a little memorandum of the words or consultation of quéene Marie, vsed to certeine of the councell, the eight and twentith daie of the said moneth of March, touching the restoring again of the abbeie lands. Who after she had called vnto hir presence foure of hir priuie councell, the daie and moneth aforesaid: the names of which councellors

The names of the councellors called before quéene Marie.

were these; William lord marquesse of Winchester high treasuror of England, sir Robert Rochester, knight, the queenes comptrollor, sir William Peter knight, secretarie, sir Francis Inglefield knight, master of wards; the said queene Marie inferred these words: the principall effect and summe whereof here followeth. You are here of our councell, and we haue willed you to be called to vs, to the intent yee might heare of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions as well of monasteries, as other churches whatsoeuer being now presentlie in my possession. First, I doo consider, that the said lands were taken awaie from the churches aforesaid, in time of schisme, and that by vnlawfull means, such as are contrarie both to the law of God and of the church. For the which cause my conscience dooth not suffer me to reteine them: and therefore I here expresselie refuse either to claime or to reteine the said lands for mine: but with all my heart frée-lie and willinglie without all paction or condition, here and before God I doo surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions or inheritances whatsoeuer, and doo renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken as shall séeme best liking to our most holie lord the pope, or else his legat the lord cardinall, to the honour of God and wealth of this our realme.

The effect of quéene Maries words touching abbeie lands to be restored.

The quéene taketh a conscience in keeping abbeie lands.

The quéene surrendreth from hir selfe the possession of abbeie lands.

And albeit you may obiect to me againe, that considering the state of my kingdome, the dignitie thereof, and my crowne imperiall cannot be honorablie mainteined and furnished without the possessions aforesaid: yet notwithstanding I set more by the saluation of my soul, than by ten kingdoms: and therefore the said possessions I vtterlie refuse here to hold after that sort and title, and giue most hartie thanks to almightie God, which hath giuen me an husband likewise minded, with no lesse good affection in this behalfe, than I am my selfe. Wherefore I charge and command, that my chancellor (with whom I haue conferred my mind in this matter before) and you foure, to morrow together doo resort to the most reuerend lord legat, and doo signifie to him the premisses in my name, and giue your attendance vpon him for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdome, and of the foresaid possessions accordinglie, as you your selues doo vnderstand the matter, and can informe him in the same. This charge (as the sequele gaue proofe) was followed with no lesse diligence of the lords, than it was imposed with willingnes vpon them by the quéene: in so much that shortlie after (as anon you shall heare) she performed hir promise to the pith.

Promise for restitution of abbeie lands.

But to let this matter passe, till due time and place require a declaration of the conclusion thereof; I am héere (saith master Fox, as occasion serueth) to intreat of pope Iulius death, for so much as he made his end about the latter end of this foresaid moneth of March. Concerning the déeds and acts of which pope, to make a full declaration, it were not so much tedious to the reader, as horrible to all good eares. Vnder this Iulius florished the archbishop of Beneuentanus, a Florentine, named Iohannes a Casa, deane of the popes chamber, and chéefe legat to the Venetians: who well declaring the fruit of that filthie see, so farre forgat both honestie and nature, that he shamed not onelie to plaie the filthie Sodomite himselfe, and to boast openlie of the same: but also tooke vpon him most impudentlie in Italian metre, to all mens eares, to set foorth the praise and commendation of that beastlie iniquitie, saieng that he himselfe neuer vsed other: and this booke was printed at Venice, by one Troianus Nauus. And yet the pope could suffer this so great iniquitie and shamelesse beastlinesse, euen vnder his nose in his owne chamber, which could not abide the true doctrine of Christ in christian bookes.

The death of pope Iulius the third.

Read more of this in a booke called a warning to England.

Vide scriptum Pauli Vergerij contra hunc archiepiscopum.

Note here what an holie catholic church this is.

Amongst other pranks and déeds of this foresaid pope, in his Iubilée, and in the synod of Trent, and in confirming of the idoll of Lauretane, this is also reported of him in his life, that he delighted greatlie in porke flesh and peacocks. Vpon a time when he was admonished of his physician to absteine from all swines flesh, for that it

was

noisome for his gout, and yet would not follow his councell: the physician afterward gaue warning to his steward or orderer of his diet, that he should set no more porke flesh before him. Wherevpon when the pope perceiued the said porke flesh to be lacking in his accustomed seruice; Where (said he) is my porke. And when his steward had answered that his physician had forbidden anie porke to be serued: then the pope bursting out in great rage, said in these words; Bring me, said he, my porke flesh Al dispetto di Dio: that is to saie in English, In the despight of God.

A porkish pope.

Monstrous blasphemie in the pope.

At an other time, he sitting at dinner, pointing to a peacocke vpon his table, which he had not touched; keepe (said he) this cold peacocke for me against supper, and let me sup in the garden, for I shall haue ghests. So when supper came, and amongst other hot peacocks, he saw not his cold peacocke brought to his table: the pope after his woonted manner, most horriblie blaspheming God, fell into an extreame rage, &c. Wherevpon one of his cardinals sitting by, desired him saieng: Let not your holinesse, I praie you, be so mooued with a matter of so small weight. Then this Iulius the pope answering againe; What (said he) if God was so angrie for one apple, that he cast our first parents out of paradise for the same, whie maie not I being his vicar, be angrie then for a peacocke, sithens a peacocke is a greater matter than an apple? Behold here good reader, by this pope, the holinesse of that blasphemous see: and yet thou shalt see here, what affection was borne vnto this pope here in England, by the diriges, hearses, and funerals commanded to be had and celebrated in all churches by the queene and hir councell, as may appeare by the copie of their letters here following.

Pope Iulius blasphemeth God for a peacocke.

O vocem anti-christo dignam.

A LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

(BEING LORD CHANCELLOUR) VNTO BONER BISHOP OF LONDON, TOUCHING THE CELEBRATING OF THE POPES FUNERALS.

AFTER my hartie commendations to your good lordship. The king and queenes maiesties hauing certeine knowledge of the death of the popes holinesse, thought good there should be as well solemne obsequies said for him throughout the realme, as also these praiers (which I send you herein inclosed) vsed at masse times in all places at this time of vacation; and therefore willed me to signifie their pleasures vnto you in this behalfe, that therevpon ye might proceed to the full accomplishment therof, by putting the same in due execution within your owne diocesse, and sending word to the rest of the bishops to doo the like in theirs. Thus doubting not but that your lordship will vse such diligence in this matter at this time, as shall be necessarie, I bid your lordship hartilie well to fare. From my house at Asher, the tenth of Aprill. *1555.*

April 10. Winchesters letter to Boner for the popes funerall.

Your assured freend and brother,

Stephanus Winton. Cancel.

PRAIERS

PRAIERS COMMANDED TO BE VSED IN THE FUNERALL MASSES FOR THE POPE,

Apostolica sede vacante.

A collect for the pope.

Supplici te Domine humilitate deposcimus, vt tua immensa pietas sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ concedat pontificem illum, qui & pro in nos studio semper tibi gratus, & tuo populo pro salubri regimine sit assiduè ad gloriam tui nominis venerandus, per Dominum nostrum.

SECRETA.

Another praier for choosing of the pope.

Tuæ nobis Domine pietatis abundantia indulgeat, vt gratum maiestati tuæ pontificem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ regimini præesse studeamus per Dominum nostrum.

POST COMMUNIONEM.

Pretiosi corporis & sanguinis tui Domine sacramento refectos, mirifica tuæ maiestatis gratia de illius summi pontificis assumptione lætificet, qui & plebem tuam virtutibus instruat, & fidelium mentes spiritualium aromatum odore perfundat, per Dominum nostrum.

Vpon this commandement, on wednesdaie in Easter wéeke there were hearses set vp, and diriges soong for the said Iulius in diuerse places. At which time it chanced a woman to come into S. Magnus church at the bridge foot in London, and there séeing an hearse and other preparation, asked what it meant: and other that stood by, said, that it was for the pope, and that she must praie for him. Naie (quoth she) that will I not, for he néedeth not my praier: and séeing he could forgiue vs all our sinnes, I am sure he is clean himselfe: therefore I need not to praie for him. She was heard speake these words of certeine that stood by: which by and by caried hir vnto the cage at London bridge, and bad hir coole hir selfe there.

A woman of S. Magnus parish imprisoned for not praieng for the pope.

And héere (saith master Fox) commeth to be remembred the notable working of Gods hand vpon a certeine priest in Kent named Nightingall, parson of Crondall, besides Canturburie; who vpon Shrouesundaie, which was about the third daie of the said moneth of March, and yeare of our Lord aforesaid, reioising belike not a little at this alteration of religion, began to make a sermon to his parishioners, taking his theame out of the words of saint Iohn: He that saith, he hath no sinne, is a lier, and the trueth is not in him, &c. And so vpon the same, verie impertinentlie, declared to them all such articles as were set foorth by the popes authoritie, and by the commandement of the bishops of this realme; saieng moreouer vnto the people in this wise: Now masters and neighbors reioise and be merrie, for the prodigall sonne is come home. For I know that the most part of you be as I am: for I know your hearts well enough. And I shall tell you what hath happened in this wéeke past. I was before my lord cardinall Pooles grace, and he hath made me as cleane from sinne, as I was at the font stone: and on thursdaie last being before him, he hath appointed me to notifie (I thanke him

A terrible example of Gods seuere punishment vpon Nightingall parson of Crondall in Kent.

him for it) the same vnto you. And I will tell you what it is. And so reading the popes bull of pardon that was sent into England, he said, he thanked God that euer he had liued to sée that daie: adding moreouer that he beleeued, that by the vertue of that bull he was as cleane from sinne, as that night that he was borne: and immediatlie vpon the same fell suddenlie downe out of the pulpit, and neuer stirred hand nor foot, and so laie he. Testified by Robert Austen of Cartham, which both heard and saw the same, and is witnessed also by the whole countrie round about.] Blasphemie to Christs gospel punished.

About this time, Edward Courtneie, earle of Deuonshire, of whom before yée haue heard, how he was appointed to remaine at Fodringheie vnder safe custodie, at length was set at libertie, came to the court, and got licence to passe the seas, went into Italie, where shortlie after he sickened, and died within foureteene daies after his sicknesse first tooke him: he was honorablie buried in Padwaie. This Courtneie was the onelie sonne and heire of Henrie, marquesse of Excester, cousine germane to king Henrie the eight, as is said before. For the said king and he were descended of two sisters, Elizabeth and Katharine, two of the daughters of king Edward the fourth, which propinquitie of bloud notwithstanding the said marquesse, for points of treason laid against him, suffered at the tower hill, the thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, to the great dolour of the most of the subiects of this realme, who for his sundrie vertues bare him great fauour and goodwill. The lord Courtneie goeth ouer into Italie. The lord Courtneie descended of the bloud roiall.

After whose death, this yoong gentleman his sonne, being yet a child, was committed prisoner to the tower, where he remained vntill the beginning of the reigne of this quéene Marie (as before you haue heard.) This gentleman (as it appeared) was borne to be a prisoner, for from twelue yeares of age vnto thirtie, he had scarse two yeares libertie, within the which time he died, and obteined quiet, which in his life he could neuer haue. In the moneth of Maie next following, cardinall Poole, who had bin a great labourer for peace betwéene the French king and the emperour, being accompanied with Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England, the erle of Arundell lord steward, and the lord Paget, were sent by the king and quéene ouer the sea to Calis, and from thence went to the towne of Marke where they met with the ambassadors of the emperor and the French king. From the emperour were sent the bishop of Arras with others. From the French king was sent the cardinall of Loraine, and the constable of France. In this treatie, cardinall Poole sat as president and vmpier in the name of the queene of England. This peace was greatlie laboured, where at the first, there was much hope, but in the end nothing was concluded: wherefore the seauenteenth daie of Iune, this assemblie was dissolued, and the English ambassadours returned againe into England. Ambassadors sent to treat a peace betwéene the French king and the emperour.

¶ In this moneth of August, in Suffolke, at a place by the sea side, all of hard stone and pibble, called in those parts a shelfe, lieng betwéene the townes of Oxford and Alborough, where neuer grew grasse, nor any earth was euer séene, there chanced in this barren place suddenlie to spring vp without any tillage or sowing, great abundance of peason, whereof the poore gathered (as men iudged) aboue an hundred quarters; yet remained some ripe, and some blossoming, as manie as euer there were before. To the which place rode the bishop of Norwich, and the lord Willoughbie with others in great number, who found nothing but hard rockie stone for the space of three yards vnder the roots of those peason, which roots were great and long, and verie swéet in tast to the mouth of the eater, &c. Abr. Fl. ex I. S. 1097. The necessitie of the poore releeued by Gods prouidence.

On Bartholomew euen, after the Lord maior and aldermen of London had rid about Bartholomew faire, they came to Christes hospitall within Newgate, where they heard a disputation betwéene the scholers of Paules schoole, saint Anthonies schoole

Disputation at Christs hospitall, as had beene accustomed at saint Bartholomewes in Smithfield being an incouragement to yoong scholars.

schoole, and the scholers of the said hospitall, for whome was prouided three games, which was three pennes: the best pen of siluer and gilt, valued at fiue shillings, woone by a scholer of saint Anthonies schoole, and the maister of that schoole had six shillings eight pence: the second, a pen of siluer parcell gilt, valued at iiij. shillings, woone by a scholer of Paules schoole, and his maister had fiue shillings in monie: the third a pen of siluer, valued at three shillings, woone by a scholer of the said hospitall, and his maister had foure shillings. And there were two priests maisters of arts appointed for iudges, which had each of them a siluer rule for their paines, valued at six shillings eight pence the peece. The disputation being ended, the maior and aldermen entred the hall, where the children of the hospitall vse to dine, and had fruit and wine, and so departed.

King Philip went ouer into Flanders.

King Philip went ouer seas, and landed at Calis on the fourth of September, where he was honorably receiued by the lord deputie, and the maior of the staple of Calis, an alderman of London named sir Andrew Iud, presenting his maiestie with a purse and a thousand marks of gold in it: that night the king was lodged in staple inne: and on the morrow he departed from Calis towards Brussels in Brabant, to visit the emperor his father: he gaue at his departing among the souldiors at the town of Calis, a thousand crownes of gold, and there accompanied him in his iournie of English lords, the earle of Arundell lord steward of the quéenes, house, the earle of Penbroke, the earle of Huntington, and others. On Michaelmasse euen, the prisoners that laie in the counter in Bredstréet, were remoued to a new counter made in Woodstréet of the cities purchase, and building, the which remouing was confirmed by a common councell assembled at the Guildhall for that purpose.

New counter in woodstréet.

Great landwaters whereby diuerse frequented places were ouerflowne.

On the last of September, by occasion of great wind and raine that had fallen, was such great floods, that that morning the kings palace at Westminster, and Westminster hall was ouerflowne with water, vnto the stair foot, going to the chancerie and kings bench: so that when the lord maior of London should come to present the shiriffes to the barons of the excheker, all Westminster hall was full of water. And by report there, that morning, a whirriman rowed with his bote ouer Westminster bridge, into the palace court, and so through the staple gate: and all the wooll staple into the kings stréet, and all the marshes on Lambeth side, were so ouerflowne, that the people from Newington church could not passe on foot, but were caried by bote from the said church to the pinfold, neere to saint Georges in Southworke.]

Anno Reg. 3. Commissioners sent to Oxford, by the popes authoritie and why.

About this time the bishop of Lincolne, Glocester, and Bristow, were sent in commission to Oxford by the popes authoritie, to examine Ridleie and Latimer, vpon certeine articles by them preached, which if they would not recant, and consent to the popes doctrine, then had they power to proceed in sentence against them as heretikes, and to commit them ouer to the secular power. Those two doctors neuertheles stood constantlie to that which they had taught, and would not reuoke: for which cause, they were condemned, and after burned in the towne ditch at Oxford, the sixteenth daie of October. In the time of whose examination, bicause the bishops aforesaid declared themselues to be the popes commissioners, neither Ridleie nor Latimer would doo them any reuerence, but kept their caps on their heads: wherefore they were sharplie rebuked by the bishop of Lincolne, and one of the officers was commanded for to take of their caps. Of these men, and the maner of their death, ye may read at large in the booke of the monuments of the church.

A parlement wherein the liuings of the church are restored.

The one and twentith of October, a parlement was holden at Westminster, in the which amongst other things the queene being persuaded by the cardinall (and other of hir clergy) that she could not prosper, so long as she kept in hir hands any possessions of the church, did franklie and freelie resigne and render vnto them all those

reuenues

reuenues ecclesiasticall, which by the authoritie of parlement, in the time of king Henrie, had béene annexed to the crowne, called the first fruits and tenths of all bishopricks, benefices and ecclesiasticall promotions. The resignation whereof was a great diminution of the reuenues of the crowne. ¶ In this parlement was granted to the king and queene a subsidie of the laitie from fiue pounds to ten pounds eight pence of the pound, from ten pounds to twentie pounds twelue pence of the pound, and from twentie pounds vpward sixtéene pence of the pound, and all strangers double, and the cleargie granted six shillings of the pound. A subsidie. I. Stow.

Doctor Storie and other were appointed by the cardinall, to visit euerie parish church in London and Middlesex, to see their relikes repared, and the images of the crucifix, with Marie and Iohn therevpon to be fixed.] During the time of this parlement, Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of of England died at his house called Winchester place, beside saint Marie Oueries in Southworke, the ninth daie of Nouember, whose corps was shortlie after solemnlie from thence conueied to his church of Winchester, and there buried. The maner of whose death why should I blush to blaze as I find it by report? ¶ One mistresse Mondaie, being the wife of one maister Mondaie secretarie sometime to the old lord Thomas duke of Norffolke, a present witnes of this that is testified, thus openlie reported in the house of a worshipfull citizen, bearing office in this citie, in words and effect as followeth. The same daie, when as bishop Ridleie and maister Latimer suffered at Oxford, being about the ninetéenth daie of October, there came to the house of Stephan Gardiner, the old duke of Norffolke with the foresaid Mondaie his secretarie aboue named, reporter héerof. The old aged duke there waiting and tarieng for his dinner, the bishop not yet disposed to dine, deferred the time till three or foure of the clocke at after noone.

This Storie was executed in quéene Elizabeths time. The death of Stephan Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. Abr. Fl. ex I.F. martyrologio. The reporter of this addition a person of credit.

At length, about foure of the clocke commeth his seruant posting in all possible spéed from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the bishop what he had heard and séene: of whom the said bishop diligentlie inquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man, that fire most certeinlie was set vnto them, commeth out rejoicing to the duke: Now saith he, let vs go to dinner. Wherevpon, they being set downe, meat was immediately brought, and the bishop began merilie to eate: but what followed? The bloudie tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the sudden stroke of God his terrible hand fell vpon him in such sort, as immediatlie he was taken from the table, and so brought to his bed, where he continued the space of fiftéene daies, in such intollerable anguish and torments, that all that meane while, during those fifteene daies, he could not auoid by order of vrine, or otherwise, any thing that he receiued: whereby his bodie being miserablie inflamed within (who had inflamed so manie good martyrs before) was brought to a wretched end. And thereof no doubt, as most like it is, came the thrusting out of his toong from his mouth so swolne and blacke, with the inflamation of his bodie. A spectacle worthie to be noted and beholden of all such bloudie burning persecutors.

Gardiner visited with the sudden stroke of God.

But whatsoeuer he was, séeing he is now gone, I refer him to his iudge, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his death and maner thereof, I would they which were present thereat, would testifie to vs what they saw. This we haue all to thinke, that his death happened so opportunelie, that England hath a mightie cause to giue thanks to the Lord therfore: not so much for the great hurt he had doone in times past in peruerting his princesse, in bringing in the six articles, in murthering Gods saints, in defacing Christs sincere religion, &c: as also especiallie for that he had thought to haue brought to passe in murthering also our noble quéene that now is. For whatsoeuer danger it was of death that she was in, it did (no doubt) procéed from that bloudie bishop, who was the cause thereof. And if it be certeine which we haue heard, that hir highnesse being in the tower, a writ came

Stephan Gardiner especiallie hunteth for the life of ladie Elizabeth. Q. Elizabeth preserued.

downe from certeine of the councell for hir execution, it is out of controuersie, that wilie Winchester was the onelie Dedalus and framer of that engine. Who (no doubt) in that one daie had brought this whole realme into wofull ruine, had not the lords most gratious councell, thorough maister Bridges then the lieutenant, comming in hast to the quéene, certified hir of the matter, and preuented Achitophels bloudie deuises. For the which, thanks be to the same our Lord and Sauiour, in the congregation of all English churches, Amen.]

M. Bridges lieutenant the Lords organ in sauing the ladie Elizabeths life.

The archbishop of Yorke lord chancellor. Iohn Stow.

After whose death, Nicholas Heath archbishop of Yorke, was preferred by the quéene to the office of the chancellor. ¶ She likewise gaue the priuie seal to the lord Paget, and made him lord priuie seal, these were both Londoners borne. In this moneth of Februarie, the lord maior of London and the aldermen entered into Bridewell, and tooke possession thereof, according to the gift of king Edward, now confirmed by queene Marie.] In the moneth of March next following, there was in maner no other talke, but of the great preparation that was made for the queens lieng in childbed, who had alredie taken vp hir chamber, and sundrie ladies and gentlewomen were placed about hir in euerie office of the court.

Abr. Fl. ex I. F martyrologio. Rockers and nurses prouided for quéene Maries child.

¶ And now forsomuch as in the beginning of the moneth of Iune about Whitsuntide, the time was thought to be nie, that this yoong maister should come into the world, and that midwiues, rockers, nurses, with the cradle and all, were prepared and in readinesse, suddenlie vpon what cause or occasion it is vncerteine, a certeine vaine rumor was blowne in London of the prosperous deliuerance of the quéene, and the birth of the child; insomuch that bels were roong, bonefiers and processions made, not onelie in the citie of London, and in most other parts of the realme, but also in Antwerpe guns were shot off vpon the riuer by the English ships, and the mariners thereof were rewarded with an hundred pistolets or Italian crownes by the ladie regent, who was the quéene of Hungarie. Such great reioising and triumph was for the quéenes deliuerie, and that there was a prince borne. Yea diuers preachers, namelie one the parson of saint Anne within Aldersgate, after procession and Te Deum soong, tooke vpon him to describe the proportion of the child, how faire, how beautifull, and great a prince it was, as the like had not béene seene.

Processions and bonefires in London for ioy of the yong prince.

Triumph at Antwerpe for the same.

In the middest of this great adoo, there was a simple man (this I speake but vpon information) dwelling within foure miles of Barwike, that neuer had béene before halfe waie to London, which said concerning the bonefires made for quéene Maries child; Here is a ioifull triumph, but at length all will not proue worth a messe of pottage, as in déed it came to passe: for in the end all prooued cleane contrarie and the ioy and expectations of men were much deceiued. For the people were certified, that the quéene neither was as then deliuered, nor after was in hope to haue anie child. At this time manie talked diuerslie. Some said this rumour of the quéenes conception was spread for a policie: some other affirmed that she was deceiued by a tympanie or some other like disease, to thinke hirselfe with child, and was not: some thought shée was with child, and that it did by some mischance miscarie, or else that she was bewitched: but what was the truth therof, the Lord knoweth, to whome nothing is secret. One thing of mine owne hearing and séeing I cannot passe ouer vnwitnessed.

Q. Maries child would not come.

What became of Q. Maries child no man can tell.

There came to me, whome I did both heare and sée, one Isabel Malt, a woman dwelling in Aldersgate stréet in Horne allie, not farre from the house where this present booke was printed, who before witnesse made this declaration vnto vs, that she being deliuered of a man-child vpon Whitsundaie in the morning, which was the eleuenth daie of Iune Anno 1555, there came to hir the lord North, and another lord to hir vnknowne, dwelling then about old Fish-stréet, demanding of hir if she would part with hir child, and would sweare that she neuer knew nor had no such child. Which if she would, hir sonne (they said) should be well prouided for, she should take no care for it, with manie faire offers if she would part with the child.

After

After that came other women also, of whome one (she said) should haue beene the rocker: but she in no wise would let go hir sonne, who at the writing hereof being aliue and called Timothie Malt, was of the age of thirteene yeares and vpward. Thus much (I saie) I heard of the woman hir selfe. What credit is to be giuen to hir relation, I deale not withall, but leaue it to the libertie of the reader, to beleeue it they that list: to them that list not, I haue no further warrant to assure them. Among manie other great preparations made for the quéenes deliuerance of child, there was a cradle verie sumptuouslie and gorgeouslie trimmed, on the which cradle for the child appointed, these verses were written, both in Latine and in English, as they are set downe here in record:

Ex testimonio ciusdem puerpere Londinensis.

The yoong princes cradle.

Quam Maria sobolem Deus optime summe dedisti,
Anglis incolumem redde, tuere, rege.
The child which thou to Marie,
ô Lord of might hast send,
To Englands ioie in health
preserue, keepe and defend.

Verses vpon the cradle.

About this time there came ouer into England a certeine English booke, giuing warning to the Englishmen of the Spaniards; and disclosing certeine close practises for recouerie of abbeie lands, which booke was called A warning for England. Whereof ye shall vnderstand much more at large where* we speake of the Spanish inquisition. So that by the occasion of this booke, vpon the thirteenth daie of this moneth came out a certeine proclamation, set foorth in the name of the king and the quéene, repealing and disanulling all maner of bookes written or printed, whatsoeuer should touch anie thing the impairing of the popes dignitie, wherby not onelie much godlie edification was hindered, but also great perill grew among the people. This proclamation is recorded at large with other appendents in the Acts and Monuments, vnder the title of quéene Marie.]

*I. Fox in mart. sub tit. Hen. 8.

¶ In this year died sir Iohn Gresham, who bare the office of lord maior of London 1547, a man of a mercifull nature and good deuotion both to God and his countrie. He founded a frée schoole at Holt, a market towne in Norffolke, and gaue to euerie ward in London ten pounds to be distributed to the poore; and to threescore poore men and women, euerie one of them thrée yeards of brode cloth of eight or nine shillings the yard, to be made in gownes readie to their backs. He gaue also to maids mariages, and to the hospitals in London, aboue two hundred pounds in readie monie. A blasing starre was seene at all times of the night, the sixt, seuenth, eight, ninth, and tenth of March.]

I. Stow. 1037.

Frée scoole at Holt, with other charitable déeds of sir Io. Gresham.

A blasing starre.

About this time, Brookes bishop of Glocester was by the cardinall sent downe as commissioner from the pope to Oxford, there to sit vpon the examination of Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, in such things as should be laid to his charge by Iohn Storie and Thomas Martin, doctors in the lawes, sent speciallie in commission from the quéene. At which time the said archbishop making low obeisance to them that sate in the queenes name, shewed no token of reuerence to the bishop that was the popes commissioner: who neuerthelesse procéeded against him as iudge, and conuicted him of heresie. According to the which sentence, the one and twentith daie of March next following, he was disgraded by Edmund Boner, and Thomas Thirlebie, bishops of London and Elie, sent downe for that purpose, and he was burned in the place where Ridleie and Latimer before had suffered.

Brookes bishop of Glocester appointed to examine Cranmer.

Th. Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie condemned.

He is burnt.

Before his death by the persuasion of a Spanish frier, named frier Iohn, a reader of diuinitie in Oxford, and by the councell of certeine other that put him in hope of life and pardon, he subscribed to a recantation, wherein he submitted himselfe wholie to the church of Rome, and continued in the same mind to outward appearance, vntill he was brought out of prison, to go to the fire. Afore whose

The archbishop brought to the place of execution.

execution, a sermon was made by doctor Cole deane of Paules, in saint Martins church in Oxford. And in the end of his sermon, the said doctor Cole praied the people to incline their eares to such things as the said Cranmer would declare vnto them by his owne mouth. For (saith he) he is a man verie repentant, and will here before you all reuoke his errors. Neuerthelesse he did cleane contrarie. For when he came to the place where the holie bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Ridleie were burnt before him, for the confession of the truth, kneeling downe hée praied to God, and not tarieng long in his praiers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himselfe to death. His shirt was made long downe to his féet: his féet were bare. Likewise his head when both his caps were off, was so bare, that one heare could not be séene upon it. His beard was long and thicke, couering his face with marueilous grauitie. Such a countenance of grauitie mooued the hearts both of his friends and of his enimies.

John Fox.

The description of his person.

And as for the recantation aforesaid, with manie tears he protested, that he had subscribed to the same against his conscience, onelie for feare of death, and hope of life. Which seemed true: for when he came to the stake, and the fire kindled, he put his right hand into the fire, and held it there a good space, saieng: that the same hand should first burne bicause it held the pen to subscribe against his Lord God. Vpon the death of this Cranmer I find these reuerend verses:

Infortunatè est fœlix, qui numine læso,
Cuiusuis gaudet commoditate boni.
Infœlix ille est verò fœliciter, orbi
Inuisus quisquis tristia fato subit.
Hoc Cranmere probas, vitæ præsentis amore,
Dum quæris sanctum dissimulare fidem.
Et dum consilijs tandem melioribus vsus,
Præponis vitæ funera sæua tuæ.

Cardinall Poole made archbishop of Canturburie.

Immediatlie after the death of the said bishop Cranmer, cardinall Poole (a popish prelat, and a sore enimie to the religion receiued and established in king Henrie the eights time) was made archbishop of Canturburie, who (during the life of the other) would neuer be consecrated archbishop. Who so desireth to see more of this matter, maie see the same at large in the booke of the monuments of the church, where you shall also find, that about this time manie were in trouble for religion.

Persecution for religion.

Newgate set on fire.

The eight and twentith daie of the aforesaid moneth of March, by the negligence of the keepers maid of the gaile of Newgate in London, who had left a candle where a great deal of straw was, the same was set on fire, and burnt all the timber worke on the northside of the same gate.

A conspiracie.

I. Stow, pag. 1100.

The summer next following was a new conspiracie brought to light, which was, to haue raised war in the realme against the queene, for maintenance whereof, their first enterprise was to haue robbed the treasurie of the queens excheker at Westminster, called the receipt of the excheker, in the which there was of the queens treasure aboue fiftie thousand pounds the same time, to the intent they might be able to maintein warre against the queene, as it fell out afterwards in proofe. The vtterer of which conspiracie was one White, who at the beginning was made priuie to the same, wherevpon diuerse of the conspiracie, namelie, Henrie Peckham, Daniell, Dethicke, Udall Throckmorton, and capteine Stanton, were apprehended, and diuerse other fled into France. Moreouer, sir Anthony Kingston knight was accused and apprehended for the same, and died in the waie comming to London. The eight and twentith of April, Throckmorton and Richard Veale, were drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged and quartered. The ninetéenth of Maie Stanton was likewise executed.

The names of the conspirators and their end.

Sir Anthonie Kingston departeth this life.

Executions for treason fellonie, and religion.

ted. The eight of Iune, Rosseie, Redike and Bedell suffered at Tiborne for the same offense. The eightéenth of Iune, one Sands, yoonger son to the lord Sands, was executed at S. Thomas Waterings, for a robberie committed by him and others to the value of thrée thousand pounds. The seuen and twentith of Iune, eleuen men and two women were had out of Newgate, and in thrée carts conueied to Stratford the bow, where for religion they were burnt to ashes. John Stow.

The eight of Iulie, in the beginning of this fourth yeare of the queens reigne, Henrie Peckham and Iohn Daniell were executed, and after they were dead, were beheaded on the tower hill: their bodies were buried in Barking church. Anno Reg. 4. Execution.

¶ About this time one Clober, which sometime kept a schoole at Dis in Norffolke, with three brethren, whose names were Lincolne, pretended an insurrection, and would haue gathered the people at a mariage, vnto the which the brethren promised either of them to bring an hundred horsse with men. At which time by them appointed, the said Clober gaue charge to a seruant of his, to watch in a lane nigh to the church where they should méet, and as soone as he saw anie horsseman comming thitherward, to giue him warning with all speed. So it chanced (by the will of God) that certeine men riding through that lane, to some other place about their businesse, came about such an houre as Clober had appointed. Vpon sight of which men, his said seruant returned to his maister, and told him that his friends were come: and immediatlie the said Clober stood vp in the parish church of Parsleie, and read a traitorous proclamation of purpose prepared: which being ended, and séeing his part was too weake, for that his mates were not come, began to flee. But one maister Shireman pursued and tooke him at a towne called Eie in Suffolke, and was kept in prison vntill the sessions at saint Edmundsburie, and his three mates being brought to him, were there all togither drawne, hanged, and quartered. H. S. pag. 1101. Conspiracie begun by one Clober and three brethren called Lincolne. A traitorous proclamation read and the reader apprehended.

This yeare, the hot burning feuers and other strange diseases, which began the yeare before, consumed much people in all parts of England, but namelie, of most ancient and graue men: so that in London, betwéene the twentith of October, and the last of December, there died seuen aldermen, whose names were Henrie Heardson, sir Richard Dobs late maior, sir William Larton late maior, sir Henrie Hobletborne late maior, sir Iohn Champneies late maior, sir Iohn Alleph late shiriffe, and sir Iohn Gresham late maior. Great death. Seuen aldermen of London dead in one yeare.

¶ The one and twentith of Nouember, Iohn Feckham late deane of Paules in London, now made abbat of Westminster, was stalled, and tooke possession of the same: and fourtéene monks more receiued the habit with him that daie of the order of saint Benet. Ab. Fl. ex I. Stow. 1103. Feckham abbat of Westminster.

The said one and twentith of Nouember, a man was brought from Westminster hall riding with his face to the horsse taile, and a paper on his head, to the standard in Cheape, and there set on the pillorie, and then burned with an hot Iron on both his chéekes; with two letters F. and A, for false accusing one of the court of the common plées in Westminster of treason. False accuser set on the pillorie and burnt in both chéekes: would to God all such accusers were so well marked.

The sixtéenth of December, Gregorie Carpenter smith, and a Frenchman borne, was arreigned for making counterfeit keies, wherewith to haue opened the locks of Newgate, to haue slaine the kéeper, and let foorth the prisoners. At which time of his arreignment, hauing conueied a knife into his sléeue, he thrust it into the side of William Whitrents, his fellow prisoner, who had giuen witnesse against him, so that he was in great perill of death thereby. For the which fact he was immediatly taken from the barre into the street before the iustice hall, where his hand being first stricken off, he was hanged on a gibbet set vp for that purpose. The kéeper of Newgate was arreigned and indicted, for that the said prisoner had a weapon about him, and his hands loose, which should haue beene bound. A stranger would haue murdered the kéeper of Newgate.

The fourth of Ianuarie, a ship before Gréenewich (the court being there) shot off hir ordinance, one péece being charged with a bullet of stone, which passed through the walls of the court, and did no more hurt. A gun shot into the court at Greenewich.

About

1557

An ambassador out of Muscouia.

About this time came to London an ambassador to the queene from the emperor of Cathaie, Muscouia, and Russeland, who was honorablie receiued at Totenham by the merchants of London, hauing trade in those countries, riding in veluet coates and chaines of gold, who bare all his costs and charges from the time of his entrie into England out of Scotland: for thither by tempest of weather he was driuen, and there forced to land. ¶ The lord Montacute with the quéens pensioners met him at Islington townes end; and at Smithfield barres the lord maior and aldermen in scarlet receiued him, and conueied him through the citie vnto maister Dimmocks house in Fanchurch street, where he lodged vntill the twelfe of Maie, all which time he wanted no resort.] And after his message and ambassage doone to the quéene, he departed againe with thrée faire ships from Grauesend into his countrie, when he had remained here by the space of two moneths and more.

John Stow.

The lord Sturton committeth a shameful murther.

Also about this time, the lord Sturton, for a verie shamefull and wretched murther committed by him vpon two gentlemen, the father and the son, of the surnames of Hargill, being his neere neighbors, whom he caused to be smitten downe with clubs, then their throates to be cut, and after to be buried in his owne house fiftéene foot deepe; for the which heinous offense he was apprehended and committed to the tower of London. And although the quéene séemed to fauour him much, as one professing the catholike religion: yet when she vnderstood the truth of his vile déed, she abhorred him, and commanded that he should be vsed according to iustice; wherefore shortlie after, he was brought to Westminster and there arreigned and found guiltie, and had iudgement as a murtherer to be hanged. And for the same fact were likewise condemned foure of his seruants. And the second daie of March next following, the said lord with his foure seruants were conueied by the queens gard from the tower of London through the citie, he hauing his arms pinioned at his backe, and his legs bound vnder the horsse bellie, and so carried to Salisburie, where the sixt daie of March next, he was hanged in the market place, and his foure seruants were hanged in the countrie neere vnto the place where the murther was committed.

The lord Sturton hanged.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. 1105. Dearth and plentie.

¶ This yeare before haruest, wheat was sold for foure marks the quarter, malt at foure and fortie shillings the quarter, beans and rie at fortie shillings the quarter, and pease at six and fortie shillings and eight pence: but after haruest wheat was sold for fiue shillings the quarter, malt at six shillings eight pence, rie at thrée shillings foure pence. So that the penie wheat loafe, that weied in London the last yéere but eleuen ounces Troie, weied now six and fiftie ounces Troie. In the countrie, wheat was sold for foure shillings the quarter, malt at foure shillings eight pence; and in some places a bushell of rie for a pound of candles which was foure pence. The seauenth of September, at seauen of the clocke at night, in a blacke rainie cloud in the west was séene a rainbow, the moone in the east risen one houre before, and faire shining, and at the full the daie before.] This present moneth of March king Philip, who a long season had béene in Flanders to take possession and gouernment of the low countries (as is aforsaid) did now returne into England, and passed through London, being accompanied with the quéene and diuerse nobles of the realme.

John Caius.

The returne of king Philip into England.

The foure and twentith of Aprill Thomas Stafford second sonne to lord Stafford, with other to the number of two and thirtie persons, comming forth of France by sea, arriued at Scarborough in Yorkeshire, where they tooke the castell, and held the same two daies, and then were taken without effusion of bloud by the earle of Westmorland. The said Stafford and Richard Sanders, otherwise called capteine Sanders, with three or foure others, of the which one was a Frenchman, were sent vp to London, and there committed to prison in the tower. The said Stafford and foure others were arreigned and condemned. Wherevpon the eight and twentith of Maie

Stafford and others committed to the tower, and after executed.

Maie, being fridaie, the said Stafford was beheaded on the tower hill and on the morrow three of his companie, as Strellie, Bradford, and Proctor, were drawne from the tower to Tiborne, and there executed. Their heads were set ouer the bridge, and their quarters ouer the gates about the same citie. Capteine Sanders had his pardon, and so escaped. The first of Maie Thomas Persie was made knight, and after lord, and on the next daie he was created earle of Northumberland. The queene gaue vnto him all the lands which had béene his ancestors, remaining at that time in hir hands.

Thomas Persie created earle of Northumberland.

In this season, although the French king (as was said) was verie loth to haue warres with England, yet the quéene tangling hirselfe contrarie to promise in hir husbands quarrell, sent a defiance to the French king by Clarenceaux king of armes; who comming to the citie of Remes, where the said king then laie, declared the same vnto him, the seuenth of Iune, being the mondaie in Whitsunwéeke. On the which daie, Carter and Norreie king of armes, accommpanied with other heralds, and also with the lord maior and certeine of the aldermen of the citie of London, by sound of three trumpets that rode before them, proclamed open war against the said French king, first in Cheape side, and after in other parts of the citie, where customarilie such proclamations are made: the shiriffes still riding with the heralds, till they had made an end, although the lord maior brake off in Cheape side, and went to saint Peters to heare seruice, and after to Paules, where (according to the vsage then) he went on procession. King Philip bicause of the warres towards, betwixt him and the French king, the sixt of Iulie passed ouer to Calis, and so into Flanders, where on that side the seas he made prouision for those warres: at which time there was great talke among the common people, muttering that the king making small account of the quéene, sought occasions to be absent from hir.

Quéene Marie proclameth open warres against the French king.

King Philip passed ouer into Flanders.

Neuerthelesse, she shortlie after caused an armie of a thousand horssemen, and foure thousand footmen, with two thousand pioners to be transported ouer to his aid, vnder the leading of diuerse of the nobilitie and other valiant capteines, whose names partlie follow: the earle of Penbroke capteine generall, sir Anthonie Browne vicount Montacute lieutenant generall vnder the said earle, the lord Greie of Wilton lord Marshall, the earle of Rutland generall of the horssemen, the lord Clinton earle of Lincolne coronell of the footmen, the lord Russell earle of Bedford, the lord Robert Dudleie earle of Leicester and maister of the ordinance, the lord Thomas Howard, sir William West lord de la Ware, sir Edward Windsore, after lord Windsore, the lord Braie, sir Edmund Bridges lord Shandois, the lord Ambrose Dudleie earle of Warwike, the lord Henrie Dudlie, Edward Randall esquier sergeant maior, maister Whiteman treasuror of the armie, Edward Chamberleine esquier capteine of the pioners, sir Richard Leigh trenchmaster, Iohn Higate esquier prouost marshall, Thomas Haruie esquier mustermaster, sir Peter Carew, sir William Courtneie, sir Giles Stranguish, sir Thomas Finch master of the campe, and other nobles, knights, and gentlemen of right approoued valiancie: although diuerse of them were supected to be protestants. Furthermore, to make king Philips power the stronger, there came aid vnto him from sundrie places; whereby as his armie increased in number, so likewise grew the same more puissant in strength. The people that assisted him are thus remembred by C. O. in his discourse of this warre, as here followeth:

The names of capteines ouer the quéenes forces.

Misit in auxilium Germania lecta virorum
Corpora ferratas acies peditúmque cateruas.
Nec deerat miles Latia de gente cruentus,
Dalmata non deerat bello huic nec defuit Hunnus.

Varia gentes in exercitu Philippi

Attamen

Attamen ante alios, fiducia summa locata est
In quibus armatus validè conuenerat Anglus
Fœdus amicitiæ vetus id poscebat, & vxor,
Cui cum regefuit socio commune periclum.

The death of the ladie Anne of Cleue.

The fiftéenth of Iulie, the ladie Anne of Cleue departed this life at Chelseie, and was honorablie buried at Westminster the fift of August: a ladie of right commendable regard, courteous, gentle, a good housekeeper, and verie bountifull to hir seruants.

Obsequie for the king of Portingale.

The eightéenth of August was a solemne obsequie celebrated in the church of S. Paule in London, for Iohn king of Portingale, who departed this life in Iulie last past. The lord treasuror was chéefe mourner. The queenes armie being transported ouer to Calis (as before ye haue heard) marched to ioine with king Philips power: the which alreadie being assembled, had inuaded the French confines, and being come before saint Quintins, planted a strong siege before that tower. To the rescue whereof, the French king sent a great armie both of horssemen and footmen, vnder the leading of the conestable of France: which armie consisted of about nine hundred men at armes, with as manie light horssemen, seuen or eight hundred Roisters, two and twentie ensignes of lancequenets, and sixteene ensignes of French footmen. They had also with them fiftéene péeces of great artillerie, to wit, six double canons, foure long culuerings, the rest bastard culuerings, and other péeces of smaller mould. The conestable thus garded vpon saint Laurence daie, which is the tenth of August, approched the towne, meaning to put into the same succours of more soldiors, with Dandelot the admerals brother, that was within the towne not furnished with such a garrison as was thought expedient for the defense thereof against such a power as king Philip had prepared against it.

Fiftéene or sixtéene thousand footmen, and a thrée or foure thousand horsse men.

The conestable of France duke Montmorencie generall of the French forces.

The duke of Sauoie and other capteins of the armie that laie at siege before the towne, aduertised of the conestables comming towards them, assembled the most part of their horssemen togither, and with all speed made towards a passage distant from the place where the French armie stood houering about a two English miles: and being got ouer, they diuided themselues into eight troopes of horssemen, led by the earles of Egmond, Horne Mausfield, the dukes of Brunswike and others, being in all to the number of fiue thousand men of armes, beside the swart Rutters and light horssemen. Which gaue such a furious and cruell charge vpon the Frenchmen, that they not able to resist the same, were altogither defeated, and their battels as well horssemen as footmen put to flight. Wherof king Philip hauing knowlege, pursued them with all his force, in which pursute there were slaine of the Frenchmen a great number, the chiefe whereof were these that follow. Iohn of Burbon duke of Anghien the vicount of Turraine and eldest sonne of Roch du Maine, the lord of Chandenier, with a great number of other gentlemen that bare armes in the field. There were taken these prisoners following; the duke of Montmorencie constable of France hurt with an harquebuz shot in the hanch, the duke of Montpenser hurt in the head, the duke of Longueuille, the marshall of saint Andrews, the lord Lewes brother to the duke of Montoa, monsieur de Vasse, the baron of Turton, monsieur de la Roch du Paine, the Reingraue coronell of the Almans: moreouer the counte de Roch Foucault, monsieur d'Obignie, monsieur de Meru, monsieur de Monthrum, monsieur de Biron, sonnes to the conestable, monsieur de la chapelle de Biron, monsieur de saint Heran: beside manie other gentlemen and capteins of good account and estimation. Yet there escaped the more part of the French horssemen, and manie of their footmen, with certeine of their capteins of honor; as the duke of Neuers, the prince of Conde brother to the king of Nauarre, the earle of Montmorencie eldest sonne to the conestable, the earle of

Prisoners of name.

These nine were knights of the order.

Sancerre, monsieur de Burdillon, and other of the barons of France. Within two or three daies after this ouerthrow, king Philip with the English armie, vnder the gouernement of the earle of Penbroke, and others, came to the siege afore saint Quintins, and so was the siege greatlie reinforced; and on the seuen and twentith of August by the speciall aid and helpe of the Englishmen, the towne of saint Quintins was taken. For when the other soldiours, after diuerse assaults were repelled and gaue ouer, the Englishmen of a stout courage gaue a new onset, by reason whereof the towne was taken. And in reward of their well doing, king Philip granted them saccage of the said towne. But then the swart Rutters, which keepe no rule when they be strongest, set vpon the Englishmen, in taking of the spoile, and killed a great number of them. This grudge was with much difficultie appeased, and men thought that if the Englishmen being much fewer in number had not beene oppressed with the multitude of the other, that it would haue growne to a great slaughter on both parts. At the assault the lord Henrie Dudleie, yoongest sonne to the duke of Northumberland was slaine with the shot of a great peece, as he stooped vpon his approch vnto the wall, and staid to rip his hose ouer the knee, thereby to haue beene the more apt and nimble to the assault. This was his end, of whome one saith thus:

The siege before saint Quintins, and the same taken and sacked.

The lord Henrie Dudleie slaine with the shot of a gun.

——Henricus Dudleius heros,
Ille annis generosam animam iuuenilibus efflat;
Quem referunt socij flentes in castra peremptum,
Vt mos christicolæ est, velatum sindone, gentis.

After the winning of this towne, newes in post were brought into England to the queene, who caused generall processions to be made, and Te Deum to be soong, giuing all laud and praise to almightie God for this great victorie. And in the streets of euerie citie and towne of the realme were made bonefires with great reioising: which sudden short gladnesse turned verie shortlie after to great and long sorow. For if ought were woone by hauing of saint Quintins, England got nothing at all, for the gaine thereof came onelie to king Philip. But the losse of Calis, Hammes and Guisnes, with all the countrie on that side the sea (which followed soone after) was such a buffet to England, as happened not in more than an hundred yeares before; and a dishonor wherwith this realme shall be blotted, vntill God shall giue power to redub it with some like requitall to the French.

Doctor Weston being (as you haue heard before) prolocutor of the conuocation house, was at this time in displeasure with cardinall Poole, and other bishops: bicause he was vnwilling to resigne his deanrie of Westminster vnto the queene, whose purpose was to place there (as in old time before) the religion of moonks, whome in deed he fauoured not, although in all other things he stood with the church of Rome. Neuerthelesse, by verie importunate sute, or rather compulsion, he with his collegues resigned the deanrie of Westminster. In recompense wherof he was made deane of Windsor, where not long after he was taken in adulterie, and for that fact was by the cardinall depriued of all his spirituall liuings, from whose sentence he appealed vnto the court of Rome. For the following of which appeale he sought secretlie to depart the realme; but he was apprehended by the waie, and committed to the tower of London, where he remained prisoner, vntill (by the death of queene Marie) queene Elizabeth came vnto the crowne, by whome he was set at libertie, and foorthwith fell sicke and died.

Doctor Weston resigneth the deanrie of Westminster by compulsion and is recompensed

The common talke was, that if he had not so suddenlie died, he would haue disclosed the purpose of the chiefe of the clergie, meaning the cardinall, which was

The malice of cardinall Poole against king Henrie the eight.

was to haue taken vp K. Henries bodie at Windsor, and to haue burned it, as manie thought. The thirtith of Nouember, being saint Andrewes daie, in the forenoone, the quéene came from saint Iames to hir palace at Westminster, where she heard masse: at the which, sir Thomas Tresham knight receiued the order of the crosse, and was instituted lord of saint Iohns of Ierusalem in England. At this time, although there was open hostilitie and warre betwéen England and France: yet contrarie to the common custome before vsed, the towne of Calis and the forts thereabouts were not supplied with anie new accrewes of soldiors, but rather withdrawne from thense, and discharged. Which negligence was not vnknowne to the enimie, who long before had practised the winning of the said towne and countrie.

Sir Thomas Tresham made lord of saint Iohns of Ierusalem.

Calis not furnished with a sufficient number of men.

The French king therefore being sharplie nettled with the late losse of saint Quintins, and a great péece of his countrie adioining, and desirous of reuenge, thought it not meet to let slip this occasion, but rather to aduance the same with all expedition, according vnto the plot laied by the conestable before hand. The king yet neuerthelesse hauing an armie in a readinesse (although the conestable were now prisoner, and therefore could not be present himselfe) to imploie where most aduantage should appeare, determined with all spéed to put in proofe the enterprise of Calis, which long and manie times before was purposed vpon, as it was well knowne. This practise was not secret, but that the deputies of Calis and Guisnes had some intelligence thereof, and informed the queene and hir councell accordinglie, as well by letters, as by sufficient messengers: for not onelie Iohn Hiefield master of the ordinance was sent from thense to giue due aduertisement of the French kings purpose, and to haue a supplie of things necessarie for mounting of the great artillerie wherof he had charge; but also sir Kafe Chamberleine, capteine of the castell, was likewise sent to giue the like aduertisement, who returned not past two or three daies before the duke of Guise came thither with the armie. And so either by wilfull negligence, or lacke of credit by the quéenes councell here, this great case was so slenderlie regarded, that no prouision of defense was made, vntill it was somewhat too late.

The losse of saint Quintins netleth the French king.

The duke of Guise with a great armie commeth toward Calis.

The duke of Guise being generall of the French armie, procéeded in this enterprise with maruellous speed and no lesse policie. For approching the English frontier vnder colour to vittell Bullongne and Ard, he entered the same vpon a sudden on New-yeares daie, a sorie little plot of ground, intrenched at Sandgate, and then diuided his armie into two parts, sending one part with certeine peeces of great artillerie along the downes by the sea side towards Ricebanke: and the other part furnished also with batterie péeces, marched streight foorth to Newnambridge, meaning to batter these two forts both at one time. Which thing he did with such readie dispatch, that comming thither verie late in the euening, he was master of both by the next morning: where at the first shot discharged at Newnambridge, the head of the master gunner of that peece, whose name was Horslie was striken off.

Guise entreth the English frontier.

1558.

Anno Reg. 5.

Newnambridge taken by the French.

The master gunners head smitten cleane off with a gun.

The capteine hauing sent vnto the lord deputie of Calis for some supplie of men, was answered that if he perceiued the enimies force to be such, whereby his péece should grow to be in anie danger: that then he should choke vp the artillerie, and retire with his men vnto Calis for defense of the towne, where they stood in great want of men also, euen to the perill of losing the whole, if the enimies came forwards to besiege it. Herevpon the capteine within Newnambridge perceiuing he might haue no succors, retired with his soldiors vnto Calis, in such secret wise, that the Frenchmen perceiued it not of a pretie while; insomuch that they shot still at the fort, when there was not a man within it to make resistance: and by that time they were come to Calis, the otherpart of the French armie

that

that went by the sea side with their batterie, had woone Ricebanke, being abandoned to their hands. The next daie the Frenchmen with fiue double canons and three culuerings began a batterie, from the Sandhils next Ricebanke against the curteine betwixt the watergate and the soldiors prison on the wall, and continued the same by the space of two or three, daies, vntill they had made a little breach next vnto the watergate, which neuerthelesse was not yet assaultable: for that which was broken in the daie, was by them within the towne made vp againe in the night stronger than before. But the batterie was not begun there by the French, for that they intended to enter in that place, but rather to abuse the English, to haue the lesse regard vnto the defense of the castell, which was the weakest part of the towne, and the place where they were ascerteined by their espials to win easie entrie. So that while our people trauelled fondlie to defend that counterfet breach of the towne wall, the duke had in the meane season planted fifteene double canons against the castell. Which castell being considered by the rulers of the towne, to be of no such force as might resist the batterie of the canon (by reason it was old and without anie rampiers) it was deuised to make a traine with certeine barrels of powder to this purpose, that when the Frenchmen should enter (as they well knew that there they would) to haue fired the said traine, and blowne vp the Keepe, and for that purpose left neuer a man within to defend it.

Ricebanke taken by the French.

The duke of Guise his policie.

The Englishmens fond defense.

But the French hauing passed through the dich full of water, and thereby with their cloths wringing wet as they passed ouer the traine, they moisted so the powder, that it would not take fire when it was giuen. Herevpon the Frenchmen espieng the traine, auoided the same; so as that deuise came to no purpose, and without anie resistance they entered the castell, and thought to haue entered the towne by that waie. But by the prowesse and hardie courage of sir Anthonie Ager knight, and marshall of the towne, with his soldiors they were repelled, and driuen backe againe into the castell, and so hard followed, that our men forced them to close and shut the castell gate for their suertie, least it should haue beene recouered against them, as it was once attempted by sir Anthonie Ager; who there with his sonne and heire, and a purseuant at armes called Calis, with diuese others to the number of three or foure score Englishmen lost their liues.

The Frenchmen disappoint the Englishmens deuise.

Sir Anthonie Ager and his sonne slaine.

The same night after the recule of the Frenchmen, whose number so increased in the castell, that the towne was not able to resist their force, the lord Wentworth being deputie of the towne, appointed Nicholas Fellow, alias Guisnes, and Richard Turpine, alias Hammes, to go to the French within the castell, to demand parlée: wherevnto they assented, put foorth of the posterne two French gentlemen, and in pledge for them receiued into the castell John Hiefield master of the ordinance, and Edmund Hall one of the conestables of the staple. Herevpon they falling in talke about a composition: at length after some long debating of the matter, they concluded in this sort. First that the towne, with all the great artillerie, vittels, and munitions, should be freelie yeelded to the French king, the liues of the inhabitants onelie saued, to whome safe conduct should be granted to passe where they listed: sauing the lord deputie, with fiftie such other as the duke should appoint, to remaine prisoners, and be put to their ransome. The next morning, the Frenchmen entered and possessed the towne: and foorthwith all the men, women, and children, were commanded to leaue their houses, and to go to certeine places appointed for them to remaine in, till order might be taken for their sending awaie.

The lord Wentworth.

A parlée demanded of the French.

Calis deliuered to the French.

The places thus appointed for them to remain in, were chieflie foure, the two churches of our ladie, and saint Nicholas, the deputies house, and the staple, where

they rested a great part of that daie, and one whole night, and the next daie till three of the clocke at afternoone, without either meat or drinke. And while they were thus in the churches, and those other places, the duke of Guise in the name of the French king, in their hearings made a proclamation, strictlie charging all and euerie person that were inhabitants of the towne of Calis, hauing about them anie monie, plate, or iewels, to the value of one groat to bring the same foorthwith and laie it downe vpon the high altars of the said churches vpon paine of death; bearing them in hand also, that they should be searched. By reason of which proclamation, there was made a great and sorowfull offertorie. And while they were at this offering within the churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houses, and rifled the same, where was found inestimable riches and treasure: but speciallie of ordinance, armor, and other munitions.

The duke of Guises proclamation to bring in monie and plate, &c.

The French fall to spoil and rifling.

¶ Thus dealt the French with the English in lieu and recompense of the like vsage to the French when the forces of king Philip preuailed at S. Quintins: where not content with the honour of victorie, the English in sacking the towne sought nothing more than the satisfieng of their greedie veine of couetousnesse, with an extreame neglect of all moderation. So likewise did the Spanish soldiors, and the rest that could come to finger anie thing of value: insomuch that neither monie nor plate, either of siluer or gold, rich hangings, bedding nor houshold stuffe was spared: but what they could not carie awaie for cumbersomnesse, they sold dogcheape; were the same necessarie furniture seruiceable for the chamber, the kitchen, or anie other roome in a mans house. Pearls and pretious stones, iewels and oweches, the rich ornaments of the French dames were then bought and sold at a low price, which a lang time had béene kept shut vp vnder locke and keie: all laie open now to the gréedie eie of the soldiors, who like landlords kept possession of houses, as C. O. noteth, of whom I haue borrowed the report of this reuell rowt, saieng:

Armatis muros firmissimáque occupat vrbis
Militibus victor, dominantur in ædibus altis
Iam vacuis veterum dominorum Marce phalanges
Conspicuæ.]

About two of the clocke the next daie at after noone, being the seuenth of Ianuarie, a great number of the meanest sort were suffered to passe out of the towne in safetie, being garded through the armie with a number of Scotish light horssemen, who vsed the Englishmen verie well and friendlie: and after this euerie daie for the space of three or foure daies togither, there were sent awaie diuerse companies of them till all were auoided, those only excepted that were appointed to be reserued for prisoners, as the lord Wentworth, and others. There were in the towne of Calis fiue hundred English souldiors ordinarie, and no more: and of the townesmen not fullie two hundred fighting men (a small garison for the defense of such a towne) and there were in the whole number of men, women, and children (as they were accounted when they went out of the gate) foure thousand and two hundred persons. But the lord Wentworth deputie of Calis, sir Kafe Chamberleine capteine of the castell, Iohn Harlston capteine of Ricebanke, Nicholas Alexander capteine of Newnambridge, Edward Grimstone the comptrollor, Iohn Rogers surueior, with others, to the number of fiftie (as aforesaid) such as it pleased the duke of Guise to appoint were sent prisoners into France.

The poorest and meanest sort voided out of Calis.

Garison of soldiors that were in Calis.

Thus haue ye heard the discourse of the ouerthrow and losse of the towne of Calis, the which enterprise was begun and ended in lesse than eight daies, to the great maruell of the world, that a towne of such strength, and so well furnished of all things as that was (sufficient numbers of men of warre onlie excepted) should so suddenlie

Calis conquered and lost in lesse than eight daies.

suddenlie be taken and conquered, but most speciallie in the winter season, what time all the countrie about (being marish ground) is commonly ouerflowne with water. The said towne was woon from the French king by K. Edward the third, in the time of Philip de Valois then French king: and being in possession of the kings of England two hundred and eleuen yeares, was in the time of Philip and Marie king and queene of England lost within lesse than eight daies; being the most notable fort that England had. For the winning whereof, king Edward aforesaid, in the 21 yeare of his reigne, was faine to continue a siege eleuen moneths and more. Wherefore it was iudged of all men, that it could not haue come to passe, without some secret trecherie. How long Calis was in possession of the kings of England.

Here is also to be noted, that when queene Marie and hir councell heard crediblie of the Frenchmens sudden approch to that towne, she with all speed possible (but somewhat too late) raised a great power for the rescue thereof; the which comming to Douer, staied thereabouts till the towne was woone, either for that their whole number was not come togither, or for that there were not ships readie sufficient to passe them ouer, although the wind and weather serued verie well to haue transported them thither, till the sundaie at night after the towne was deliuered: for then began a maruellous sore and rigorous tempest, continuing the space of foure or fiue daies togither, that the like had not béene seene in the remembrance of man. Wherefore some said that the same came to passe through necromancie, and that the diuell was raised vp and become French, the truth whereof is knowne (saith maister Grafton) to God. True it is that after the said tempest began, for the time it lasted no ship could well brooke the seas, by reason of the outragious storms. And such of the quéenes ships as did then aduenture the passage, where so shaken and torne with the violence of the weather, that they were forced to returne in great danger, and not without losse of all their tackle and furniture: so that if this tempestuous weather had not chanced, it was thought that the armie should haue passed to haue giuen some succors to Guisnes, and to haue attempted the recouerie of Calis. As good neuer as too late. A terrible tempest. Rich. Grafton. The quéenes ships sore shaken with storme and tempest.

But if the same armie might haue béene readie to haue transported ouer in time, before the losse of Calis, and whilest the weather was most calme and swéet, as was possible for that time of the yeare, the towne might haue béene preserued; and the other péeces which through want of timelie succours came into the enimies possession. And thus by negligence of the councell at home, conspiracie of traitors elsewhere, force and false practise of enimies, holpen by the rage of most terrible tempests of contrarie winds and weather, this famous fort of Calis was brought againe and left in the hands and possession of the French. ¶ Now were he worthie of a kingdome, that could sensiblie and significantlie set foorth the insolent triumphs and immoderate reioising of the French for the recouerie of Calis so long possessed by the English, and now in forren tenure. In describing whereof a man had néed of manie heads fraught with extraordinarie inuention, and of many hands ready to deliuer in writing his rare conceipts in this case. For as they are a people depending wholie vpon extremities in their actions: so in this they vsed no measure, insomuch that euen the learneder sort among them, namelie Turnebus, Auratus, Bellaius, and others did both pen and publish pamphlets in Latine verse, replenished with scoffs and vnreuerend termes against the English, calling them perfidos, and in flowting sort Diuisos orbé Britannos; but aduancing to the skies their Henrie, their Guise, and the rest of the rowt that were actors in this conquest. A sight of which verses in some part I may not omit (for it requireth a booke to transcribe all) least I might be thought to impose vpon them a false charge. This therefore in the forme of a dialog betweene a post and the people writeth Auratus the French kings publike reader in the Gréeke toong: Abr. Fl. ex opere historico Schardij collectio.

N. Clamate

N. Clamate Galli nunc ter io io.
V. Quæ læta Gallis instat ouatio?
N. Capti Caletes. V. Multa paucis
Digna nouo memoras triumpho.
N. Vicêre Galli, sed duce Guisio.
V. Io triumphe, nunc ter io io.
N. Vicêre victores Britannos.
V. Nunc ter io, ter io triumphe.
N. Annos ducentos serua Britanniæ
Vrbs liberata est. V. Nunc ter io io.
N. Migrate iam prisci coloni.
V. Nunc ter io, ter io triumphe, &c.

Ex tomo tertio historiam Schardij de capto Caleto pag. 1973 &c.

And thus procéedeth he in his od veine of inuention, concluding with a question, whether the king of France or the duke of Guise are the more happie and blessed person? The answer is made that they are both blessed, the king for the duke sake, and the duke for the kings; and therefore his posie must of force sing and sound to them both thrise, that is, oftentimes Ter io triumphe, ter io triumphe. But I would to God the English had not béene so soon and so suddenlie turned out of their old possession, nor the French fondlings obteined such a iust cause of immoderate ioy and outragious triumph.]

But to leaue Calis in the present state, you shall understand, that so soone as this duke of Guise (contrarie to all expectation) had in so few daies gained this strong towne of Calis (afore thought impregnable) and had put the same in such order as best séemed for his aduantage, proud of the spoile, and pressing forward vpon his good fortune, without giuing anie long time to the residue of the guides or capteines of the forts there, to breath vpon their businesse, the 13 daie of the said moneth being thursdaie, with all prouision requisite for a siege, marched with his armie from Calis, vnto the towne and fort of Guisnes, fiue miles distant from thence. Of which towne and castell at the same time there was capteine a valiant baron of England, called William lord Greie of Wilton, who not without cause suspecting a siege at hand, and knowing the towne of Guisnes to be of small force, as being large in compasse, without walles or bulworks, closed onlie with a trench, before the Frenchmens arriuall had caused all the inhabitants of the towne to auoid, and so manie of them as were able to beare armes he caused to retire into the castell, which was a place well fortified with strong and massie bulworks of bricke, hauing also an high and mightie tower, of great force and strength, called the Kéepe.

The duke of Guise marcheth to the fort and towne of Guisnes.

The L. Greie capteine of Guisnes.

The towne being thus abandoned, the Frenchmen had the more easie approch to the castell, who thinking to find quiet lodging in those vacant houses, entred the same without any feare. And being that night at their rest (as they thought) a chosen band of souldiors appointed by the lord Greie, issued out by a posterne of the said castell, and slue no small number of their sleepie ghests, and the rest they put out of their new lodgings, and maugre the duke and all the French power, consumed all the houses of the towne with fire. That notwithstanding, the said duke with all diligence began his trenches. And albeit the shot of the great artillerie from the castell was terrible, and gaue him great impeachment: yet did he continue his worke without intermission, and for examples sake wrought in his owne person as a common pioner or labourer. So that within lesse than thrée daies, he brought to the number of fiue and thirtie batterie péeces, hard to the brim of the castell ditch, to batter the same on all sides, as well foorthright as acrosse. But his principall batterie he planted against the strongest bulworke of all, called Marie bulworke, thinking by gaining of the stronger to come more easilie by the weaker.

The L. Greie taketh the French at a sléepie aduantage.

Rabutine.

On

On mondaie morning therefore by breake of the daie, they had laid two batteries to the said bulworke, thirteene canons in the one, and nine in the other, with which they plied it so well, as that by noone they had not onelie dismounted their counter batterie within, but also cleane cut awaie the hoope of bricke off the whole forefront of their bulworks, whereof the filling being but of late digged earth, did crimble awaie. Which the enimie finding about two of the clocke in the same afternoone, sent fortie or fiftie forlorne boies with swords and targets to view and assaie the breach. The ditch at that place before the batterie was not foure and twentie foot broad, now assuredlie not a dozzen, nor in deapth aboue a mans knées, wherefore with small adoo they came to the breach, and with as little paine came vp the same, the clime was so easie; from whence hauing discharged certeine pistols vpon the Englishmen, and receiued a few pushes of the pike, they retired. And making report of the easinesse of the breach, strait a band or two of Gascoigns (as it was thought) threw themselues into the ditch, and vp they came. Then a little more earnestly the Englishmen leaned to their tackling, their flankers walked, their pikes, their culuers, their pots of wild fire were lent them, the harquebush saluted them, so as iollie maister Gascoigne was set downe with more hast than he came vp with good spéed: and so ended mondaies worke, sauing that vpon the retire from the assalt, they gaue seuen or eight such terrible tires of batterie, as tooke cleane away from them within the top of their vaumure and maunds, leauing them all open to the canons mouth. Whereby surelie but for night that came on, the Englishmen had beene forced to haue abandoned the place.

Batterie laid to the Marie bulworke.

The Gascoignes put backe with more hast than they came vp with good speed.

At this assault was slaine of gentlemen, one capteine Bourne an Englishman, verie valiant, also a Spanish gentleman, and common souldiours to the number of fortie or fiftie. There was also sore hurt at the same assault, one other Spanish capteine, with diuerse others, whom for the auoiding of tediousnesse I let passe. At night the lord Greie came to the bulworke, and hauing rendred thanks to God for that daies good successe, did greatlie commend them all for their manfull defense and valiant behauiour, exhorting them to continue therein, as the onelie thing wherein their safetie and good name did rest. The batterie (as before is told) hauing laid the bulworks open, they within were inforced for winning of a new vaumure, to intrench within the bulworke six foot déepe, and nine in thicknesse, which maruellouslie did strengthen the péece, the same being of no great largenesse before. By the next daie being tuesdaie, they had planted two batteries more; the one in the market place of the towne, to beate a curteine of the bodie of the castell, of six canons; the other vpon the rampire of the towne of three péeces, to beat the Cat and a flanker of the Barbican, which two garded one side of the Marie bulworke.

The number slaine at this assault.

The lord Greie commendeth his souldiours.

This morning they bestowed most in battering at the flankers, which the daie before they had felt, and indéed woone euerie one from them within, sauing that of the Cat, which laie high and somewhat secret, and an other at the end of a braie by the gate on the other side of the bulworke; all the rest, as those of the Garden bulworke which chéeflie beheld the maine breach of the Barbican, and of the Kéepe, were quite béereued them. And besides the enimie continuallie interteined the breach, with eight or nine tires the houre. In the afternoone about the same houre that they made their attempt the daie afore, a regiment of Swisses, with certeine bands of Frenchmen approched the dich, as if presentlie they would haue giuen the assault; but there they did staie, sending to the breach onelie a capteine or two, seeking thereby to haue discouered what flankers yet were left to them within: wherein they were preuented, the lord Graie hauing before warned the gunners not to disclose them, but vpon extremitie. And thus after an houres plaie with the harquebush onelie, and a light offer or two of approach, this people retired them, and gaue the

Battering at the flankers.

Certeine Swisses and French approch the dich as if they would offer assault.

canon

canon place againe, which by night had driuen them within anew to become mold-warps, and to intrench themselues with all speed possible.

The morrow being wednesdaie, by the peepe of daie, all the batteries began, and without intermission held on till one of the clocke in the afternoone, and especiallie that in the market place so preuailed, as hauing cleane ruined the old wall, did driue through the rampire, and a new countermure of earth raised vpon the same, where the lord Greie himselfe sitting vpon a forme, with sir Henrie Palmer, and master Lewes Diue his lordships cousin and deputie, made a faire escape, the forme being stricken asunder vnder them, without anie further harme to anie of them: though sundrie other that daie and the next following lost their liues on the same curteine by the foresaid battrie, which full in flanke did beat it, wherein yet was his lordships onelie abode as his cheefest place, to view and regard the behauiour and need of all the other lims, from which also a quoit might be throwne into Marie bulworke. The enimies canon (as is said) hauing plaid thus all the morning, and well searched (as they thought) euerie corner that flankers might lurke in, about the foresaid houre of one of the cloke, the Englishmen might descrie the trench before the breach to be stuffed with ensignes. The L. Greie streight expecting that which followed, gaue word incontinentlie to euerie place to stand on their gard, incouraging euerie man to continue in their well begun endeuor. A tower that was called Webs tower, and yet standing, which flanked one side of the beaten bulworke, he stuffed with twentie of the best shot with curriers. These things no sooner thus ordered, but that eight or nine ensignes of Swisses, and three of Gascoigns, did present themselues vpon the countersearfe; and without staie the Gascoignes flue into the ditch, run vp the breach, whome they within receiue with harquebush shot, but they requite the Englishmen againe with two for one. The top of the vaumure or rather trench, the enimie boldlie approcheth, the pike is offered, to handblowes it commeth. Then the Swisse with a statelie leasure steppeth into the dich, and close togither marcheth vp the breach, the fight increaseth, waxeth verie hot, and the breach all couered with the enimies. The small shot in Webs tower began now their parts, no bullet that went in vaine. On the other side againe 20 of the Spaniards on the inside of the braies had laid themselues close till the heat of the assault: and then shewing themselues, did no lesse gall the enimies than the tower. Thus was it no lustilier assailed than brauelie defended. At last after an houres fight and more, the gouernors without, finding the great slaughter that theirs went to, and small auaile, and perceiuing the two little casemates of the tower and braies to be the cheefest annoiances, did cause a retire to be sounded: and withall three or foure of the canons in the market place, to be turned vpon Webs tower, the which at two tires brought cleane downe the same vpon the soldiors heads, wherein two or three were slaine outright, others hurt to death, and who escaped best, so maimed or brused, as they were no more able to serue.

The danger which my lord Greie escaped sitting vpon a forme with two gentlemen.

The Swisses and Gascoigns giue the assault.

The manhood of the Spaniards against the French.

The enimie this while hauing breathed, and a brace of an hundred shots put foorth onelie to attend on the few Spaniards that kept the corners of the braies the assault afresh is begun, and their beaten bands with new companies relieued. The lord Greie also sent into the bulworke two hundred fresh men. Now grew the fight heauie vpon the Englishmen, all their defense resting in the pike and bill, their cheefest flankers being gone, their places to bestow shot is taken from them, their fier-works in manner spent, the Spanish shot on the other side so ouerlaid, as not one of them but was either slaine or marred, yer a quarter of the assault was past. The easinesse of the fight thus alluring the enimie, vnappointed companies flue to the breach, and courage was on euerie side with them, what hauocke they made it is not hard to gesse. My lord Greie perceiuing the extremitie,

A fresh assault begun and the fight hot and heauie against the English.

tremitie, sent to the two forenamed flankers, that they should no longer spare. They streight went off, the diches and breach being couered with men. These vnlooked for ghests made the enimie that was comming to pause, and the other alreadie come to repent their hast. Three or foure bowts of these salutations began to cleare well the breach, though the dich grew the fuller at night. At last parted with no great triumph of others winnings (for as the Englishmen within went not scotfree) so surelie no small number of their enimies carcasses tooke vp their lodgings in the ditch that night. Enemies slaine.

My lord Greie this night came into the bulworke, where after praise first to God, he gaue thanks and commendations to them all. The slaine men he caused to be buried, the hurt to be remooued and looked vnto, saw the breach repared, inquired of their lacks, and (as he might) supplied the same. They that were great could not be helped, as cornpowder, fierworks, yea and pikes began to faile vs. The most part of the night he here bestowed, and longer as was thought had taried, had not a scarberdes sword about one of the souldiors as he went in the throng and darke amongst them, thrust him almost through the foot: wherevpon he withdrew him to be dressed, vsing first vnto his souldiors an exhortation to acquite themselues no lesse valiantlie the next daie, assuring them that one or two more such bankets as this last, giuen to the enimie, would coole their courages for anie more assaults. My lord Greie worke after the skirmish ended. My L. Greie hurt by mischance.

This night now, great noise and working was heard in the dich, wherevpon the bulworke was once or twice on alarum. At the last with cressets it was espied that they were making a bridge. The morning came, and then the same was séene to be finished, emptie casks with ropes fastened togither, and sawed boords laid thereon. This yet did but put them within, in a certeintie of that which before they accounted of, and stood prepared for. To be short, the enimies spent all the daie till it was full two of the clocke in batterie, and beating at the two last flankers, which at length they woone from them within, and the gunners of either slaine. Wherevpon the lord Greie taking counsell of sir Henrie Palmer, master Lewes Diue and Montdragon the leader of the Spaniards: it was resolued, that there might be order to make a fucasie within the bulworke, and presentlie to withdraw all from thence, sauing a certeine for a face and stale to toll in the enimie, and then to haue blowne it vp whole to the destruction of them all. The French make bridges. Consultation betweene the lord Greie and the English gentlemen.

In the meane time, the duke of Guise hauing giuen order to monsieur Dandelot coronell of the French footmen, that he with his bands should be in a readinesse to giue the assault when signe should be giuen, did withdraw him to an higher ground, from whence he might plainlie discouer the behauiour as well of his souldiors in the assault giuing, as also of the defendants in answering the same. And perceiuing not so manie of the English part appearing for defense (as he doubted there would) gaue order foorthwith, that a regiment of his most forward lance-knights should mount the breech, to open the first passage; and that monsieur Dandelot with his French footbands should backe them, which order was followed, with such hast and desperat hardines, that entring a déepe ditch full of water, from the bottome whereof to the top of the breach, in some places, was well neare fortie foot, without feare either of the water beneath, or the fire aboue, they mounted the breach. Rich. Grafton. The duke of Guise and monsieur Dandelot with their powers. Rabutine.

And whereas the duke had prepared (as ye haue heard) bridges made of planke boords, borne vp with casks and emptie pipes, tied one to another, for his men to passe the said ditch: manie of them now at this assault, without care of those bridges, plunged into the water, and tooke the next waie to come to the assault. Which hot hast notwithstanding, the assailants were at the first so stoutlie repelled and put backe by the defendants, being furnished with great store of The desperat aduenture of the French.

wildfire, and other fucasies for the purpose, that they were turned headlong one vpon another, much faster than they came vp, not without great wast and slaughter of their best and most forward souldiors, to the small comfort of the stout duke, who (as is said before) stood all this while vpon a little hill to behold this businesse. Wherefore he not induring this sight any longer, as a man inraged, ran among his men, so reproving some, and incouraging other, that the assault was hot renewed, with much more vehemencie and furie than before, and with no lesse sturdie obstinacie and desperation receiued by the defendants, whereby all the breach beneath was filled with French carcases.

The duke of Guise in a rage with his soldiers.

This notwithstanding, the duke still redoubled his forces with fresh companies, and continued so manie assaults one vpon another, that at the last charge, being most vehement of all the other, the Englishmen being tired, and greatlie minished in their numbers, by slaughter and bloudie wounds, were of fine force driuen to auoid, and so after halfe an hours fight, the enimie entered. Which when the lord Greie beheld, he leaped to the top of the rampire, wishing of God that some shot would take him. When one that stood next him, by the scarffe suddenlie pulled him downe, otherwise the effects had well declared the earnestnes of the praier: for he was not yet vp againe, when a canon shot grated vpon the same place from whence he fell. And thus verie narowlie hée scaped the danger of that shot, which if it had hit him would (no doubt) haue wrought his dispatch. For what is the weake frame of a mans bodie to mightie forts and strong castels, builded of timber and stone, besides the iron worke therewith compact, oftentimes redoubling the strength of the same? And yet these (we see by experience) ruinated, battered, and laid leuell manie times with the thundering shot of this dreadfull artillerie; an engine of no great antiquitie, and not vsed among ancient warriours in former ages, but a late deuise of a Franciscan frier; pitie it is that euer he was borne to set abroch such a pestilent inuention, as the poet noteth, shewing also the vse and the mischéefous effect thereof as followeth:

The English forced to auoid and the enimie entereth.

Tormenti genus est ex ferro aut ære coactum,
Quod Franciscanus frater reperisse refertur,
Vt capias paucis validissima castra diebus,
Quæ vix cepisses armis toto priùs anno, &c.

But to proceed. The fight within the bulworke yet lasted, to the great slaughter of them that defended it. Herevpon my lord Greie presentlie called to maister Lewes Diue, and others that were about him, to follow him to the gate. The maze was such, that besides his sonne maister Arthur Greie, and now lord Greie, maister Lewes Diue, capteine Brickewell, and halfe a doozen of armed corslets, not a man else did follow him. By this means the Englishmen were cleane driuen out of the bulworke, the enimie yet not daring to passe the braies, gaue them that escaped good leisure to recouer the gate, where my lord Greie holding the wicket himselfe, receiued them in. Vpon the taking of this bulworke, the souldiors of Whiteleies bulworke and the base court in discomfiture abandoned their charges, flieng to the castell: so that more than the Kéepe and the bodie of the castell no part was free from the enimie. My lord Greie hauing receiued all his, caused the gates to be rammed vp.

Arthur Greie now lord Greie.

The enimie is dastardlie, all his victories notwithstanding.

Thus were the cheefe bulworks and vtter lims of the castell of Guisnes obteined by the French, on saint Sebastians daie, being the twentith of Ianuarie, but yet not without great expense of bloud on both sides: for of the French part there were slaine in those assaults aboue the number of eight or nine hundred, and of the English not manie fewer: amongst whom the greatest losse lighted vpon those few

Ric. Grafton.

few Spaniards and Wallons that were come to assist the English at that present. It was now night: when a trumpetter came to the ditches side in the base court, and sounded a summons: who being called vnto and asked what he would, told that he was sent to my lord Greie by the duke of Guise, with offer of a parlée if it would be harkened vnto. The souldiors no sooner heard these newes, but forsaking the walles came all in rowt togither, and confusedlie speaking to their chiefteine the said lord Greie, praied him to harken to the message, and to haue consideration of their liues, which so long as anie hope remained, they willinglie had ventured. The lord Greies answer was, that he maruelled, either what causelesse mistrust of his caring for them was now come vpon them, or what sudden vnwoonted faintnesse of mind had so assailed them, as to cause them in such disorder to forsake their places, and leaue the walles naked, and he willed them to returne to the same.

A trumpetter from the duke of Guise to the lord Greie.

My lord Greie hereof tooke counsell, and it was thought good not to reiect the offer, the extremitie on euerie side weied. The trumpetter receiuing answer, accordinglie departed, and without long abode returned againe, requiring in the dukes behalfe hostages for a truce during the parlee from vs, he minding to deliuer the like into the castell. From him in fine monsieur Destrees, and a gentleman of the kings chamber were sent in: and maister Arthur Greie my lords sonne, and maister Lewes Diue, were put out. Monsieur Dandelot in the braies receiued them, and caried them ouer the vnfortunate bulworke, being come vpon naked and new slaine carcases, some of them spralling yet and groning vnder their feet, were onelie the earth they trod on. So passing downe the breach somewhat to the ease of the former heauie sight, they saw it, and the ditch little lesse fraught with the enimies corpses. Then to the campe they came, and were lodged in the said Dandelots tent.

Hostages required on the dukes part from the lord Greie during the time of the parlée, &c.

The next daie in the morning, the lord Greie was to meet the duke abrode: betweene them willinglie one houre was spent in talking without agreement, onelie vpon this point, that the lord Greie would haue his bands depart with their ensignes displaied, which would not be yeelded vnto: so he returned, and the hostages also therevpon were sent in. Monsieur Destrées not being yet come foorth, my lord was no sooner entered againe, but that the souldiers eftsoones forsaking the walles, willinglie and to the present cutting of all their owne throtes (if monsieur Destrées himselfe had not beene, with a few capteins and gentlemen of the lord Greies owne retinue) came and met him, crieng vpon him to haue pitie vpon them. The lord Greie herewith staied, and pausing a while, had this speach.

The duke and the lord Greie haue communication an whole houre.

"The onelie pitie (if fond I cannot saie) that I haue of you, hath caused me this daie to make such offers of composition, as neither your honesties, nor my honour, nor either of our duties in my thought maie well beare, which refused to take harder to the vtter defacing of our credits, sith the best would blot it. If I would, souldiers, your selves (me thinketh) in vengeance thereof should turn your weapons vpon me, and sacrifice so hartlesse a capteine, rather than to take it as a token of a pitifull capteine ouer you, and to yeeld thanks for the same. We haue begun, as becommed vs: we haue yet held on as dutie dooth bind vs: let vs end then as honest dutie and fame dooth will vs. Neither is there anie such extremitie of despaire in our case, but that we maie yet dearelie inough sell our skins yer we lose them. Let vs then either march out vnder our ensignes displaied, or else herewith die vnder them displaied." The soldiers herewith in a mutinie flatlie answered, that they for his vainglory would not sell their liues. The desperatnesse of their case was not vnknowne vnto them (said they) and that their liues in other seruice might yet auaile their prince and countrie. In this now further to venture, was but like oxen to be

The lord Greies words to his soldiers being ashamed of their timerousnesse, and yet pitieng their present distresse.

The lord Greies souldiers in a mutinie doo murmur against him, &c.

thrust to the butcher. That his lordship was not to expect anie one blow at their hands.

Herewith in hast came one from monsieur Destrees that stood at the rampire, aduising him to send his souldiors to the wals, otherwise that the Swisses would assuredlie enter. So constreined, his lordship promised them to compound, and so he got them to the wals. Then my lord going to councell, at length agreed vpon these conditions. First, that the castell with all the furniture therein as well vittels as great artillerie, powder, and all other munitions of warre, should be wholie rendred without wasting, hiding or minishment thereof. Secondarilie, that the lord Greie with all the capteins, officers and others, hauing charge there, should remaine prisoners at the dukes pleasure, to be ransomed after the manner of warre. Thirdlie, that all the rest, as well souldiors as others, should depart with their armors, and baggage to what parties it séemed them best: neuerthelesse to passe without sound of drum or trumpet, or ensigne, and to leaue them behind. These articles sent by monsieur Destrees to the duke were accepted, and so in the after noone, the duke himselfe came and receiued the keies of my lord Greie, who presentlie went out, and was giuen to the marshall Strozzie, and from him sold to monsieur de Randan, by whom he came into his brother the counte de Rochefoucalt his hands, and there rested, till he was redéemed for four and twentie thousand crownes.

Articles of agréement betweene the lord Greie and the enimie.

The daie following, that is to saie the two and twentith of Ianuarie, all the souldiors of the said fortresse of Guisnes, as well English as strangers, with all the rest of the inhabitants, and other (excepted the lord Greie himselfe, maister Arthur Greie his son, sir Henrie Palmer knight, Montdragon capteine of the Spaniards, and other men of charge reserued by the composition) departed with their bag and baggage from thense towards Flanders. At whose issuing foorth, there were estéemed to the number of eight or nine hundred able men for the warre, part English and part Burgognians. Of Spaniards so few were left, as no account is to be made of them, in maner the whole number of them being slaine, and selling their liues right déerelie, according to the order of good and hardie souldiors. Thus endeth this siege, wherein for breuities sake we haue left to saie anie thing of the prouisions that the lord Greie made against the same, of the aduertisements that from time to time he sent to king Philip and quéene Marie, and of their answers, of the sundrie aduentures which they of Guisnes had with the enimie during their being about Calis, and of the great and manie booties that were there taken. Onelie in a word or two will I ad what bands of strangers were within the péece, because thereof as in an other thing or two, I doo find maister Grafton in his chronicle speake at rouers. First came in Montdragon, with two Spaniards more, verie valiant men, whome did follow within a daie or two, about foure or fiue and thirtie other Spaniards, all shot, of which (as I haue heard) there went not fiue out of the castell.

The soldiors of Guisnes depart thense with bag and baggage.

What bands of strangers were within the fort.

There came one capteine Desquie a Burgognian, with two hundred souldiors, pikes most. This band was appointed to the Marie bulworke, whose capteine being full of the gout, and an impotent man, would not yet be from his charge, but in his bed ended his life in the bulworke. And so of this enough. But now after the winning of this towne and castell, the duke aduising well upon the place, and considering that if it should happen to be regained by Englishmen, what a noisome neighbor the same might be to Calis, now being French; and speciallie what impeachment should come thereby for the passage thither from France, considering also the neere standing thereof to the French kings fortresse of Ard: so that to keepe two garrisons so nigh togither should be but a double charge, and not onelie néedlesse, but also dangerous for the cause afore rehearsed. Vpon these considerations (as the Frenchmen write) he tooke order for all the great artillerie, vittels and other munition, to be taken foorth, and the castell with all the bulworkes and other fortifica-

Rich. Grafton.

tions

tions there, with all speed to be razed and throwne downe, and the stuffe to be caried awaie, and emploied in other more necessarie places.

Then rested nothing within all the English pale on that side vnconquered, but the little castell or pile called Hammes, which though it were but of small force, made by art and industrie of mans hand, and being altogither of old workemanship without rampiers or bulworks: yet neuerthelesse, by the naturall situation thereof, being on all sides inuironed with fens and marish grounds, it could not easilie be approached vnto, either with great ordinance for the batterie, or else with anie armie to incampe there for a siege: but hauing one streict passage thereto by a narrow causeie, trauersed and cut through in diuerse places, with déepe ditches, alwaies full of water. Which thing being well foreséene by Edward lord Dudleie then capteine there, hauing as good cause to suspect a siege there, as his neighbors had afore the Frenchmens comming to Guisnes, caused all the bridges of the said causeie being of wood to be broken, to giue thereby the more impeachment to the French, if they should attempt to approach the same, as shortlie after they did, and kept diuerse of the passages.

Hammes castell could not be easilie approached vnto, and why.

The lord Edward Dudleie.

But to deliuer the duke and his souldiors from that care, there came to him glad newes from those that had charge to watch the said causeie, how the capteine hauing intelligence of the rendering of Guisnes, secretlie the same night had conueied himselfe, with his small garrison by a secret passage ouer the marish into Flanders. Whereby the duke being now past care of anie further siege to be laid in all the frontier, tooke order forthwith to seize the said little fort into his own hands, as it was easie to doo, when there was no resistance. When this peece was once seized by the French, then remained there none other place of defense nor strength of the English on all that side the sea, for the safegard of the rest of the countrie. Whereby the French king became wholie and throughlie lord and master of all the English pale: for now (as ye haue heard) there was neither towne, castell, or other fortresse, more or lesse on that side (sauing Boots bulworke neere to Graueling, which after king Philip kept as his) but that it was either taken awaie by force, or else abandoned, and left open to the enimie. And (as the Frenchmen write) besides the great riches of gold and siluer, coine, iewels, plate, wools, and other merchandize (which was inestimable) there were found three hundred peeces of brasse mounted on wheeles, and as manie of iron, with such furniture of powder, pellets, armour, vittels, and other munitions of war scarselie credible.

A prouiso of aduantage for the duke.

This was a marueilous rich booctie for the enimie and a great losse to the partie contrarie.

Thus haue you heard the whole discourse of the conquest of the noble towne of Calis, with all the English fortresses and countrie adioining made by the duke of Guise. The news whereof when they came to the French king, no need to aske how ioifullie they were receiued, not onelie of him and all his court, but also vniuersallie through the whole realme of France. For the which victorie, there was (as the manner is) Te Deum sung, and bonefires made euerie where, as it is woont to be in cases of common ioy and gladnesse, for some rare benefit of God. In so much that shortlie vpon the conquest, there was a publike assemblie at Paris of all the estates of France, who franklie in recompense of the kings charges emploied in the winning of Calis, and the places aforesaid, and for maintenance of his wars to be continued afterwards, granted vnto him three millians of French crowns: whereof the clergie of France contributed one millian, besides their dismes. And no marueil though the French did highlie reioise at the recouerie of Calis out of the Englishmens hands: for it is constantlie affirmed of manie, that be acquainted with the affaires of France, that euer since the same towne was first woone by Englishmen, in all solemne councels assembled to treat vpon the state of France, there was a speciall person appointed to put them in remembrance from time to time of Calis: as it were to be wished that the like were vsed in England, vntill it were regained from the French.

Triumphs in France for the getting againe of Calis.

¶ And

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A. Fl. ex opere historico Schardij collectio. pag. 1970.

¶ And here because thus much is said of the French by waie of discourse concerning their exulting, and immoderat ioyfulnesse manie waies testified, somewhat being alredie written thereof before: it is note-worthie, either for the increase of wit in vs, if it were the fault of our follie; or the aggrauating of their impudencie, if they blush not to publish a most lowd and lewd lie; to remember what I haue read in verses set foorth by a Frenchman; wherein among manie words and terms vsed touching this conquest of Calis and Guisnes (wherein also a prophesie of Merline (of which name there were two, and both prophets) is introduced, foretelling the reuolution of the same to be rather fatall to that nation, than recouerable by prowesse martiall (for thus he saith:)

D. Powell in hist. Camb. pag. 475.

Námque erat in fatis redditurum haud antè Caletum
Ad veteres dominos, quàm se regina marito
Traderet externo, veterúmque propagine regum
Posthabita, nouus hic succederet aduena regnis:
Ipse Valesina venturum à stirpe nepotem
Merlinus vates multo prædixerat antè,
Sanguinis vltorem nostri cladísque futurum.)

But this is not the matter that I meant (though it conteine somewhat whereat men may muse) but a further reach to the rebuke of rashnesse in some, if it were their déed; and to the shame of others, if the report be false. For thus saith the same author, whose verses euen now I rehearsed, speaking of the Englishmen, whome former victories (saith he) made very venterous, confident and full of heart; and besides that, so disdainfull and scornefull towards the French, that they caused to be grauen in hard marbell aloft at the entrie of the castell or fortresse in legible letters (but he telleth not in what language, no more than which of the Merlins prophesie it was) howbeit (saith he) thus much in effect in Latine:

Tùm demùm Francus premet obsidione Caletum,
Cùm ferrum plumbùmue natabit suberis instar.
Then shall the Frenchmen Calis win,
When iron and lead like corke shall swim.

Thus report the French, but how trulie, let them saie that are able (vpon their owne knowledge) to iudge: and thus much shall suffice for that matter.] Now séemed euerie daie a yeare to the French king vntill he personallie had visited Calis, and his new conquered countrie. Wherefore about the end of Ianuarie he tooke his viage thither accompanied with no small number of his nobilitie: and immediatelie vpon his arriual there, he perused the whole towne and euerie part thereof from place to place, diuising with the duke of Guise for the better fortification thereof, what should be added vnto the old, and what should be made new, and what should be taken awaie. And after order taken for that businesse, he placed there a nobleman, and no lesse valiant knight of the order, called monsieur de Thermes to be capteine of the towne, and departed he againe into France.

The French king goeth to visit and sée Calis.

Monsieur de Thermes made capteine of Calis.

The mariage betwéene the Dolphin and the princesse of Scots.

After the French kings departure from Calis, he made great hast for the accomplishment of the marriage, mooued betweene Francis his eldest sonne, called the Dolphin, and Marie Steward daughter and sole heire of Iames the first, late king of Scotland: which princesse, if the Scots had bin faithfull of promise, (as they seldome be) should haue married king Edward the sixt. For the breach of which promise began all the warre betwéene England and Scotland, as you heard in the latter end of the life of king Henrie the eight, and in the beginning of king Edward the sixt.

This

This marriage (saith Grafton) though it be not of my matter, I thought not to omit, for that manie things were meant thereby, which thanks be to God neuer came to effect. But one speciall point was not hidden to the world, that by means of the same, the realme of Scotland should for euermore haue remained as vnited and incorporat to the crowne of France: and that as the sonne and heire of euerie French king dooth succéed to the inheritance, and possession of a countrie called the Dolphin, and is therefore called the Dolphin; and like as the principalitie of Wales apperteineth to the eldest son of the king of England, who therefore is called the prince of Wales: euen so the Dolphin heire of France should thereby haue béen king of Scotland for euermore: which name and title vpon this mariage was accordingly giuen to Francis Dolphin and heire apparant of France, to be called king Dolphin. The meaning whereof was vtterlie to exclude for euermore anie to be king of Scotland, but onelie the eldest sonne of France.

Why the son and heire of euerie French king is called the Dolphin.

This memorable marriage was solemnized in the citie of Paris the foure and twentith daie of Aprill, in the yeare of Christ 1558, with most magnifical pompe and triumph, and honored with the presence of the most part of the princes, prelats, lords and barons of both the realmes, as it were for a confirmation of this new aliance. Which as it was much to the aduantage and benefit of France: so nothing could be more preiudice and derogation to the crowne of Scotland, as a deuise tending to the perpetuall abolishing and extinguishment of the name and state of kings in that realme. In this meane time also the quéene Dowager of Scotland had doone what in hir laie, to procure the Scotish nobilitie to make warres against England: but they being not willing thereto, monsieur Doisell coronell of certeine bands of Frenchmen came to Aimouth within six miles of Berwike, and fortified that place, making sundrie rodes and inuasions into England. In reuenge whereof the Englishmen made the like inrodes into Scotland, wherevpon the Scotishmen in their defense (as some pretend) were driuen to haue warres: and therevpon the earle of Huntleie was made lieutenant of the Scots borders, who remaining there by the helpe of the Frenchmen did manie displeasures to the Englishmen. This warre was begun in the yeere last past, and so continued: during the which manie skirmishes and diuerse proper feats of armes were put in practise betwixt the parties (as in the historie of Scotland more at large it dooth appeeare) where we speake of the doings in the yeares 1557 and 1558.

The mariage of the quéene of Scots with the Dolphin.

The quéene Dowager of Scotland dooth what she can to procure war against England.

¶ A prest was granted to the quéene by the citizens of London, of twentie thousand pounds, which was leuied of the companies: for the which summe to be paid againe, the quéene bound certeine lands, and also allowed for interest of the monie twelue pounds of euerie hundred for a yeare. Also this yeare within a mile of Notingham, was a maruellous tempest of thunder, which as it came through two townes, beat downe all the houses and churches, the bels were cast to the out side of the churchyards, and some webs of lead foure hundred foot into the field, writhen like a paire of gloues. The riuer of Trent running betwéene the two townes, the water with the mud in the botome was carried a quarter of a mile, and cast against the trées, the trées were pulled vp by the roots and cast twelue score off. Also a child was taken forth of a mans hands two speares length hie, and carried a hundred foot off, and then let fall, wherewith his arme was broken, and so he died. Fiue or six men thereabout were slaine, and neither flesh nor skinne perished; there fell some hailestones that were fifteene inches about, &c. This yeare in haruest time the quartane agues continued in like maner, or more vehementlie, than they had doone the last yeare past, where through died manie old people, and speciallie priests, so that a great number of parishes were vnserued, and no curats to be gotten: and much corne was lost in the field for lacke of workemen and laborers. Wherevpon insued a great scarsitie; so that in the beginning of sir Thomas Leighs maioraltie, corne

Abr. Fl. ex l. S. pag. 1106. A prest to the quéene.

A woonderfull tempest of thunder woonderfull indéed.

A great death of old people through vehement quartane agues.

rose

rose to fourtéene shillings the quarter, and wood wared scant in London, and was sold for thirtéene and fourteene shillings the thousand of billets, and coles at ten pence the sacke, by reason of the great death and sicknesse the last summ r for lacke of helpe and carriage.] ¶ And here before we passe the yeare 1558, it were a fowle ouersight, not to make mention of a memorable discourse touching the ladie Katharine late dutchesse of Suffolke, a personage of honor, and worthie of commemoration in chronicles for hir godlinesse to hir high praise: where manie a malefactor is recorded for their outragious wickednesse to their immortall shame. Concerning the said ladie therefore thus writeth master Fox.

Ex Ioh. Foxi martyrologio.

The old hatred of Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester against the dutchesse of Suffolke.

Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester, surmising the ladie Katharine baronesse of Willoughbie and Cresbie, and dutchesse Dowager of Suffolke, to be one of his ancient enimies, because he knew he had deserued no better of hir, deuised in the holie time of the first Lent in quéen Maries reigne, a holie practise of reuenge, first by touching hir in the person of hir husband maister Richard Bertie esquier, for whome he sent an attachment (hauing the great seale at his deuotion) to the shiriffe of Lincolnshire, with a speciall letter, commanding most strictlie the same shiriffe to attach the said Richard immediatlie, and without baile to bring him vp to London to his great lordship. Maister Bertie hir husband being cleare in conscience, and frée from offense towards the quéene, could not coniecture anie cause of this strange processe, vnlesse it were some quarrell for religion, which he thought could not be so sore as the processe pretended.

Maister Richard Bertie husband to the dutchesse, attached by the bishop of Winchester.

The shiriffe, notwithstanding the commandement, aduentured onelie to take the bond of maister Bertie, with two suerties in a thousand pounds for his appéerance, to be made before the bishop on good fridaie following: at which daie maister Bertie appéered, the bishop then lieng at his house by saint Marie Oueries. Of whose presence when the bishop vnderstood by a gentleman of his chamber, in a great rage he came out of his gallerie into his dining chamber, where he found a prease of suters, saieng he would not that daie heare anie: but came foorth onelie to know of maister Bertie, how he being a subiect durst so arrogantlie set at light two former processes of the quéenes. Maister Bertie answered, that albeit my lords words might séeme to the rest somewhat sharpe towards him, yet he conceiued great comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it extremitie to be attached, hauing vsed no obstinacie or contumacie: now he gathered of those words, that my lord ment not otherwise but to haue vsed some ordinarie processe; albeit indeed none came to his hands. Yea Marie, quoth the bishop, I haue sent you two Sub pœnas, to appéere immediatlie, and I am sure you receiued them: for I committed the trust of them to no worsse man but to maister solicitor, and I shall make you an example to all Lincolnshire for your obstinacie. Maister Bertie denieng the receipt of anie, humblie praied his lordship to suspend his displesure and the punishment, till he had good triall thereof: and then (if it pleased him) to double the paine for the fault, if anie were. Well (quoth the bishop) I haue appointed my selfe this daie (according to the holinesse of the same) for deuotion, and I will not further trouble me with you: but I inioine you in a thousand pounds, not to depart without leaue, and to be here againe to morow at seuen of the clocke.

Maister Bertie appeareth before bishop Gardiner.

Talke betwéene bishop Gardiner and maister Bertie.

The deuotion of bishop Gardiner to good fridaie.

Maister Bertie well obserued the houre, and no iot failed. At the which time the bishop had with him maister sergeant Stamford, to whome he mooued certeine questions of the said master Bertie, bicause master sergeant was towards the lord Wriothesleie late earle of Southhampton, and Chancellor of England, with whom the said master Bertie was brought vp. Master sergeant made verie friendlie report of master Bertie of his owne knowledge for the time of their conuersation togither. Wherevpon the bishop caused maister Bertie to be brought in; and first making a false traine (as God would, without fire) before he would descend to the quarrell of religion,

religion," he assaulted him in this maner. The quéenes pleasure is (quoth the bishop) that you shall make present paiment of foure thousand pounds due to hir father by duke Charles, late husband to the dutchesse your wife, whose executor she was. Pleaseth it your lordship (quoth maister Bertie) that debt is estalled, and is according to that estallment truelie answered. Tush (quoth the bishop) the quéene will not be bound to estallments, in the time of Kets gouernment, for so I estéeme the late gouernment. The estallment (quoth maister Bertie) was appointed by king Henrie the eight; besides, the same was by speciall commissioners confirmed in king Edwards time, and the lord treasuror being an executor also to the duke Charles solie and wholie, tooke vpon him before the said commissioners to discharge the same.

Maister Bertie attached for debt of foure thousand pounds due to the quéene.

Ket capteine of the rebels in Norffolke in king Edwards time.

If it be true that you saie (quoth the bishop) I will shew you fauor. But of an other thing maister Bertie, I will admonish you as mening you well. I heare euill of your religion; yet I hardlie can think euill of you, whose mother I know to be as godlie and catholike, as anie within this land, your selfe brought vp with a maister, whose education if I should disallow, I might be charged as author of his error. Besides partlie I know you my selfe, and vnderstand of my friends inough to make me your friend: wherefore I will not doubt of you, but I praie you if I maie aske the question of my ladie your wife; is she now as readie to set vp the masse, as she was latelie to pull it downe, when she caused in hir progresse, a dog in a rochet to be caried and called by my name? Or dooth she thinke hir lambs now safe inough, which said to me when I vailed my bonnet to hir out of my chamber window in the tower, that it was merie with the lambs now the woolfe was shut vp? Another time my lord hir husband hauing inuited me and diuerse ladies to dinner, desired euerie ladie to choose him whome she loued best, and so place themselues. My ladie your wife taking me by the hand, for that my lord would not haue hir to take himselfe, said, that for so much as she could not sit downe with my lord whome she loued best, she had chosen me whome she loued worst.

A dog clothed in a rochet vnder the name of bishop Gardiner.

It is merie with lambs when woolues be tied.

Of the deuise of the dog, quoth master Bertie, she was neither the author nor the allower. The words, though in that season they sounded bitter to your lordship: yet if it should please you without offense to know the cause, I am sure the one will purge the other. As touching setting vp of masse, which she learned not onelie by strong persuasions of diuerse excellent learned men, but by vniuersall consent and order whole six yeares past inwardlie to abhorre; if she should outwardlie allow, she should both to Christ shew hir selfe a false christian, and vnto hir prince a masking subiect. You know my lord, one by iudgement reformed, is more woorth than a thousand transformed temporizors. To force a confession of religion by mouth, contrarie to that in the heart, worketh damnation where saluation is pretended. Yea marie (quoth the bishop) that deliberation would doo well if she neuer required to come from an old religion to a new. But now she is to returne from a new to an ancient religion: wherein when she made me hir gossip, she was as earnest as anie.

Purgation of the ladie dutchesse for not comming to masse.

For that, my lord (said M. Bertie) not long since, she answered a friend of hirs vsing your lordships speech, that religion went not by age but by truth: and therefore she was to be turned by persuasion and not by commandement. I praie you (quoth the bishop) thinke you it possible to persuade hir? Yea verelie (said master Bertie) with the truth: for she is reasonable inough. The bishop therevnto replieng, said: It will be a maruellous griefe to the prince of Spaine, and to all the nobilitie that shall come with him, when they shall find but two noble personages of the Spanish race within this land, the quéene, and my ladie your wife, and one of them gone from the faith. Master Bertie answered, that he trusted they should find no fruits of infidelitie in hir. So the bishop persuading

Religion goeth not by age, but by truth.

Master Bertie released from his band of appearing.

master Bertie to trauell earnestlie for the reformation of hir opinion, and offering large friendship, released him of his band from further appearance.

The duchesse and hir husband, dailie more and more, by their friends vnderstanding that the bishop meant to call hir to an account of hir faith, whereby extreamitie might follow, deuised waies how by the quéenes licence they might passe the seas. Master Bertie had a redie meane: for there rested great summes of monie due to the old duke of Suffolke (one of whose executors the duchesse was) beyond the seas, the emperour himselfe being one of those debtors. Master Bertie communicated this his purposed sute for licence to passe the seas, and the cause, to the bishop; adding, that he tooke this time most meet to deale with the emperour, by reason of likelihood of marriage betwéene the quéene and his sonne. I like your deuise well (quoth the bishop) but I thinke it better, that you tarrie the princes comming, and I will procure you his letters also to his father. Naie (quoth master Bertie) vnder your lordships correction and pardon of so liberall spéech, I suppose the time will then be lesse conuenient: for when the marriage is consummate, the emperour hath his desire: but till then he will refuse nothing to win credit with vs.

Waies practised how to conuciе the duchesse ouer the seas with the quéenes licence.

Master Bertie deuiseth causes to passe ouer into Flanders.

By saint Marie (quoth the bishop, smiling) you gesse shrewdlie. Well, procéed in your sute vnto the quéene, and it shall not lacke my helping hand. Master Bertie found so good successe, that he in few daies obteined the quéenes licence, not onlie to passe the seas, but to passe and repasse them so often as to him séemed good, till he had finished all his businesse and causes beyond the seas. So he passed the seas at Douer about the beginning of Iune in the first yeare of hir reigne, leauing the duchesse behind, who by agréement and consent betwixt hir and hir husband, followed, taking barge at Lion keie, verie earlie in the morning, on the first daie of Ianuarie next insuing, not without some perill. There was none of those that went with hir, made priuie to hir going till the instant, but an old gentleman called master Robert Cranwell, whome master Bertie had speciallie prouided for that purpose. She tooke with hir hir daughter an infant of one yeare, and the meanest of hir seruants: for she doubted the best would not aduenture that fortune with hir. They were in number foure men, one a Gréeke borne, which was a rider of horsses, an other a ioiner, the third a brewer, the fourth a foole one of the kitchin, one gentlewoman, and a landresse.

Master Bertie licenced by the quéene to passe the seas.

Preparation made how to conuciе the duchesse ouer the seas.

M. Cranwell a trusty friend to master Bertie.

As she departed hir house called the Barbican, betwixt foure and fiue of the clocke in the morning, with hir companie and baggage, one Atkinson an herald kéeper of hir house, hearing noise about the house, rose and came foorth with a torch in his hand as she was yet issuing out of the gate: wherewith being amazed, she was forced to leaue a male with necessaries for hir yoong daughter, and a milkepot with milke in the same gatehouse, commanding all hir seruants to spéed them before awaie to Lion keie: and taking with hir onelie the two women and hir child, so soone as she was out of hir owne house, perceiuing the herald to follow, she stept in at Garterhouse hard by. The herald comming out of the duchesse house, and séeing no bodie stirring, not assured (though by the male suspecting) that she was departed, returned in: and while he staied ransacking parcels left in the male, the duchesse issued into the stréet, and proceeded in hir iournie, he knowing the place onelie by name where she should take hir boat, but not the waie thither, nor none with hir. Likewise hir seruants hauing diuided themselues, none but one knew the waie to the said keie.

The duchesse with hir companie departed the realme.

The maner of the duchesse flieng out of hir house.

So she apparelled like a meane merchants wife, and the rest like meane seruants, walking in the stréets vnknown, she tooke the way that led to Finsburie field, and the others walked the citie stréets as they laie open before them, till by chance

more

more than discretion, they met all suddenlie togither a little within Moore gate, from whence they passed directlie to Lion keie, and there tooke barge in a morning so mistie, that the stearesman was loth to lanch out, but that they vrged him. So soone as the daie permitted, the councell was informed of hir departure, and some of them came foorthwith to hir house to inquire of the maner thereof, and tooke an inuentarie of hir goods, besides further order deuised for search and watch to apprehend and staie hir. The fame of hir departure reached to Leigh, a towne at the lands end, before hir approching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Gosling a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Cranwels, whither the said Cranwell brought the duchesse, naming hir mistresse White, the daughter of master Gosling, for such a daughter he had which neuer was in that countrie. There she reposed hir, and made new garments for hir daughter, hauing lost hir owne in the male at Barbican.

The duchesse with hir companie taketh barge.

Pursute after the duchesse.

The duchesse reteined in M. Goslings house by Leigh, vnder the name of his daughter.

When the time came that she should take ship, being constreined that night to lie at an inne in Leigh (where she was againe almost bewraied) yet notwithstanding by Gods good working she escaping that hazzard, at length as the tide and wind did serue, they went aboord, and being carried twise into the seas, almost into the coast of Zeland, by contrarie wind were driuen to the place from whence they came. And at the last recuile, certeine persons came to the shore, suspecting she was within that ship: yet hauing examined one of hir companie that was one land for fresh Achates, and finding by the simplicitie of his tale, onelie the appearance of a meane merchants wife to be a shipboord, he ceased anie further search. To be short, so soone as the duchesse had landed in Brabant, she and hir woman were apparelled like the women of Netherland with dukes, and so she and hir husband tooke their iournie towards Cleueland, and being arriued at a towne therin called Santon, tooke a house there, vntill they might further deuise of some sure place where to settle themselues.

The hard aduenture of the duchesse vpon the seas.

The duchesse landed in Brabant.

M. Bertie with the duchesse his wife arriued at Santon.

About fiue miles from Santon is a frée towne called Wesell, vnder the said duke of Cleues dominion, and one of the Hauns townes, priuileged with the companie of the Stilliard in London, whither diuerse Wallons were fled for religion, and had for their minister one Francis Perusell, then called Francis de Riuers, who had receiued some courtesie in England at the duchesse hands. Master Bertie being yet at Santon, practised with him to obteine a protection from the magistrats for his abode and his wiues at Wesell: which was the sooner procured bicause the state of the duchesse was not discouered but onelie to the chéefe magistrate, earnestlie bent to shew them pleasure, whilest this protection was in séeking.

The frée towne of Wesell in Cleueland.

A protection procured for the duchesse, of the magistrates of Wesell.

In the meane while, at the towne of Santon was a muttering, that the duchesse and hir husband were greater personages than they gaue themselues foorth, and the magistrats not verie well inclined to religion; the bishop of Arras also being deane of the great minster, order was taken, that the duches and hir husband should be examined of their condition and religion vpon the sudden. Which practise discouered by a gentleman of that countrie to master Bertie, he without delaie taking no more than the duches hir daughter, and two other with them, as though he meant no more but to take the aire, about three of the clocke in the afternoone in Februarie, on foot, without hiering of horsse or wagon for feare of disclosing his purpose, meant priuilie that night to get to Wesell, leauing his other familie still at Santon.

M Bertie and the duchesse in danger of taking by the bishop of Arras at Santon.

Another escape of the duchesse and hir husband.

After the duches and he were one English mile from the towne, there fell a mightie raine of continuance, whereby a long frost and ise before congealed was thawed, which doubled more the wearinesse of those new lackies. But being now on the waie, and ouertaken with the night, they sent their two seruants (which onelie went with them) to villages, as they passed, to hire some car for

The hard distresse of the duchesse by cuill wether.

their ease: but none could be hired. In the mene time master Bertie was forced to carrie the child, and the duches his cloke and rapier. At last betwixt six and seauen of the clocke in the darke night, they came to Wesell, and repairing to their innes for lodging and some repose after such a painfull iourneie, found hard interteinment: for going from inne to inne, offering large monie for small lodging, they were refused of all the inholders, suspecting master Bertie to be a lance-knight, and the duches to be his woman. The child for cold and sustenance cried pittifullie, the mother wept as fast, and the heauens rained as fast as the clouds could powre.

The hard interteinment of M. Bertie and the duchesse at their entring into Wesell.

Master Bertie destitute of all other succor of hospitalitie, resolued to bring the duchesse to the porch of the great church in the towne, and so to buie coles, victuals and straw for their miserable repose there that night, or at least till by Gods helpe he might prouide hir better lodging. Master Bertie at that time vnderstood not much Dutch, and by reason of euill weather and late season of the night, he could not happen vpon anie that could speake English, French, Italian, or Latine; till at lost going towards the church porch, he heard two striplings talking Latine, to whome he approched and offered them two stiuers to bring him to some Wallons house. By these boies, and Gods good conduct, he chanced at the first vpon the house where master Perusell supped that night; who had procured them the protection of the magistrats of that towne. At the first knocke, the goodman of the house himselfe came to the doore, and opening it, asked master Bertie what he was. Master Bertie said, an Englishman that sought for one master Perusels house. The Wallon willed master Bertie to staie a while, who went backe and told master Perusell that the same English gentleman, of whome they had talked the same supper, had sent, by likelihood his seruant to speake with him. Wherevpon master Perusell came to the doore, and beholding master Bertie, the duchesse, and their child, their faces, apparels, and bodies so farre from their old forme, deformed with durt, weather, and heauinesse, could not speake to them, nor they to him for teares. At length recouering themselues, they saluted one another, and so togither entered the house, God knoweth full ioifullie: master Bertie changing of his apparell with the goodman, the duchesse with the good wife, and their child with the child of the house.

Gods prouidence in time of distresse.

The meeting of W. Perusel and the duchesse at Wesell.

Within few daies after, by master Perusels means, they hired a verie faire house in the towne, and did not let to shew themselues what they were, in such good sort as their prsenet condition permitted. It was by this time through the whole towne what discourtesie the inholders had shewed vnto them at their entrie, in so much as on the sundaie following, a preacher in the pulpit openlie in sharpe termes rebuked that great inciuilitie towards strangers; by allegation of sundrie places out of holie scriptures, discoursing how not onelie princes sometimes are receiued in image of priuat persons, but angels in the shape of men, and that God of his iustice would make the strangers one day in an other land, to haue more sense of the afflicted heart of a stranger. The time was passsing foorth, as they thought themselues thus happilie setled, suddenlie a watchword came from sir Iohn Mason, then quéene Maries ambassadour in Netherland, that my lord Paget had fained an errant to the baths that waies: and whereas the duke of Brunswicke was shortlie with ten ensignes to passe by Wesell for the seruice of the house of Austricke against the French king, the said duchesse, and hir husband should be with the same charge and companie intercepted. Wherefore to preuent the crueltie of these enimies, master Bertie with his wife and child departed to a place called Winheim in high Dutchland vnder the Palsgraues dominion, where vnder his protection they continued till their necessaries began to faile them, and they almost fainting vnder so heauie a burthen, began to faile of hope.

The citizens of Wesell admonished by their preacher of their hardnesse toward strangers.

A fréendlie part of sir Iohn Mason towards the duchesse.

A train laid for the dutches by the lord Paget and the duke of Brunswicke.

M. Bertie and the dutchesse remooue to Winheim vnder the Palsgraue.

At

At what time, in the middest of their despaire, there came suddenlie letters to them from the Palatine of Vilua and the king of Pole, being instructed of their hard estate by a baron named Iohannes Alasco, that was sometime in England, offring them large curtesie. This puruision vnlooked for greatlie reuiued their heauie spirits. Yet considering they should remooue from manie their countriemen and acquaintance, to a place so farre distant, a countrie not haunted with the English, and perhaps vpon their arriuall not finding as they looked for, the end of their iornie should be worse than the beginning: they deuised therevpon with one maister Barlow, late bishop of Chichester, that if he would vouchsafe to take some paines therin, they would make him a fellow of that iournie. So finding him prone, they sent him with letters of great thanks to the king and Palatine, and also with a few principall iewels (which onelie they had left of manie) to solicit for them, that the king would vouchsafe vnder his seale, to assure them of the thing which he so hohourablie by letters offered.

The helping hand of the Lord againe in their necessitie.

Ioan. Alasco a meanes to the king of Pole for the duchesse of Suffolke.

The dutchesse inuited into Poland by the kings letters.

M. Barlow a messenger from the dutchesse to the king of Pole.

That sute by the forwardnes of the Palatine was as soone granted as vttered. Vpon which assurance the said dutchesse and hir husband, with their familie, entred the iournie in Aprill 1557, from the castell of Winheim, where they before laie, towards Francford. In the which their iournie, it were long here to describe what dangers fell by the waie vpon them, and their whole companie, by reason of the Lantgraues capteines, who vnder a quarrell pretensed for a spaniell of maister Berties, set vpon them in the high waie, with his horssemen, thrusting their borespears through the wagon where the children and women were, maister Bertie hauing but foure horssemen with him. In the which brabble it happened the capteins horsse to be slaine vnder him.

The Palatine of Vilua a great friend of the dutches.

The dutches taketh hir iournie toward Pole.

The troubles happening to the dutches in hir iournie to Poleland.

Wherevpon a rumor was sparsed immediatlie through townes and villages about, that the Lantgraues capteine should be slaine by some Wallons, which incensed the ire of the countriemen there more fiercelie against maister Bertie, as afterwards it prooued. For as he was motioned by his wife to saue himselfe by the swiftnes of his horsse, and to recouer some towne thereby for his rescue, he so doing was in worse case than before: for the townesmen and the capteines brother supposing no lesse but that the capteine had beene slaine, pressed so egerlie vpon him, that he had beene there taken and murthered among them, had not he (as God would) spieng a ladder leaning to a window, by the same got vp into the house, and so gone vp in to a garret in the top of the house, where he with his dag and rapier defended himselfe for a space: but at length the Burghmaister comming thither with another magistrate, which could speake Latine, he was counselled to submit himselfe vnto the order of the law. Maister Bertie knowing himselfe cléere, and the capteine to be aliue, was the more bolder to submit himselfe to the iudgement of the law, vpon condition that the magistrate would receiue him vnder safe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promised, maister Bertie putteth himselfe and his weapon in the magistrates hand, and so was committed to safe custodie, while the truth of his cause should be tried. Then master Bertie writing his letters to the Lantgraue and to the earle of Erbagh, the next daie erlie in the morning the earle of Erbagh dwelling within eight miles, came to the towne whither the dutchesse was brought with hir wagon, maister Bertie also being in the same towne vnder custodie.

M. Bertie in great danger of his life.

The earle, who had some intelligence of the dutches before, after he was come, and had shewed such courtesie as he thought to hir estate was séemelie, the townesmen perceiuing the earle to behaue himselfe so humblie vnto hir, began to consider more of the matter: and further vnderstanding the capteine to be aliue, both they, and especiallie the authors of the stir shrunke awaie, and made all the friends they could to maister Bertie and his wife, not to report their doings after the woorst

sort.

M. Bertie with the dutchesse honorablie interteined of the K. of Poole.

sort. And thus maister Bertie and his wife escaping that danger, procéeded in their iournie toward Poleland, where in conclusion they were quietlie interteined of the king, and placed honorablie in the earledom of the said king of Poles in Sanogelia, called Crozan, where maister Bertie with the dutchesse hauing the kings absolute power of gouernment ouer the said earledome, continued both in great quietnesse and honor, till the death of queene Marie.] Whose troublesome time (sauouring altogither of bloudshed and mercilesse murthering of Gods saints, wherof the poet saith full trulie,

——— tellus madefacta cruore
Christicolûm regerit decursus sanguinis atros,
Heu carnem mollem puerorum deuorat ignis,
Fœmina másque perit, nulla ratione virilis
Fœminei aut sexus habita)

being expired, and the peaceable reigne of gratious quéene Elizabeth established, the said dutchesse and hir husband returned into England, where they liued in libertie both of bodie and mind; in which good state we will leaue them. And bicause we are entred into a discourse of troubles happening to personages of good account and name; it is necessarie that wée adde another narration of like argument vnto the former, concerning the troubles and happie deliuerance of the reuerend father in God doctor Sands, first bishop of Worcester, next of London, and now archbishop of Yorke, as I find it word for word in maister Fox, who beginneth and continueth the said discourse as followeth.

Abr. Fl. ex I.F. martyrologio. D. Sands vicechancellor when the duke of Northumberland came down to Cambridge to proclame the ladie Iane quéene.

¶ King Edward died, the world being vnworthie of him, the duke of Northumberland came downe to Cambridge with an armie of men, hauing commission to proclame ladie Iane quéene, and by power to suppresse ladie Marie, who tooke vpon hir that dignitie, and was proclamed quéene in Norffolke. The duke sent for doctor Sands being vicechancellor, for doctor Parker, for doctor Bill, and maister Leauer, to sup with him. Amongst other spéeches he said; Maisters, praie for vs that we spéed well: if not, you shall be made bishops, and we deacons. And euen so it came to passe: doctor Parker, and doctor Sands were made bishops, and he and sir Iohn Gates, who was then at the table, were made deacons yer it was long after on the tower hill. Doctor Sands being vicechancellor, was required to preach on the morrow. The warning was short for such an auditorie, and to speake of such a matter: yet he refused not the thing, but went to his chamber, and so to bed. He rose at thrée of the clocke in the morning, tooke his bible in his hand, and after that he had praied a good space, he shut his eies, and holding his bible before him, earnestlie praied to God that it might fall open where a most fit text should be for him to intreat of. The bible (as God would haue it) fell open vpon the first chapter of Ioshua, where he found so conuenient a péece of scripture for that time, that the like he could not haue chosen in all the bible. His text was thus: Responderúntque ad Iosue, atque dixerunt, Omnia quæ præcepisti nobis faciemus, & quocunque miseris ibimus: sicut obediuimus in cunctis Mosi ita obediemus & tibi, tantùm sit Dominus déus tuus tecum sicut fuit cum Mose, qui contradixerit ori tuo, & non obedierit cunctis sermonibus quos præceperis ei, moriatur: tu tantùm confortare & viriliter age. Who shall consider what was concluded by such as named themselues by the state, and withall, the auditorie, the time, and other circumstances, he shall easilie sée that this text most fitlie serued for the purpose. And as God gaue the text, so gaue he him such order and vtterance, as pulled manie teares out the eies of the biggest of them.

The text of D. Sands whereupon he made his sermon.

In

In the time of his sermon one of the gard lift vp to him into the pulpit a masse booke and a graile, which sir George Howard with certeine of the gard had taken that night in maister Hurlestons house, where ladie Marie had béene a little before, and there had masse. The duke with the rest of the nobilitie required doctor Sands to put his sermon in writing; and appointed maister Leauer to go to London with it, and to put it in print. Doctor Sands required one daie and a halfe for writing of it. At the time appointed he had made it readie, and maister Leauer was readie booted to receiue it at his hands, and carie it to London. As he was deliuering of it, one of the bedels named maister Adams, came wéeping to him, and praied him to shift for himselfe, for the duke was retired, and queene Marie proclamed.

The duke and nobles desire D. Sands to write his sermon that it might be printed.

Doctor Sands was not troubled herewithall, but gaue the sermon written to maister Leifield; maister Leauer departed home, and he went to dinner to one master Moores a bedell, his great friend. At the dinner, mistresse Moore séeing him merrie and pleasant (for he had euer a mans courage, and could not be terrifield) dranke vnto him, saieng: Master vicechancellor, I drinke vnto you, for this is the last time that euer I shall sée you. And so it was, for shée was dead before doctor Sands returned out of Germanie The duke that night retired to Cambridge, and sent for doctor Sands to go with him to the market place to proclame quéene Marie. The duke cast vp his cap with others, and so laughed, that the tears ran downe his chéekes for greefe. He told doctor Sands that quéene Marie was a mercifull woman, and that he doubted not thereof: declaring, that hée had sent vnto hir to know hir pleasure, and looked for a generall pardon. Doctor Sands answered; My life is not deare vnto me, neither haue I doone or said anie thing that vrgeth my conscience. For that which I spake of the state, I haue instructions warranted by the subscription of sixteene councellors. Neither can speach be treason, neither yet haue I spoken further than the word of God, and lawes of this realme dooth warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you assured, you shall neuer escape death: for if shée would saue you, those that now shall rule will kill you.

Mistresse Moore spake truer than peraduenture she thought.

D. Sands words to the duke touching his owne sermon and the dukes action.

That night the gard apprehended the duke, and certeine groomes of the stable were as busie with doctor Sands, as if they would take a prisoner. But sir Iohn Gates who laie then in doctor Sands his house, sharplie rebuked them, and draue them awaie. Doctor Sands, by the aduise of sir Iohn Gates, walked into the fields, In the meane time the vniuersitie (contrarie to all order) had met togither in consultation, and ordered that doctor Mouse and doctor Hatcher should repaire to doctor Sands lodging, and fet awaie the statute booke of the vniuersitie, the keies, and such other things that were in his kéeping, and so they did. For doctor Mouse being an earnest protestant the daie before, and one whome doctor Sands had doone much for, now was he become a papist, and his great enimie.

Euil intended against doctor Sands.

Certeine of the vniuersitie had appointed a congregation at afternoone. As the bell rang to it, doctor Sands commeth out of the fields, and sending for the bedels, asketh what the matter meaneth, and requireth them to wait vpon him to the schooles according to their dutie. So they did. And so soone as doctor Sands, the bedels going before him, came into the regent house and tooke his chaire; one master Mitch with a rabble of vnlearned papists went into a by-schoole, and couspired togither to pull him out of his chaire, and to vse violence vnto him. Doctor Sands began his oration, expostulating with the vniuersitie, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring that he had said nothing in his sermon, but that hée was readie to iustifie, and that their case was all one with his: for they had not onelie concealed, but consented to that which he had spoken.

A conspiracie of papists against doctor Sands, and their behauior towards him.

And

And thus while he remembred vnto them how beneficiall he had béene to the vniuersitie, and their vnthankfulnesse to him againe, in commeth maister Mitch with his conspirators about twentie in number. One laieth hand vpon the chaire to pull it from him, another told him that that was not his place, and another called him traitor. Whereat he perceiuing how they vsed violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had dispatched some of them as Gods enimies; if doctor Bill and doctor Blith had not fallen vpon him, and praied him for Gods sake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patientlie to beare that great offered wrong. He was persuaded by them, and after that tumult was ceased, he ended his oration, and hauing some monie of the vniuersities, in his hands, he there deliuered the same euery farthing. He gaue vp the books, reckonings and keies perteining to the vniuersitie, and withall yeelded vp his office, praieng God to giue to the vniuersitie a better officer, and to giue them better and more thankfull hearts, and so repaired home to his owne college.

D. Sands courageous heart and manhood.

D. Sands resigneth vp his office of vicechancellorship.

On the morrow after, there came vnto him one master Gerningham, and one master Thomas Mildmaie. Gerningham told him, that it was the quéens pleasure that two of the gard should attend on him, and that he must be caried prisoner to the tower of London with the duke. Maister Mildmaie said he marueled that a learned man would speake so vnaduisedlie against so good a prince, and wilfullie run into such danger. Doctor Sands answered, I shall not be ashamed of bonds. But if I could do as master Mildmaie can, I needed not feare bonds; for he came downe in paiment against quéene Marie, and armed in the field, and now he returneth in paiment for quéene Marie: before a traitor and now a great friend. I can not with one mouth blow hot and cold after this sort.

Master Mildmaies trecherie noted by doctor Sands to his obloquie.

Vpon this, his stable was robbed of foure notable good geldings, the best of them master Hurlestone tooke for his owne saddle, and rode on him to London in his sight. An inuentarie was taken of all his goods by master Moore bedell for the vniuersitie. Hée was set vpon a lame horse that halted to the ground, which thing a friend of his perceiuing, praied that he might lend him a nag. The yeoman of the gard were content. As he departed out of the townes end, some papists resorted thither to géere at him, some of his friends to mourne for him. He came into the ranks to London, the people being full of outcries. And as he came in at Bishops gate, one like a milkewife hurled a stone at him, and hit him, on the breast with such a blow, that he was like to fall off his horsse. To whome he mildlie said: Woman, God forgiue it thée. Truth it is, that iourneieng and euil intreating so mortified him, that he was more ready to die than to liue.

The misusage of certeine drabs against doctor Sands as he was brought prisoner to the tower.

As he came through tower hill street, one woman standing in hir doore, cried: Fie on thée thou knaue, thou knaue, thou traitor, thou heritike. Whereat hée smiled, Looke; the desperat heretike (saith she) laugheth at this geare. A woman on the other side of the stréet answered, saieng: Fie on thee neighbour, thou art not worthie to be called a woman, railing vpon this gentleman whom thou knowest not, neither yet the cause whie he is thus intreated. Then shée said, Good gentleman, God be thy comfort, and giue thee strength to stand in Gods cause euen to the end. And thus he passed through fire and water into the tower, the first prisoner that entered in that daie, which was saint Iames daie. The yeoman of the gard tooke from him his borowed nag, and what else soeuer hée had. His man one Quintin Swainton brought after him a bible, and some shirts, and such like things. The bible was sent in to him, but the shirts and such like serued the yeoman of the gard.

The gard offer him fowle wrong.

After he had béene in the tower thrée weekes in a bad prison, he was lift vp into Nunnes bower, a better prison, where was put to him master Iohn Bradford.

ford. At the daie of quéene Maries coronation, their prison doore was set open, euer shut before. One master Mitchell his old acquaintance, who had béene prisoner before in the same place, came into him and said: Master Sands, there is such a stur in the tower, that neither gates, doores, nor prisoners are looked to this daie. Take my cloake, my hat and my rapier, and gét you gone; you maie go out of the gates without questioning; saue your selfe, and let me do as I maie. A rare friendship: but he refused the offer, saieng: I know no iust cause why I should be in prison. And thus to doo were to make my selfe guiltie, I will expect Gods good will, yet must I thinke my selfe most bound vnto you: and so master Michell departed.

Master Michels counsell to D. Sands to make an escape.

While doctor Sands and master Bradford were thus in close prison togither nine and twentie wéeks, one Iohn Bowler was their keeper, a verie peruèrse papist, yet by often persuading of him, for he would giue eare, and by the gentle vsing of him, at length he began to mislike poperie, and to fauour the gospell, and so persuaded in true religion, that on a sundaie when they had masse in the chappell, he bringeth vp a seruice booke, a manchet and a glasse of wine, and there doctor Sands ministred the communion to Bradford and Bowler. Thus Bowler was their sonne begotten in bonds when Wiat was in armes, and the old duke of Norfolke sent foorth with a power of men to apprehend him, that roome might be made in the tower for him and other his complices. Doctor Cranmer, doctor Ridleie, and master Bradford were cast into one prison, and doctor Sands with nine other preachers were sent into the Marshalsea.

Bowler a peruerse papist becometh reformed in true religion.

D. Sands remoued to the Marshalsea.

The kéeper of the Marshalsea appointed to euerie preacher a man to lead him in the stréet, he caused them to go farre before, and he and doctor Sands came behind, whome he would not lead, but walked familiarlie with him. Yet doctor Sands was knowne, and the people euery where praied to God to comfort him, and to strengthen him in the truth. By that time the peoples minds were altered, poperie began to be vnsauerie. After they passed the bridge, the kéeper Thomas Waie said to doctor Sands: I perceiue the vaine people would set you forward to the fire you are as vaine as they, if you being a young man will stand in your own conceit, and prefer your own knowledge before the iudgment of so many worthie prelats, ancient, learned, and graue men, as be in this realme. If you so doo, you shal find me as strict a kéeper as one that vtterlie misliketh your religion. Doctor Sands answered I know my yeares yoong, and my learning small, it is inough to know Christ crucified, and he hath learned nothing that séeth not the great blasphemie that is in poperie, I will yéeld vnto God and not vnto man: I haue read in the scriptures of manie godlie and courteous kéepers, God may make you one; if not, I trust he will giue me strength and patience to beare your hard dealing with me. Saith Thomas Waie; Doo you then mind to stand to your religion? Yea saith doctor Sands, by Gods grace. Truelie saith the keeper, I loue you the better, I did but tempt you. What fauour I can show you, you shall be sure of, and I shall thinke my selfe happie if I maie die at the stake with you. The said kéeper shewed doctor Sands euer after all friendship: he trusted him to go into the fields alone, and there met with master Bradford, who then was remoued into the bench, and there found like fauor of his kéeper. He laid him in the best chamber in the house; he would not suffer the knight marshals men to laie fetters on him, as others had. And at his request, he put maister Sands into him, to be his bed-fellow, and sundrie times suffered his wife, who was maister Sands daughter of Essex, a gentlewoman, beautiful both in bodie and soule to resort to him. There was great resort vnto doctor Sands, and maister Sanders: they had much monie offered them, but they would receiue none. They had the communion there three or foure times, and a great sort of communicants. Doctor Sands gaue such exhor-

Thomas Waie the kéeper pretendeth to persuade doctor Sands to poperie.

The friendship that doctor Sands found at his kéepers hands.

tation to the people, for at that time being yoong, he was thought verie eloquent, that he moued manie tears and made the people abhorre the masse, and defie all poperie.

Wiats message to doctor Sands, and his answer reuersed.

When Wiat with his armie came into Southworke, he sent two gentlemen into the Marshalsea to doctor Sands: saieng, that maister Wiat would be glad of his company and aduise, and that the gates should be set open for all the prisoners. He answered: Tell maister Wiat, if this his rising be of God it will take place: if not, it will fall. For my part I was committed hither by order, I will be discharged by like order, or I will neuer depart hence. So answered maister Sanders, and the rest of the preachers being there prisoners. After that doctor Sands had béene nine wéekes prisoner in the Marshalsea, by the mediation of sir Thomas Holcroft then knight marshal he was set at libertie. Sir Thomas sued earnestlie to the bishop of Winchester, doctor Gardiner for his deliuerance after manie repulses, except doctor Sands would be one of their sect, and then he could want nothing. He wroong out of him, that if the queene could like of his deliuerance, he would not be against it: for that was sir Thomas his last request. In the meane time he had procured two ladies of the priuie chamber to mooue the quéene in it: who was contented, if the bishop of Winchester could like of it. The next time that the bishop went into the priuie chamber to speake with the quéene, maister Holcroft followed, and had his warrant for doctor Sands remission readie, and praied the two ladies, when as the bishop should take his leaue, to put the quéene in mind of doctor Sands. So they did. And the quéene said: Winchester, what thinke you by doctor Sands, is he not sufficientlie punished? As it please your maiestie, saith Winchester. That he spake, remembring his former promise to maister Holcroft, that he would not be against Sands, if the quéene should like to discharge him. Saith the quéene: Then trulie, we would that he were set at libertie. Immediatlie maister Holcroft offered the quéene the warrant, who subscribed the same, and called Winchester to put to his hand, and so he did. The warrant was giuen to the knight marshall againe, sir Thomas Holcroft. As the bishop went foorth of the priuie chamber doore, he called maister Holcroft to him: commanding him not to set doctor Sands at libertie, vntill he had taken suerties of two gentlemen of his countrie with him, euerie one bound in fiue hundred pounds, that doctor Sands should not depart out of the realme without licence. Maister Holcroft immediatlie after met with two gentlemen of the north, friends and cousins to doctor Sands, who offered to be bound in bodie, goods and lands for him.

Doctor Sands set at libertie by the meanes of sir Thomas Holcroft.

How quéene Marie is disposed to set doctor Sands at large, and sealeth his warrant for his libertie.

At after dinner, the same daie, maister Holcroft sent for doctor Sands to his lodging at Westminster, requiring the keeper to accompanie with him. He came accordinglie, finding maister Holcroft alone, walked in his garden: maister Holcroft imparted his long sute with the whole procéeding, and what effect it had taken to doctor Sands: much reioicing that it was his good hap to doo him good, and to procure his libertie, and that nothing remained, but that he would enter into bonds with his two suerties, for not departing out of the realme. Doctor Sands answered: I giue God thanks, who hath mooued your hart to mind me so well, and I thinke my selfe most bound vnto you, God shall requite, and I shall neuer be found vnthankfull. But as you haue dealt friendlie with me, I will also deale plainlie with you. I came a frée man into prison, I will not go foorth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, so will I not hurt them: and if I be set at libertie, I will not tarie six daies in this realme if I may get out. If therefore I may not go frée foorth, send me to the Marshalsea againe, and there you shall be sure of me.

Communication betweene sir Thomas Holcroft and doctor Sands about his departing out of England.

This answer much misliked maister Holcroft, who told doctor Sands that the time would not long continue, a change would shortlie come; the state was but a cloud, and would soone shake awaie; and that his cousine sir Edward Braie would gladlie

gladlie receiue him and his wife into his house, where he should neuer need to come at church, and how the ladie Braie was a zealous gentlewoman, who hated poperie: adding that he would not so deale with him to loose all his labor. When doctor Sands could not be remoued from his former saieng, maister Holcroft said: Seeing you can not be altered, I will change my purpose, and yéeld vnto you, come of it what will, I will set you at libertie: and seeing you mind ouer sea, get you gone so quicklie as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to come hither, for so ye may vndoo me. He freendlie kissed doctor Sands, bad him farewell, and commanded the kéeper to take no fées of him: saieng; Let me answer Winchester as I may. Doctor Sands returned with the kéeper to the Marshalsea and taried all night. There on the morrow gaue a dinner to all the prisoners, bad his bed fellow and sworne stakefellow, if it had so pleased God, maister Saunders farewell, with manie teares and kissings, the one falling on the others necke, and so departed, clearelie deliuered without examination or bond. From thence he went to the Bench, and there talked with maister Bradford, and maister Farrar bishop of S. Dauids, then prisoners. Then he comforted them, and they praised God for his happie deliuerance. He went by Winchesters house, and there tooke boate, and came to a freends house in London called William Banks, and taried there one night. On the morrow at night he shifted to an other fréends house, and there he learned that search was made for him.

Sir Thomas Holcroft cannot persuade doctor Sands to tarie in England, and therefore setteth him at large.

Search made for doctor Sands after his inlargement.

Doctor Watson, and maister Christopherson, comming to the bishop of Winchester, told him that he had set at libertie the greatest heretike in England, and one that had of all other most corrupted the vniuersitie of Cambridge, doctor Sands. Wherevpon the bishop of Winchester, being chancellor of England, sent for all the conestables of London, commanding them to watch for doctor Sands, who was then within the citie, and to apprehend him; and who so euer of them should take him and bring him to him, he should haue fiue pounds for his labor. Doctor Sands suspecting the matter, conueied himselfe by night to one maister Barties house a stranger, who was in the Marshalsea with him prisoner a while, he was a good protestant and dwelt in Marke lane. There he was six daies, and had one or two of his fréends that repaired to him. Then he repaired to an acquaintance of his, one Hurlestone a skinner, dwelling in Cornehill, he caused his man Quintin to prouide two geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into Essex to maister Sands his father in law, where his wife was.

Gardiners commandement to watch and ward for doctor Sands and to apprehend him, with a reward promised to the taker of him.

At his going to bed in Hurlestons house, he had a paire of hose newlie made that were too long for him. For while he was in the tower, a tailor was admitted him to make him a paire of hose. One came vnto him whose name was Beniamin, a good protestant, dwelling in Birchin lane: he might not speake to him, or come vnto him, to take measure of him, but onelie looke vpon his leg, he made the hose, and they were two inches too long. These hose he praied the good wife of the house to send to some tailor to cut his hose two inches shorter. The wife required the boy of the house to carrie them to the next tailor to cut. The boy chanced (or rather God so prouided) to go to the next tailor, which was Beniamin that made them, which also was a conestable, and acquainted with the lord chancellors commandement. The boy required him to cut the hose. He said I am not thy maisters tailor. Saith the boy, Because ye are our next neighbor, and my maisters tailor dwelleth farre off, I come to you, for it is far nights, and he must occupie them timelie in the morning. Beniamin tooke the hose and looked vpon them, he tooke his handie worke in hand, and said: These are not thy maisters hose, but doctor Sands, them I made in the tower. The boy yéelded, and said it was so. Saith he, go to thy mistresse, praie hir to sit vp till twelue of the clocke, then I will bring the hose and speake with doctor Sands to his good.

Note Gods prouidence in giuing a way to doctor Sands for his safe escaping out of danger.

All the mischiefes intended against doctor Sands disclosed by a constable, who telleth him how to escape.

At midnight the good wife of the house, and Beniamin the tailor commeth into doctor Sands chamber. The wife praieth him not to be afraid of their comming. He answereth: Nothing can be amisse, what God will, that shall be doone. Then Beniamin telleth him that he made his hose, and by what good chance they now came to his hands, God vsed the meane that he might foretell him of his perill, and aduise him how to escape it, telling him that all the constables of London, whereof he was one, watched for him, and some were so gréedilie set, that they praied him (if he tooke him) to let them haue the carriage of him to the bishop of Winchester, and he should haue the fiue pounds. Saith Beniamin, It is knowen that your man hath prouided two geldings, and that you mind to ride out at Aldgate to morrow, and there then yée are sure to be taken. Follow mine aduise, and by Gods grace yée shall escape their hands. Let your man walke all the daie to morrow in the stréet where your horsses stand, booted and readie to ride. The goodmans seruant of the house shall take the horsses and carrie them to Bednoll gréene. The goodman shall be booted, and follow after as if he would ride. I will be here with you to morrow about eight of the clocke; it is both terme and parlement time, here we will breake our fast, and when the stréet is full we will go foorth. Looke wildelie, and if you meet your brother in the street, shun him not, but outface him, and know him not. Accordinglie doctor Sands did, clothed like a gentleman in all respects, and looked wildlie as one that had beene long kept in prison out of the light. Beniamin carried him through Birchin lane, and from one lane to another till he came at Moore gate, there they went foorth vntill they came to Bednoll gréene, where the horsses were readie, and maister Hurlestone to ride with him as his man. Doctor Sands pulled on his boots, and taking leaue of his friend Beniamin, with teares they kissed ech other, he put his hand in his purse, and would haue giuen Beniamin a great part of that little he had, but Beniamin would take none. Yet since doctor Sands hath remembred him thankfullie. He rode that night to his father in law maister Sands where his wife was, he had not béen there two houres, but it was told maister Sands that there was two of the gard which would that night apprehend doctor Sands, and so they were appointed.

Doctor Sands disguiseth himselfe like a gentleman and escapeth.

That night doctor Sands was guided to an honest farmer neere the sea, where he taried two daies and two nights in a chamber without all companie. After that he shifted to one Iames Mower a shipmaster, who dwelt at Milton shore, where he expected wind for the English fléet readie into Flanders. While he was there, Iames Mower brought to him fortie or fiftie mariners, to whome he gaue an exhortation; they liked him so well, that they promised to die for it, yer that he should be apprehended. The sixt of Maie, being sundaie the wind serued: he tooke his leaue of his host and hostesse, and went towards the ship. In taking leaue of his hostesse who was baren, and had beene married eight yeares he gaue hir a fine handkercher and also an old roiall of gold in it, thanking hir much, and said: Be of good comfort, yer that an whole yéere be past God shall giue you a child a boie. And it came to passe, for that daie twelue moneths lacking one daie God gaue hir a faire sonne.

God stirreth vp the harts of the mariners to fansie doctor Sands, &c.

Doctor Sands his propheticall blessing to his hostesse at his departing.

At the shore doctor Sands met with maister Isaac of Kent, who had his eldest sonne there, who vpon the liking he had to doctor Sands, sent his sonne with him, who afterward died in his fathers house in Frankford. Doctor Sands and doctor Cox were both in one ship, being one Cokrels ship. They were within the kenning when two of the gard came thither to apprehend doctor Sands. They arriued at Antwerpe, being bid to dinner to maister Locke. And at dinner time one George Gilpin being secretarie to the English house, and kinsman to doctor Sands, came to him and rounded him in his eare, and said: King Philip hath sent to

make

make search for you, and to apprehend you. Herevpon they rose from their dinner in a maruellous great shower, and went out at the gate toward the land of Cleue; there they found a wagon and hasted awaie, and came safe to Auspurge in Cleueland, where doctor Sands tarried foureteene daies, and then iournied towards Strasborough, where after he had liued one yeare, his wife came vnto him. He fell sore sicke of a flix which kept him nine moneths, and brought him to deaths doore. He had a child which fell sicke of the plague and died. His wife at length fell sicke of a consumption and died in his armes; no man had a more godlie woman to his wife.

Doctor Sands and doctor Cox go by wagon into Cleueland.

After this, maister Samson went awaie to Emanuell, a man skilfull in the Hebrue. Maister Grindall went into the countrie to learne the Dutch toong. Doctor Sands still remained in Strasborough, whose sustentation then was chiefelie from one maister Isaac, who loued him most dearelie, and was euer more readie to giue than he to take. He gaue him in that space aboue one hundred marks, which sum the said doctor Sands paied him againe, and by his other gifts and friendlinesse shewed himselfe to be a thankfull man. When his wife was dead, he went to Zurike, and there was in Peter Martyrs house for the space of fiue weekes. Being there as they sate at dinner, word suddenlie came that queene Marie was dead, and doctor Sands was sent for by his friends at Strasborough. That news made maister Martyr and maister Iarret then there verie ioyfull: but doctor Sands could not reioise, it smote into his hart that he should be called to miserie. Maister Bullinger and the ministers feasted him, and he tooke his leaue and returned into Strasborough, where he preached, and so maister Grindall and he came towards England, and then to London the same daie that queene Elizabeth was crowned.

Happie newes of queen Maries death: whereupon doctor Sands returneth into England.

This is the true storie of such accidents as befell doctor Sands, a reuerend father, and constant in the truth; whereof if anie part had beene false, likelie it is that one or other would haue barked against it yer now. But the report being common, and hauing beene thus long extant in print, the silence of men is a sufficient proofe and confirmation of the truth.] Here therefore we will leaue doctor Sands in his archiepiscopall see of Yorke; and after this long (but yet needfull) digression fall againe to the discourse of Calis; which being lost (as you haue heard) in a verie short time after so long possession, tidings thereof were carried to and fro, farre and neere, by word of mouth and by writing. In so much that the same news likewise being made notorious and knowne to the French were not so ioyfullie receiued in France, as they were generallie grieuous and displeasant to the whole relme of England: but speciallie to queene Marie, who being a princesse of hart and courage, more than commonlie is in womankind, thought hir selfe so much touched in honour by the losse of hir said towne and possessions on that side the sea, as she counted hir life irkesome, vntill the same were either recouered againe, or the losse redoubled with some like victorie against the French elsewhere.

With what indignation queene Marie tooke the losse of Calis.

In respect whereof she ceased to trauell after with king Philip hir husband, as with hir owne priuie councell, and the lords of the realme, which waie should be best to reuenge this iniurie: and speciallie now whilest the French king was occupied in wars with king Philip, to indamage some of his countries by waie of inuasion, and to surprise some of his townes vpon the sudden. And among sundrie deuises, none was thought to be so fit to be attempted as an hauen towne in Britaine called Brest, which in the time of king Richard the second was kept and mainteined with an English garrison, vntill the said king rendered the same to the French king againe by composition. This towne as well for the conuenient situation alwaies readie to receiue fresh succors and vittelling out of England by sea, as also for that it was knowne to the queene and hir councell at that present, not to be furnished

Force intended against Brest in Britaine.

furnished with anie garrison of soldiors, sufficient to repell the power of a prince vpon the sudden, was thought to be the best marke to be shot at for the time. Wherefore vpon this case well debated, there was immediatlie order giuen to Edward lord Clinton then high admerall of England, with all expedition to prepare himselfe with all the quéenes ships of warre, furnished with soldiors munition and vittels, to ioine with the admerall of king Philip, who had like order from the said king to ioine with the nauie of England for the atchiuing of this enterprise.

The lord Clinton admerall of England sent out against Brest.

But before I declare to you the aduenture of these two great nauies by sea, it shall not be impertinent to touch some accidents in the meane time by land. While king Philip being absent from the low countrie, was (as you haue heard) occupied with his warres in France, monsieur de Thermes the new capteine of Calis, being a man verie expert in the wars (whose propertie is neuer to neglect anie time of aduantage) cast in his mind, how (during king Philips absence) to doo some singular seruice to the French king his maister. And espieng well the negligence of the Flemings his neighbors, how little they vnderstood the great weakening of their countrie by the losse of Calis, and that there was no new prouision made for the defense thereof, more than was before, whilest Calis was English, by the losse wherof, their frontiers were now become open for the French at all times to enter. He therefore taking out of Calis so manie of his soldiors as might be spared from thense, adioining to them all the forces in the French garrisons in Arthois, Bullongnois, and Picardie, whereof togither with the soldiors of Calis, being to the number of seuen hundred footmen, and thrée hundred light horssemen Scotish, there were assembled fouretéene ensigns of the French footmen, eightéene vanlins of Almans, foure or fiue hundred men at armes of France, beside the light horssemen Scots, amounting in the whole to the number at least of nine thousand footmen, and fifteene hundred horssemen, entred into Flanders, with full determination to spoile and waste all king Philips countrie along the sea coast, and namelie a proper hauen towne called Dunkirke, and with like purpose to haue surprised the towne of Graueling; if occasion would serue.

Monsieur de Thermes capteine of Calis worketh vpon the aduantage to do the French king more honorable seruice.

Monsieur de Thermes determination to spoile king Philips countrie.

This capteine following his enterprise, of a policie passing by the towne of Graueling, laid siege to a little towne not farre from thence called Berghs, which he wan in a small time, and with small resistance, leauing the saccage of the same vnto his soldiors, where they found manie good booties. And without long staieng they marched foorth to Dunkirke beforesaid, and planting a siege in like manner there, battered the same so sharplie with the cannon, that within lesse than foure daies he became master of the towne, which he in like maner put to the sacke, where was found more plentie of spoile and good booties, than in anie place before, so farre foorth as the meanest slaues and lackies came awaie rich. And after setting the towne on fire (whereby all in the countrie about were maruellouslie put in feare) and the French spreading further abroad, wasted the most fruitfull quarter of all that part of Flanders, euen almost vnto Newport. But yet bicause that monsieur de Thermes fell diseased of the gowt, the armie withdrew and incamped within halfe a mile of Graueling, and for his more ease, he himselfe laie in Dunkirke, and in the meane time diuerse skirmishes fell out betweene the Frenchmen, and them of the garrison within Graueling.

Dunkirke besieged, taken and burned by the French.

Monsieur de Thermes sicke of the gowt.

During which pastime, the countie de Aiguemont (or as he is commonlie called Egmond) lieutenant generall for king Philip in the low countrie, with all hast possible assembled all the power as well of king Philips garrisons, as also men of warre in the low countrie, to the number of fouretéene or fiftéene thousand footmen, and two or thrée thousand horssemen, whereof there were fiftéene hundred swart Rutters, determining so to affront the French, that either they should passe no further into the

Countie Egmond lieutenant generall for king Philip in the low countrie.

countrie, or at the least waie to impeach them from the siege of Graueling, whereof there was great appearance. Monsieur de Thermes hearing of this power assembled (though scarselie well recouered) made all possible hast toward Graueling, where he was no sooner arriued but that he saw his enemies readie ranged in the field. By reason whereof his studie was now nothing else but how he might bring home his armie in safetie to Calis.

The countie de Egmond espieng the Frenchmen bent to march awaie with the spoile of the countrie, cut betwéene them and home, placing his battels in such order, that the Frenchmen had no waie to passe, but vpon the sands betwéene the towne and the sea. Whereas by good chance laie a great fleet of quéene Maries ships of warre, within the danger of whose gunshot the Frenchmen had no shift but to passe as their iournie laie. And so being forced either to famish or to fight at disaduantage, monsieur the Thermes without staieng anie longer, caused his vantgard to passe ouer the riuer somewhat néere the towne, to auoid the shot of the English ships. And staieng vpon the further side for the residue of his battels, there came such thicke haileshot of artillerie out of the towne on the one side, and from the English ships on the other side, that there was a full batterie made vpon the Frenchmen on all sides, which they neuerthelesse abode, without breaking order for the time, when suddenlie appéered before them two great troops of horssemen, of fiftéene hundred a péece, part swart Rutters, and part Burgognians, whereof the one in front, and the other in flanke, gaue strong charges vpon the French vantgard, who being well backed with their other battels (whereof the most part then had passed the riuer) stoutlie repelled these two first troops, though not without losse of manie their best soldiors.

The English ships annoie the French with gun shot, &c.

A valiant onset giuen vpon the Frenchmen by countie Egmond.

So thus both parties being at a staie, and seuered somewhat asunder, the countie de Egmond himselfe with eightéene hundred men of armes, and his foot battels following, before the French had well recouered breath, recharged vpon them with all his forces togither, so terrible that he choked all their battell, and the number tooke them to flight, without further triall. So by that time that the footmen on either side came to the push of the pike, the victorie was soone had, by reason (as the Frenchmen report) that the Almans beaten back with artillerie, as well of the towne as of the ships before said, brake their order, and came not to the shocke, whereby the whole charge of the battell rested vpon the French bands onelie. This field was fought the thirtéenth of Iulie 1558, vpon the sea sands neere to Graueling, where besides those that were slaine, being estéemed to the number of fiue thousand fighting men, there were taken prisoners the marshall de Thermes capteine of Calis, monsieur Senerpont gouernour of Bullougne, monsieur Villebou gouernour of Picardie, monsieur Annebault sonne to the late admerall Annebault, knight of the order, monsieur de Morulliers gouernour of Abuile, monsieur de Channe gouernour of Corbie, beside a great number of other gentlemen, valiant capteins and soldiors; but speciallie the bands of Calis went to wracke, so as verie few returned home to bring tidings. Which gaue such a terrour to the soldiors remaining in Calis, that it is verelie beleeued, that if the admerals of England and Flanders had béene present there with their nauies, as the said other few ships of England were, and vpon this sudden had attempted Calis, with the aid of the countie Egmond hauing his power present: the towne of Calis might haue béene recouered againe with as little difficultie, and happilie in as short time as it was before gained by the duke of Guise. But the said admerals (as it appeared) knew nothing thereof. Wherfore following their prescribed course, and ioining togither at the place appointed, they sailed from thence with prosperous wind and weather, and by the nine and twentith daie of the same moneth, and in the said yeare, with seauen score ships of warre, appeared by the breake of the daie before the hauen of Conquest,

A recharge vpon the French scarfe recouered.

A great victorie.

Certeine French prisoners taken and what they were by name.

Calis might haue béene recouered from the French.

quest, commonlie called Conquet in Britaine; whereof the poet saith, touching the seat of the same, abutting vpon the sea:

Nobile Conquetum salsis Thetis alluit vndis.

At whose arriuall there (as the manner is) they sounded their trumpets, and with a thundering peale of great ordinance gaue a lowd salue vnto the Britains: and by eight of the clocke the same morning, mauger all the power of the countrie, being assembled there in armes, with manie péeces of great artillerie, to defend the entrie of their port, the Englishmen manning foorth their shipboats, with manie valiant capteins and soldiors, recouered landing, and within short time became masters of the said towne of Conquet, which they put to the saccage, with a great abbeie, and manie pretie townes and villages neere thereabouts, where our men found great store of pillage and good booties. This done, they marched into the countrie, and burned manie villages and houses: and after withdrew downe vnto the sea side, where their ships laie readie to receiue them. But the Flemmings being couetous of spoile, passing further into the land, before they could recouer their ships againe, were incountered by the power of the countrie, by whome there were slaine of them to the number of foure or fiue hundred.

Conquet or Conquet taken and burned.

A great slaughter of the Flemmings occasioned by their owne couetousnesse.

The admerals perceiuing the power of the countrie greatlie to increase, and hauing intelligence that the duke of Estampes the French kings lieutenant in Britaine was verie neere, comming on with a great number of horssemen and footmen, estéemed to be about twentie thousand (as the Frenchmen themselues affirme) thought not best to attempt anie assault against the towne of Brest, or to make longer abode there. But yet in hope to doo some further exploit elsewhere, they laie there houering on the coast a while, to vnderstand the demeanour of the Britains: but by this time there was such numbers of people raised in all those parts for defense of the same coasts, that the admerals afterward attempting in diuers places to land their men, and finding ech where more appearance of losse than of gaine, returned home without atchiuing anie further enterprise. In this meane time, while king Philip and the French king, with two most puissant armies affronted ech other, néere vnto the water of Some, either of them was obstinatelie bent to driue the other out of the field, for which cause they intrenched their campes.

The admerals remoone for feare of losse.

Anno Reg. 6.

No memorable act doone by either of the kings during the affronting of their armes.

During which time there was nothing doone betweene them worthie memorie, more than daille skirmishes of no great account. Neuerthelesse, the countrie of France could not but susteine extreame damage, so long susteining such a manie multitude, speciallie of men of warre, which those two mightie kings had assembled. And daie by daie came fresh companies to either partie; so as it was thought a thing impossible that such two princes being so néere, could depart without some cruell bloudie battell to dertermine their quarrels. But God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings (when least hope was) conuerted their obstinate minds from warre to peace, which came chieflie to passe by the mediation of the duchesse of Loraine, who had béene a long and earnest traueller to that end; and neuer ceassed, vntill by hir intercession, both the said kings appointed speciall commissioners to treat vpon peace. So that after diuerse conferences, they at last concluded vpon all controuersies, except the matter of Calis, wherof queene Marie by hir ambassadours required restitution: but the French partie would in no wise heare thereof. By reason of which difficultie, this treatie could not come to anie good conclusion. King Philip thinking himselfe bound in honour to stand in that case with the quéene his wife, who for his sake had

Peace is procured betwéen both kings at the sute and seéking of the duchesse of Lorraine.

had entered into a néedlesse warre against France, and thereby lost hir said towne, with all the countrie adioining (as you haue heard before) did therefore staie a long time before he concluded peace with the French king.

Q. Marie pelisife for the losse of Calis.

Quéene Marie séeing no likelihood, nor hauing anie hope of the restitution of Calis, and considering also that most of hir affaires had but hard successe, conceiued an inward sorrow of mind: by reason whereof about September next she fell sicke of a hot burning feauer, which sicknesse was common that yeare through all the realme, and consumed a maruellous number, as well noblemen, as bishops, iudges, knights, gentlemen, and rich farmers: but most of the cleargie, and other ancient and graue persons. In which while the quéene laie languishing of a long sicknesse, and so continued vntill the seuentéenth of Nouember next betwéene the houres of fiue or six in the morning, and then ended hir life in this world, at hir house of saint Iames besides Westminster, when she had reigned fiue years, foure moneths, and eleuen daies, and in the three and fortith yeare of hir bodilie age. The death of this said queene made a maruellous alteration in this realme, namelie in the case of religion, which like as by the death of king Edward the sixt it suffered a change from the establishment of his time: so by the death of this quéene it returned into the former estate againe. So that we sée the vncerteintie of the world, and what changes doo come in times by their reuolutions, and that euerie thing is subiect to vnconstancie, and nothing frée from variablenesse; as the poet saith:

The death of quéen Marie

——————nihil vsquam
Perpetuum sólet in terris fixúmque manere:
Humanis quàm nulla subest constantia rebus!

And heere, bicause we are come to the knitting vp of quéene Maries reigne, I cannot ouerslip with silence that notable and néedfull discourse of master Fox concerning our blessed souereigne, quéen Elizabeth, whose maiestie the Lord of his mercie inuiron with fréends as in number manie, so in seruice trustie; and whose enimies the same Lord in iustice root out from the land of the liuing, heaping vpon them plague after plague, to their vtter confusion, bicause they haue reiected the gratious means of their conuersion. Thus therefore writeth master Fox concerning the mischéefous persecution and miraculous preseruation of ladie Elizabeth, now quéene of England, from extreame calamitie and danger of life, in the time of queene Marie hir sister.

But (saith master Fox) when all hath béene said and told, whatsoeuer can be recited touching the admirable working of Gods present hand in defending and deliuering anie one person out of thraldome, neuer was there since the memorie of our fathers, anie example to be shewed, wherin the Lords mightie power hath more admirablie and blessedlie shewed it selfe, to the glorie of his owne name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the publike felicitie of this whole realme, than in the miraculous custodie and outscape of this our souereigne ladie, now quéene, then ladie Elizabeth, in the strict time of queene Marie hir sister. In which storie, first we haue to consider in what extreme miserie, sicknesse, feare, and perill hir highnesse was; into what care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death she was brought. First with great routs and bands of armed men (and happie was he that might haue the carieng of hir) being fetched vp as the greatest traitour in the world, clapped in the tower, and againe tossed from thence, from house to house, from prison to prison, from post to piller, at length also prisoner in hir owne house, and garded with a sort of cut throats, which euer gaped for the spoile, whereby they might be fingering of somewhat.

The blessed protection of almightie God in preserving the ladie Elizabeth in hir manifold dangers and troubles.

The troubles of ladie Elizabeth in Q. Maries time.

Secondlie, we haue againe to consider, all this notwithstanding, how strangelie, or rather miraculouslie from danger she was deliuered: what fauour and grace she found with the almightie, who when all helpe of man, and hope of recouerie was past, stretched out his mightie protection, and preserued hir highnesse, and placed hir in this princelie seat of rest and quietnesse, wherin now she sitteth, and long maie she sit, the lord of his glorious mercie graut, we beséech him*. In which storie, if I should set foorth at large and at full, all the particulars and circumstances therevnto belonging, and as iust occasion of the historie requireth, besides the importunate length of the storie discoursed, peraduenture it might mooue offense to some being yet aliue, and truth might get me hatred. Yet notwithstanding, I intend (by the grace of Christ) therein to vse such breuitie and moderation, as both may be to the glorie of God, the discharge of the storie, the profit of the reader, and hurt to none, suppressing the names of some, whome here although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruell in hurting their name, than the quéene hath béene merciful in pardoning their liues.

* Amen.

The historie of the ladie Elizabeth.

Therfore now to enter into the discourse of this tragicall matter, first here is to be noted, that quéene Marie when she was first queene, before she was crowned, would go no whither, but would haue hir by the hand, and send for hir to dinner and supper: but after she was crowned, she neuer dined nor supped with hir, but kept hir aloofe from hir, &c. After this it happened, immediatelie vpon the rising of sir Thomas Wiat (as before was mentioned, * pag. 1418, 1419) that the ladie Elizabeth and the lord Courtneie, were charged with false suspicion of sir Thomas Wiats rising. Wherevpon quéene Marie, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the said Elizabeth hir sister, at that time lieng in hir house at Ashridge, the next daie after the rising of Wiat, sent to hir three of hir councellors, to wit, sir Richard Southwell, sir Edward Hastings, then master of the horsse, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troope of horssemen, to the number of two hundred and fiftie. Who at their sudden and unprouided comming, found hir at the same time sore sicke in hir bed, and verie féeble and weake of bodie. Whither when they came, ascending vp to hir graces priuie chamber, they willed one of hir ladies, whome they met, to declare vnto hir grace, that there were certeine come from the court, which had a message from the quéene.

* These references by the page whereso-euer they fall in this discourse of Q. Elizabeth are ment of the impression published 1583.

Sir Richard Southwell, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, sent to fetch vp ladie Elizabeth, with whom also afterward was sent the lord William Howard, &c.

Hir grace hauing knowledge thereof, was right glad of their comming: howbeit, being then verie sicke, and the night farre spent (which was at ten of the clocke) she requested them by the messenger, that they would resort thither in the morning. To this they answered, and by the said messenger sent word againe, that they must néeds sée hir and would so doo, in what case soeuer she were. Whereat the ladie being against, went to shew hir grace their words: but they hastilie following hir came rushing as soon as she into hir graces chamber vnbidden. At whose so sudden comming into hir bed chamber, hir grace being not a little amazed, said unto them: Is the hast such, that it might not haue pleased you to come to morrow in the morning? They made answer, that they were right sorie to see hir in that case. And I (quoth she) am not glad to see you here at this time of the night. Wherevnto they answered, that they came from the quéene to doo hir message and dutie: which was to this effect, that the quéenes pleasure was, that she should be at London the seuenth daie of that present moneth. Wherevnto she said; Certesse, no creature more glad than I to come to hir maiestie, being right sorie that I am not in case at this time to wait on hir, as you your selues do sée and can well testifie.

The vnmanerlinesse of the knights.

A strait commission from the quéene to bring the ladie Elizabeth either quicke or dead.

In deed we sée it true (quoth they) that you doo saie: for which we are verie sorie: albeit we let you to vnderstand, that our commission is such, and so straineth vs, that we must néeds bring you with vs, either quicke or dead. Whereat she being amazed, sorrowfullie said, that their commission was verie sore: but yet not-

withstanding she hoped it to be otherwise, and not so strict. Yes verelie, said they. Wherevpon they called for two physicians, doctor Owen and doctor Wendie, demanding of them, whether she might be remooued from thence with life, or no. Whose answer and iudgement was, that there was no impediment (in their iudgement) to the contrarie, but that she might trauell without danger of life. In conclusion, they willed hir to prepare against the morning at nine of the clocke to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the quéenes litter for hir. After much talke, the messengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and daies, so departed to their chamber, being interteined and cheared as apperteined to their worships.

The gentlenesse of queene Marie to send hir horslitter to bring hir sister to trouble.

On the next morrow at the time prescribed, they had hir foorth as she was, verie faint and feeble, and in such case that she was readie to sound three or foure times betweene them. What should I speake héere that cannot well be expressed, what an heauie house there was to behold the vnreuerend and dolefull dealing of these men, but especiallie the carefull feare and captiuitie of their innocent ladie and mistresse? Now to procéed in hir iornie from Ashridge all sicke in the litter, she came to Redborne, where she was garded all night: from thence to S. Albons, to sir Rafe Rowlets house, where she tarried that night, both feeble in bodie, and comfortlesse in mind. From that place they passed to master Dods house at Mims, where also they remained that night: and so from thence she came to Highgate: where she being verie sicke, taried that night and the next daie. During which time of hir abode there, came manie purseuants and messengers from the court: but for what purpose I cannot tell.

Ladie Elizabeth taketh hir iourneie toward the quéene.

From that place she was conueied to the court: where (by the waie) came to méet hir manie gentlemen, to accompanie hir highnesse, which were verie sorie to sée hir in that case. But especiallie a great multitude of people there were standing by the way, who then flocking about hir litter, lamented and bewailed greatlie hir estate. Now, when she came to the court, hir grace was there straightwaies shut vp, and kept as close prisoner a fortnight, which was till Palmesundaie, séeing neither king nor quéene, nor lord, nor friend, all that time, but onelie then the lord chamberlaine, sir John Cage, and the vicechamberlaine which were attendant vnto the dores. About which time sir William Sentlow was called before the councell; vnto whose charge it was laid, that he knew of Wiats rebellion. Which he stoutlie denied, protesting that he was a true man, both to God and his prince, defieng all traitors and rebels: but being strictlie examined, he was in conclusion committed to the tower.

Ladie Elizabeth brought vp to London.

Sir William Sentlow committed to the tower.

The fridaie before Palmesundaie, the bishop of Winchester, with ninetéene others of the councell (who shall be here namelesse) came vnto hir grace from the quéenes maiestie, and burdened hir with Wiats conspiracie: which she vtterlie denied, affirming that she was altogither giltlesse therein. They being not contented with this, charged hir grace with businesse made by sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the gentlemen of the west countrie; which also she vtterlie denieng, cleared hir innocencie therein. In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared vnto hir that it was the quéenes will and pleasure that she should go vnto the tower, while the matter were further tried and examined. Whereat she being agast, said, that she trusted the quéenes maiestie would be more gratious ladie vnto hir, and that hir highnesse would not otherwise conceiue of hir, but that she was a true woman: declaring furthermore to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters wherein they had burdened hir; and desired them therefore to be a further meane to the quéene hir sister, that she being a true woman in thought, word, and déed towards hir maiestie, might not be committed to so notorious and dolefull a place: protesting that she would request no mercie at hir hand, if she should be prooued to

Ladie Elizabeth charged with sir Thomas Wiats conspiracie.

Ladie Elizabeth charged with the businesse of Peter Carew.

Ladie Elizabeth threatned to go to the tower.

Ladie Elizabeth purgeth hir selfe to the lords.

haue consented vnto anie such kind of matter, as they had laid vnto hir charge: and therefore in fine desired their lordsh ps to thinke of hir what she was, and that she might not so extremelie be dealt withall for hir truth.

Whervnto the lords answered againe, that there was no remedie, for that the quéenes maiestie was fullie determined that she should go vnto the tower. Wherewith the lords departed, with their caps hanging ouer their eies. But not long after, within the space of an houre or little more, came foure of the foresaid lords of the councell, which were the lord treasuror, the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, the earle of Sussex, with the gard, who warding the next chamber to hir, secluded all hir gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen, sauing that for one gentleman vsher, three gentlewomen, and two groomes of hir chamber, were appointed in their roomes three other men of the quéenes, and three waiting women to giue attendance vpon hir, that none should haue accesse to hir grace. At which time there were an hundred of northerne souldiers in white cotes, watching and warding about the gardens all that night, a great fire being made in the midst of the hall, and two certeine lords watching there also with their band and companie.

Ladie Elizabeths seruants remooued from hir.

The quéenes men, and waiting women attendant vpon ladie Elizabeth.

Vpon saturdaie following, two lords of the councell (the one was the earle of Sussex, the other shall be namelesse) came and certified hir grace, that forthwith she must go vnto the tower, the barge being prepared for hir, and the tide now readie, which tarieth for no bodie. In heauie mood hir grace requested the lords that she might tarie another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied, that nether tide nor time was to be delaied. And when hir grace requested him that she might be suffered to write to the quéenes maiestie, he answered, that he durst not permit that: adding that in his iudgement it would rather hurt, than profit hir grace in so dooing. But the other lord, more courteous and fauorable (who was the earle of Sussex) knéeling downe, said she should haue libertie to write; and as he was a true man, he would deliuer it to the quéenes highnesse, and bring an answer of the same, what soeuer came thereof. Whereupon she wrote, albeit she could in no case be suffered to speake with the quéene to hir great discomfort, being no offendor against the queenes maiestie.

The hard dealing of a certeine lord with the ladie Elizabeth.

The earle of Sussex gentle to the ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth writeth to the quéene but it would not serue.

And thus the tide and time passed awaie for that season, they priuilie appointing all things readie that she should go the next tide which fell about midnight: but for feare she should be taken by the waie, they durst not. So they staid till the next daie, being Palmesundaie, when about nine of the clocke these two returned againe, declaring that it was time for hir grace to depart; she answering: If there be no remedie, I must be content, willing the lords to go before. Being come foorth into the garden, she did cast vp hir eies toward the window, thinking to haue séene the queene, which she could not. Whereat she said she maruelled much what the nobilitie of the realme meant, which in that sort would suffer hir to be led into captiuitie, the Lord knew whither, for she did not. In the meane time commandement was giuen in all London, that euerie one should keepe the church and carie their palmes, while in the meane season she might be conueied without all recourse of people into the tower.

After all this, she tooke hir barge with the two foresaid lords, three of the quéenes gentlewomen, and three of hir owne, hir gentleman usher, and two of hir gromes, lieng and houering vpon the water a certeine space, for that they could not shoot the bridge, the bargemen being verie vnwilling to shoot the same so soone as they had, because of the danger thereof: for the sterne of the boat stroke vpon the ground, the fall was so big, and the water was so shallow, that the boat being vnder the bridge, there staied againe a while. At landing, she first staied, and denied to land at those staires where all traitors and offenders customablie vsed to land, neither would she vnlesse she should go ouer hir shoo. The lords were gone out of the boat

Ladie Elizabeth sent to the tower.

boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went backe againe to hir, and brought word she would not come. Then said one of the lords which shall be namelesse, that she should not choose; and bicause it did then raine, he offered to hir his cloke, which she (putting it backe with hir hand with a good dash) refused. So she comming out, hauing one foot vpon the staire, said; Here landeth as true a subiect being a prisoner, as euer landed at these staires: and before thée O God I speake it, hauing none other frèends but thee alone.

The words of ladie Elizabeth entering the tower.

To whome the same lord answered againe, that if it were so, it was the better for hir. At hir landing there was a great multitude of their seruants and warders standing in their order; What néeded all this said she? It is the vse (said some) so to be when anie prisoner came thither. And if it be (quoth she) for my cause, I beséech you that they may be dismissed. Whereat the poore men kneeled downe, and with one voice desired God to preserue hir grace, who the next daie were released of their cold coats. After this passing a little further, she sat downe vpon a cold stone, and there rested hir selfe. To whom the lieutenant then being, said; Madame, you were best to come out of the raine, for you sit vnwholesomelie. She then replieng, answered againe: Better sitting here than in a worse place, for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me. With that hir gentleman vsher wept: she demanded of him what he meant so vncomfortablie to vse hir, seeing she tooke him to be hir comforter, and not to dismaie hir, especiallie for that she knew hir truth to be such, that no man should haue cause to wéepe for hir. But forth she went into the prison.

The dores were locked and bolted vpon hir: which did not a little discomfort and dismaie hir grace. At what time she called hir gentlewoman for hir booke, desiring God not to suffer hir to build hir foundation vpon the sands but vpon the rocke, whereby all the blasts of blustering weather should haue no power against hir. The doores being thus locked, and she close shut vp, the lords had great conference how to kéepe ward and watch, euerie man declaring his opinion in that behalfe, agreeing strictlie and circumspectlie to kéepe hir. Then one of them, which was the lord of Sussex swearing, said: My lords, let vs take héed, and doo no more than our commission will beare vs, what souer shall happen hereafter. And further, let vs consider that she was the king our maisters daughter, and therefore let vs vse such dealing, that we may answer vnto it hereafter, if it shall so happen, for iust dealing (quoth he) is alwaies answerable. Whereunto the other lords agréed that it was well said of him, and therevpon departed. Being in the tower, within two daies, commandement was that she should haue masse within hir house. One maister Yoong was then hir chapleine: and bicause there were none of hir men so well learned to helpe the priest to saie masse, the masse staied for that daie.

The christian praier of ladie Elizabeth.

The lord of Sussex speaketh for ladie Elizabeth.

The next daie two of hir yeomen, who had gone long to schoole before, and were learned, had two abcies prouided and deliuered them, so that vpon the abcies they should helpe the priest. One of the said yeomen, holding the abcie in his hand, pretending ignorance at Kyrie eleison, set the priest, making as though he could answer that no further. It would make a pitifull and strange storie, here by the waie to touch and recite what examinations and rackings of poore men there were, to find out that knife which should cut her throte: what gaping among my lords of the clergie, to see the daie wherein they might wash their goodlie white rockets in hir innocent bloud, but especiallie the bishop of Winchester Stephan Gardiner, then lord chancellor, ruler of the rost, who then within fiue daies after came vnto hir, with diuerse others of the councell, and examined hir of the talke that was at Ashridge, betwixt hir and sir Iames Acroft, touching hir remouing from thence to Dunnington castle, requiring hir to declare what she meant thereby.

The bishop of Winchester enimie to ladie Elizabeth.

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At the first, she being so suddenlie asked, did not well remember anie such house: but within a while, well aduising hir selfe, she said; In déed (quoth she) I doo now remember that I haue such a place, but I neuer laie in it in all my life. And as for anie that hath mooued me therevnto, I doo not remember. Then to enforce the matter, they brought foorth sir Iames Acroft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of hir what she said to that man? She answered, that she had little to saie to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the tower. But my lords (quoth she) you doo examine euerie meane prisoner of me, wherein me thinks you doo me great iniurie. If they haue doone euill and offended the quéenes maiestie, let them answer to it accordinglie. I beséech you my lords, ioine not me in this sort with anie of these offendors. And as concerning my going vnto Dunnington castle, I doo remember that maister Hobbie and mine officers and you sir Iames Acroft, had such talke: but what is that to the purpose, my lords, but that I may go to mine owne houses at all times?

Ladie Elizabeth examined by the bishop of Winchester.

The lord of Arundell knéeling downe, said: Your grace saith true, and certeinlie we are verie sorie that we haue so troubled you about so vaine matters. She then said: My lords, you doo sift me verie narrowlie, but well I am assured, you shall not doo more to me than God hath appointed, and so God forgiue you all. At their departure, sir Iames Acroft knéeled down, declaring that he was sorie to see the daie in which he should be brought as a witnesse against hir grace. But I ass u r grace (said he) I haue beene maruellouslie tossed and examined touching your highnesse, which the lord knoweth is verie strange to me. For I take God to record before all your honors, I doo not know anie thing of that crime that you haue laid to my charge, and will thervpon take my death, if I should be driuen to so strict a triall.

The friendlie speach of the earle of Arundell to the ladie Elizabeth.

Sir Iames Acroft examined touching the ladie Elizabeth.

That daie, or thereabouts, diuerse of hir owne officers, who had made prouision for hir diet, brought the same to the vtter gate of the tower, the common rascall souldiers receiuing it: which was no small greefe vnto the gentlemen the bringers thereof. Wherfore they required to speake with the lord chamberleine, being then conestable of the tower. Who comming before his presence, declared vnto his lordship, that they were much afraid to bring hir graces diet, and to deliuer it to such common and desperat persons as they were which did receiue it: beseeching his honor to consider hir grace, and to giue such order, that hir viands might at all times bee brought in by them which were appointed therevnto. Yea sirs (said he) who appointed you this office? They answered, Hir graces councell. Councell (quoth he?) There is none of them which hath to doo, either in that case, or anie thing else within this place: and I assure you, for that she is a prisoner, she shall be serued with the lieutenants men, as other the prisoners are. Whereat the gentlemen said, that they trusted for more fauor at his hands, considering her personage, saieng; that they mistrusted not, but that the queene and hir councell would be better to hir grace than so, and therewith shewed themselues to be offended at the vngratefull words of the lord chamberleine towards their ladie and mistresse.

These were not officers of the tower, but such as went in white and gréene.

Ladie Elizabeths seruants restrieued for bringing hir diet to the tower.

Displeasure betwéene the lord chamberleine and the ladie Elizabethsmen.

At this he sware by God, striking himselfe vpon the breast, that if they did either frowne or shrug at him, he would set them where they should neither see sunne nor moone. Thus taking their leaue, they desired God to bring him in a better mind towards hir grace, and so departed from him. Vpon the occasion whereof, hir graces officers made great sute vnto the quéenes councell, that some might be appointed to bring hir diet to hir, and that it might no more be deliuered in to the common soldiers of the tower. Which being reasonablie considered, was by them granted. Wherevpon were appointed one of hir gentlemen, hir clearke of hir kitchin, and hir two purueiors to bring in hir prouision once a day; all which was done the warders euer waiting vpon the bringers thereof. The lord chamberleine himselfe being

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ing alwaie with them, circumspectlie and narrowlie watched, and searched what they brought: and gaue heed that they should haue no talke with anie of hir graces waiting seruants, and so warded them both in and out. At the said sute of hir officers were sent by the commandement of the councell, to wait vpon hir grace, two yeomen of hir chamber, one of hir robes, two of hir pantrie and ewrie, one of hir buttrie, another of hir cellar, two of hir kitchin, and one of hir larder, all which continued with hir the time of hir trouble.

Ladie Elizabeths waiting-men in the tower.

Here the conestable, being at the first not verie well pleased with the comming in of such a companie against his will, would haue had his men still to haue serued with hir graces men. Which hir seruants at no hand would suffer, desiring his lordship to be contented: for that order was taken, that no stranger should come within their offices. At which answer being sore displeased, he brake out into these threatning words: Well (said he) I will handle you well enough. Then went he into the kitchin, and there would néeds haue his meat rosted with hir graces meat, and said that his cooke should come thither and dresse it. To that hir graces cooke answered; My lord, I will neuer suffer anie stranger to come about hir diet, but hir owne sworne men, so long as I liue. He said they should. But the cooke said, his lordship should pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble hir poore seruants verie stoutlie: though afterwards he were otherwise aduised, and they more courteouslie vsed at his hands. And good cause why, for he had good cheare, and fared of the best; and hir grace paied well for it. Wherefore he vsed himselfe afterwards more reuerentlie towards hir grace.

Uariance betweene the lord chamberleine and ladie Elizabeths seruants.

After this sort, hauen lien a whole moneth there in close prison, and being verie euill at ease therewithall, she sent for the lord chamberleine, and the lord Shandois, to come and speake with hir. Who comming, she requested them that she might haue libertie to walke in some place, for that she felt hirselfe not well. To the which they answered, that they were right sorie that they could not satisfie hir graces request, for that they had commandement to the contrarie, which they durst not in anie wise breake. Furthermore, she desired of them, if that could not bee granted, that she might walke but into to the queenes lodging. No nor yet that (they answered) could by anie means be obteined without a further sute to the quéene and hir councell. Well (said she) my lords, if the matter be so hard that they must be sued vnto for so small a thing, and that friendship be so strict, God comfort me: and so they departed, she remaining in hir old dungeon still, without any kind of comfort but onelie God.

Ladie Elizabeth denied the libertie of the tower.

The next daie after, the lord Shandois came againe vnto hir grace, declaring vnto hir that he had sued vnto the councell for further libertie. Some of them consenting therevnto, diuerse other dissented, for that there were so manie prisoners in the tower. But in conclusion they did all agrée, that hir grace might walke into those lodgings, so that he and the lord chamberleine, and three of the quéenes gentlewomen did accompanie hir, the windowes being shut, and shée not suffered to looke out at anie of them: wherewith she contented hirselfe, and gaue him thanks for his good will in that behalfe. Afterwards there was libertie granted to hir grace to walke in a little garden, the doores and gates being shut vp, which notwithstanding was as much discomfort vnto hir, as the walke in the garden was pleasant and acceptable. At which times of hir walking there, the prisoners on that side strictlie were commanded not to speake or looke out at the windows into the garden, till hir grace were gone out againe, hauing in consideration thereof, their keepers waiting vpon them for that time. Thus hir grace with this small libertie contented hir selfe in God, to whome be praise therefore.

Libertie granted to ladie Elizabeth to walke in a little garden.

During this time, there vsed a little boie, a mans child in the tower to resort vnto their chambers, and manie times to bring hir grace flowers, which likewise hee did

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Suspicious heads.

to the other prisoners that were there. Wherevpon naughtie and suspicious heads thinking to make and wring out some matter thereof, called on a time the child vnto them, promising him figs and apples, and asked of him when he had béene with the earle of Deuonshire, not ignorant of the childs woonted frequenting vnto him? The boy answered that he would go by and by thither. Further they demanded of him, when he was with the ladie Elizabeths grace? He answered; Euerie daie. Furthermore they examined him, what the lord of Deuonshire sent by him to hir grace? The child said: I will go know what he will giue to carie to hir. Such was the discretion of the child, being yet but foure years of age. This same is a craftie boy, quoth the lord chamberleine, how saie you my lord Shandois? I praie you my lord (quoth the boy) giue me the figs you promised me. No marie (quoth he) thou shalt be whipped if thou come anie more to the ladie Elizabeth, or the lord Courtneie. The boy answered: I will bring my ladie and mistresse more flowers. Wherupon the childs father was commanded to permit the boy no more to come vp into their chambers.

A yoong child examined for bringing flowers to the ladie Elizabeth.

The next daie, as hir grace was walking in the garden, the child péeping in at a hole in the doore, cried vnto hir, saieng: Mistresse I can bring you no more flowers. Whereat she smiled, but said nothing, vnderstanding thereby what they had doone. Wherefore afterwards the chamberleine rebuked highlie his father, commanding him to put him out of the house. Alas poore infant, quoth the father. It is a craftie knaue (quoth the lord chamberleine) let me sée him here no more. The first of Maie the conestable was discharged of his office of the tower, and one sir Henrie Benefield placed in his roome, a man vnknowne to hir grace, and therefore the more feared: which so sudden mutation was vnto hir no little amaze. Hee brought with him an hundred soldiors in blew cotes, wherewith she was maruellouslie discomforted, and demanded of such as were about hir, whether the ladie Ianes scaffold were taken awaie or no, fearing by reason of their comming, least she should haue plaied hir part. To whome answer was made, that the scaffold was taken awaie, and that hir grace néeded not to doubt of anie such tyrannie: for God would not suffer anie such treason against hir person. Wherewith being contented, but not altogither satisfied, she asked what sir Henrie Benefield was, and whether he was of that conscience or no, that if hir murthering were secretlie committed to his charge, he would sée the execution thereof? She was answered, that they were ignorant what maner of man he was. Howbeit they persuaded hir that God would not suffer such wickednesse to procéed? Well, quoth she, God grant it be so. For thou O God canst mollifie all such tyrannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruell purposes: and I beséech thée to heare me thy creature, which am thy seruant, and at thy commandement trusting by thy grace euer so to remaine.

The conestable of the tower discharged of his office.

Sir Henrie Benefield with his companie, placed about the lady Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth in great feare and doubt of life.

Ladie Elizabeth in doubt of sir Henrie Benefield.

About which time it was spread abroad, that hir grace should be caried from thense by this new iollie capteine and his soldiors: but whither, it could not be learned. Which was vnto hir a great griefe, especiallie for that such a companie was appointed to hir gard, requesting rather to continue there still, than to be led thense with such a sort of rascals. At last plaine answer was made by the lord Shandois, that there was no remedie, but from thense she must néeds depart to the manour of Woodstocke, as he thought. Being demanded of hir for what cause? For that (quoth he) the tower is like further to be furnished. She being desirous to know what he meant thereby, demanded wherewith? He answered, with such matter as the quéene and councell were determined in that behalfe, wherof he had no knowledge: and so departed. In conclusion, on Trinitie sundaie being the ninetéenth daie of Maie, she was remooued from the tower, the lord treasuror being then there for the lading of hir carts, and discharging the place of the same. Where sir Henrie Benefield (being appointed hir gailor) did receiue hir with a companie of rakehels to gard hir, beside the lord of Darbies band, waiting in the countrie

countrie about for the mooneshine in the water. Vnto whome at length came my lord of Tame, ioined in commission with the said sir Henrie, for the safe guiding of hir to prison: and they togither conueied hir grace to Woodstocke, as hereafter followeth. The first daie they conducted hir to Richmond, where she continued all night, being restreined of hir owne men, which were lodged in outchambers, and sir Henrie Benefields souldiors appointed in their roomes to giue attendance on hir person. Whereat she being maruellouslie dismaied, thinking verelie some secret mischiefe to be a working towards hir, called hir gentleman vsher, and desired him, with the rest of his companie, to praie for hir. For this night (quoth she) I thinke to die. Wherewith he being stricken to the heart, said: God forbid that anie such wickednesse should be pretended against your grace. So comforting hir as well as he could, at last he burst out into teares, and went from hir downe into the court, where were walking the lord of Tame and sir Henrie Benefield.

Ladie Elizabeth remoued from the tower to Woodstocke.
Ladie Elizabeth secluded from hir seruants.
Ladie Elizabeth in despaire of hir selfe.

Then he comming to the lord of Tame (who had proferred to him much friendship) desired to speake with him a word or two. Vnto whome he familiarlie said, he should with all his heart. Which when sir Henrie standing by heard, he asked what the matter was? To whome the gentleman vsher answered: No great matter sir (said he) but to speake with my lord a word or two. Then when the lord of Tame came to him, he spake on this wise: My lord (quoth he) you haue béene alwaies my good lord, and so I beséech you to remaine. The cause why I come to you at this time, is to desire your honor, vnfeinedlie to declare vnto me whether anie danger is meant towards my mistresse this night, or no, that I and my poore fellows may take such part as shall please God to appoint: for certeinlie we will rather die, than she should secretlie and innocentlie miscarie. Marie (said the lord of Tame) God forbid that anie such wicked purpose should be wrought: and rather than it should be so, I with my men are readie to die at hir foot also: and (so praised be God) they passed that dolfull night, with no little heauinesse of heart. Afterwards passing ouer the water at Richmond, going towards Windsore, hir grace espied certeine of hir poore seruants standing on the other side, which were verie desirous to sée hir. Whome when she beheld, turning to one of hir men standing by, she said: Yonder I sée certeine of my men, go to them and say these words from me: Tanquam ouis.

The ladie Elizabeths vsher talketh with the lord of Tame.
The gentle heart of the lord of Tame to ladie Elizabeth.

So she passing forward to Windsore, was lodged there that night in the deane of Windsors house, a place more méet in déed for a priest than for a princesse. And from thense hir grace was garded and brought the next night to maister Dormers house, where much people standing by the way, some presented to hir one gift, and some another: so that sir Henrie was greatlie moued therewith, and troubled the poore people verie sore, for shewing their louing hearts in such a maner, calling them rebels and traitors, with such like vile words. Besides, as she passed thorough the villages, the townesmen rang the bels, as being ioyfull of hir comming, thinking verelie it had beene otherwise than it was indeed, as the sequele prooued after to the said poore men. For immediatlie the said sir Henrie hearing the same, sent his souldiors thither, who apprehended some of the ringers, setting them in the stocks, and otherwise vncourteouslie misusing other some for their good wils.

Tanquam ouis. i. Like a shéepe to the slaughter.
Ladie Elizabeth honourablie receiued and beloued of the people.

On the morrow hir grace passing from maister Dormers (where was for the time of hir abode there a strict watch kept) came to the lord of Tames house where she laie all night, being verie princelie interteined, both of knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. Wherat sir Henrie Benefield grunted, and was highlie offended, saieng vnto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to answer to their doings in that behalfe; letting them to vnderstand that she was the quéens maiesties prisoner, and no otherwise; aduising them therefore to take heed and beware of afterclaps. Whereunto the lord of Tame answered in this wise: that

The gentle interteinment of ladie Elizabeth at the lord of Tames house.
M. Benefield grudgeth at the gentle interteinment of ladie Elizabeth.

The rude and vngentlemanlie behaviour of sir Henrie Benefield.

Ladie Elizabeth commeth to Woodstocke.

The strict watch kept at Woodstocke.

he was well aduised of his dooings, being ioined in commission as well as he, adding with warrant, that hir grace might and should in his house be merrie. The next daie as she should take hir iournie from Richmond towards Woodstocke, the lord of Tame, with an other gentleman, being at tables, plaieng, and dropping vie crownes, the ladie Elizabeth passing by, staied and said she would sée the game plaied out, which sir Henrie Benefield would scarse permit. The game running long about, and they plaieng drop vie crownes; Come on saith he: I will tarie saith she, and will sée this game out.

After this, sir Henrie went vp into a chamber, where was appointed for hir grace a chaire, two cushions, and a foot carpet verie faire and princelike, wherein presumptuouslie he sat, and called one Barwike his man to pull off his boots. Which as soone as it was knowen among the ladies and gentles, euerie one mused thereat, and laughed him to scorne, obseruing his vndiscréet maners in that behalfe, as they might verie well. When supper was doone, he called my lord, and willed him that all the gentlemen and ladies should withdraw themselues euerie one to his lodging, maruelling much that he would permit there such a companie, considering so great a charge committed to him. Sir Henrie (quoth my lord) content your selfe, all shall be voided, your men and all. Nay my soldiors (quoth sir Henrie) shall watch all night. The lord of Tame answered, It shall not need. Well said he, Néed or néed not, they shall so doo: mistrusting belike the companie, which God knoweth was without cause.

Ladie Elizabeth garded and warded for starting awaie.

The next daie hir grace tooke hir iournie from thense to Woodstocke, where she was inclosed, as before in the tower of London, the souldiors garding and warding both within and without the wals, euerie daie to the number of thrée score, and in the night without the wals fortie, during the time of hir imprisonment there. At length she had gardens appointed for hir walke, which was verie comfortable to hir grace. But alwaies when she did recreat hir selfe therein, the doores were fast locked vp, in as strict maner as they were in the tower, being at the least fiue or six locks betwéene hir lodging and hir walks: sir Henrie himselfe kéeping the keies, and trusting no man therewith. Wherevpon she called him hir gailor: and he knéeling downe, desired hir grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of hir officers. From such officers (quoth she) good Lord deliuer me. And now by the way as digressing, or rather refreshing the reader, if it be lawfull in so serious a storie to recite a matter incident, and yet not impertinent to the same: occasion heere mooueth, or rather inforceth me to touch briefelie what happened in the same place and time by a certeine merie conceited man, being then about hir grace: who noting the strict and strange kéeping of his ladie and mistres by the said sir Henrie Benefield, with so manie locks and dores, with such watch and ward about hir, as was strange and woonderfull, spied a goat in the ward where hir grace was. And whether to refresh hir oppressed mind, or to notifie hir strict handling by sir Henrie, either else both; he tooke it vp on his necke, and followed hir grace therewith as she was going into hir lodging. Which when she saw, she asked him what he would doo with it, willing to let it alone. Vnto whome the said partie answered: No by saint Marie (if it like your grace) will I not: for I can not tell whether he be one of the quéens friends or no. I will carie him to sir Henrie Benefield (God willing) to know what he is. So leauing hir grace, he went with the goat on his necke, and caried it to sir Henrie Benefield. Who when he saw him comming with it, asked him halfe angerlie what he had there. Vnto whome the partie answered, saieng: Sir (quoth he) I can not tell what he is, I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my ladies grace was walking, and what talke they had I can not tell. For I vnderstand him not, but he should séeme to me to be some stranger, and I thinke verelie a Welshman, for he hath a white fréese coat on his backe. And for-

A merie storie concerning the strict kéeping of the ladie Elizabeth.

The strictnes of sir Henrie Benefield merilie noted.

somuch

somuch as I being the quéens subiect, and perceiuing the strict charge committed to you of hir keeping, that no stranger should haue accesse to hir without sufficient licence, I haue here found a stranger (what he is I can not tell) in place where hir grace was walking: and therefore for the necessarie discharge of my dutie, I thought it good to bring the said stranger to you, to examine as you sée cause: and so he set him downe. At which his words sir Henrie séemed much displeased, and said: Well, well, you will neuer leaue this geare I sée: and so they departed.

Now to return to the matter from whence we haue digressed. After hir grace had beene there a time she made sute to the councell that she might be suffered to write to the queene, which at last was permitted. So that sir Henrie Benefield brought hir pen, inke, and paper; and standing by hir while she wrote (which he strictlie obserued) alwaies she being wearie, he would carie awaie hir letters, and bring them againe when she called for them. In the finishing thereof, he would haue béene messenger to the quéene of the same. Whose request hir grace denied, saieng one of hir owne men should carie them, and that she would neither trust him nor none of his therein. Then he answering againe said; None of them durst be so bold (he trowed) to carie hir letters, being in that case. Yes (quoth she) I am assured I haue none so dishonest that would denie my request in that behalfe, but will be as willing to serue me, now as before. Well (said he) my commission is to the contrarie, and I maie not so suffer it. Hir grace replieng againe said; You charge me verie often with your commission, I praie God you maie iustlie answer the cruell dealing you vse towards me.

The cruell dealing of sir Henrie Benefield to the ladie Elizabeth reproued.

Then he knéeling downe, desired hir grace to thinke and consider how he was a seruant, and put in trust there by the quéene to serue hir maiestie, protesting that if the case were hirs, he would as willinglie serue hir grace, as now he did the quéenes highnesse. For the which his answer hir grace thanked him, desiring God that she might neuer haue need of such seruants as he was; declaring further to him, that his doings towards hir were not good nor answerable, but more than all the friends he had would stand by. To whom sir Henrie replied and said, that there was no remedie but his doings must be answered, and so they should, trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moued hir grace so to saie, was for that he would not permit hir letters to be caried foure or fiue daies after the writing thereof. But in fine he was content to send for hir gentleman from the towne of Woodstocke, demanding of him whether he durst enterprise the cariage of hir graces letters to the quéene or no. And he answered; Yea sir, that I dare, and will with all my hart. Wherevpon sir Henrie halfe against his stomach tooke them vnto him. Then about the eight of Iune came downe doctor Owen and doctor Wendie, sent by the quéene to hir grace, for that she was sicklie; who ministring to hir, and letting hir bloud, tarried there and attended on hir grace fiue or six daies. Then she being well amended, they returned againe to the court, making their good report to the quéene and the councell of hir graces behauior and humblenesse towards the quéenes highnesse. Which hir maiestie hearing, tooke verie thankfullie: but the bishops thereat repined, looked blacke in the mouth, and told the quéene they maruelled that she submitted not hir selfe to hir maiesties mercie, considering that she had offended hir highnesse.

The letters of the ladie Elizabeth sent to the quéene.

Doctor Owen and doctor Wendie quéen Maries physicians sent to the ladie Elizabeth.

The popish prelats repined against the ladie Elizabeth.

About this time hir grace was requested by a secret friend, to submit hir selfe to the quéenes maiestie, which would be verie well taken, and to hir great quiet and commoditie. Vnto whome she answered, that she would neuer submit hir selfe to them whome she neuer offended. For (quoth shée) if I haue offended and am guiltie, I then craue no mercie, but the law, which I am certeine (quoth she) I should haue had yer this, if it could be prooued by me. For I know my selfe (I thanke God) to be out of the danger thereof, wishing that I were as cleare out of the

Ladie Elizabeth requested to submit hir selfe to the quéene.

perill of mine enimies, and then I am assured I should not so be locked and bolted vp within wals and doores as I am. God giue them a better mind when it pleaseth him. About this time was there a great consulting among the bishops and gentlemen touching a marriage for hir grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some stranger, that she might go out of the realme with hir portion; some saieng one thing, and some another.

Counsel of the papists to marrie the ladie Elizabeth to a Spaniard.

A lord (who shall be here namelesse) being there at last said, that the king should neuer haue anie quiet common wealth in England, vnlesse hir head were stricken from the shoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards answered saieng; God forbid that the king and maister should haue that mind to consent to such a mischéefe. This was the courteous answer of the Spaniards to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their owne countrie. From that daie the Spaniards neuer left off their good persuasions to the king, that the like honor he should neuer obteine, as he should in deliuering the ladie Elizabeths grace out of prison; whereby at length she was happilie released from the same. Here is a plaine and euident example of the good clemencie and nature of the king and his councellors towards hir grace (praised be God therefore) who mooued their harts therein. Then herevpon she was sent for shortlie after to come to Hampton court.

Wicked counsell giuen of the Lord Paget against the ladie Elizabeth.

Spaniards more fauourable to ladie Elizabeth than some Englishmen.

But before hir remouing awaie from Woodstocke, we will a little staie to declare in what dangers hir life was during this time she there remained. First thorough fire, which began to kindle betwéene the boords and séeling vnder the chamber where she laie, whether by a sparke of fire, gotten into a craine, or whether of purpose by some that meant hir no good, the Lord dooth know. Neuerthelesse a worshipfull knight of Oxfordshire, which was there ioined the same time with sir Henrie Benefield in kéeping that ladie (who then tooke vp the boords and quenched the fire) verelie supposed it to be doone of purpose. Furthermore it is thought, and also affirmed (if it be true) of one Paule Penie a keeper of Woodstocke, a notorious ruffian and a butcherlie wretch, that he was appointed to kill the said ladie Elizabeth, who both saw the man being often in hir sight, and also knew thereof.

Ladie Elizabeth in danger of fire.

Ladie Elizabeth in danger of killing.

Another time one of the priuie chamber, a great man about the queene, and chiefe darling of Stephan Gardiner, named maister Iames Basset came to Blandenbrige a mile from Woodstocke, with twentie or thirtie priuie cotes, and sent for sir Henrie Benefield to come and speake with him. But as God would, which disposed all things after the purpose of his owne will; so it happened, that a little before the said sir Henrie Benefield was sent for by post to the councell, leauing strict word behind him with his brother, that no man whatsoeuer he were, though comming with a bill of the queenes hand, or anie other warrant, should haue accesse to hir before his returne againe. By reason whereof it so fell out, that maister Benefields brother comming to him at the bridge, would suffer him in no case approch in, who otherwise (as is supposed) was appointed violentlie to murther the innocent ladie.

Another conspiracie of murther against ladie Elizabeth.

In the life of Stephan Gardiner we declared before, how that the ladie Elizabeth, being in the tower, a writ came downe subscribed with certeine hands of the councell for hir execution. Which if it were certeine (as it is reported) Winchester (no dout) was deuiser of that mischéefous drift. And doubtlesse the same Achitophell had brought his impious purpose that day to passe, had not the fatherlie prouidence of almightie God (who is euer stronger than the diuell) stirred vp master Bridges lieutenant at that time of the tower, to come in hast to the quéene, to giue certificat therof, and to know further hir consent touching hir sisters death. Wherupon it folowed, that all that deuise was disappointed, and Winchesters diuelish platforme which he said he had cast, thorough the Lords great goodnes came to no effect. Where moreouer is to be noted, that during the prisonment of this ladie and princesse, one maister Edmund Tremaine was on the racke, and maister Smithwike, and

Ladie Elizabeth preserued by the lords prouidence from execution in the tower.

Winchesters platforme ouerthrowne.

diuerse other in the tower were examined, and diuerse offers made to them to accuse the giltlesse ladie, being in hir captiuitie. Howbeit all that notwithstanding, no matter could be prooued by all examinations, as she the same time lieng at Woodstocke had certeine intelligence, by the meanes of one Iohn Gaier, who vnder a colorable pretense of a letter vnto mistresse Cleue from hir father, was let in, and so gaue them secretlie to vnderstand of all this matter. Whereupon the ladie Elizabeth at hir departing out from Woodstocke, wrote these verses with hir diamond in a glasse window verie legiblie as here followeth:

Much suspected by me,
Nothing prooued can be:
Quoth Elizabeth prisoner.

Verses written by ladie Elizabeth in the glasse window.

And thus much touching the troubles of ladie Elisabeth at Woodstocke. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the lord of Tame had labored to the quéene, and became suretie for hir, to haue hir from Woodstocke to his house, and had obteined grant thereof. Whereupon preparation was made accordinglie, and all things readie in expectation of hir comming. But through the procurement either of maister Benefield, or by the dooing of Winchester hir mortall enimie, letters came ouer night to the contrarie: whereby hir iornie was stopped. Thus this woorthie ladie oppressed with continuall sorrow, could not be permitted to haue recourse to anie friends she had; but still in the hands of hir enimies was left desolate, and vtterlie destitute of all that might refresh a dolfull hart, fraught full of terror and thraldome. Whereupon no maruell, if she hearing vpon a time out of hir garden at Woodstocke, a certeine milkmaid singing pleasantlie, wished hir selfe to be a milkemaid as she was, saieng that hir case was better, and life more merier than was hirs in that state as she was.

Ladie Elizabeth not suffered to come to the lord of Tames house.

Ladie Elizabeth wisheth hir selfe to be a milkemaid.

Now after these things thus declared, to procéed further where we left before, sir Henrie Benefield and his soldiors, with the lord of Tame, and sir Kafe Chamberleine, garding and waiting vpon hir, the first night from Woodstocke she came to Ricot. In which iourneie such a mightie wind did blow, that hir seruants were faine to hold down hir clothes about hir: in so much that hir hood was twise or thrise blowen from hir head. Whereupon she desirous to returne to a certeine gentlemans house there néere, could not be suffered by sir Henrie Benefield so to doo: but was constreined vnder an hedge to trim hir head as well as she could. After this, the next night they iourneied to maister Dormers, and so to Colbrooke, where she laie all that night at the George: and by the waie comming to Colbrooke, certeine of hir graces gentlemen and yeomen met hir to the number of three score, much to all their comforts, which had not séene hir grace of long season before: notwithstanding they were commanded in the quéenes name immediatlie to depart the towne, to both their and hir graces no little heauinesse, who could not be suffered once to speake with them. So that night all hir men were taken from hir sauing hir gentleman vsher, three gentlewomen, two groomes, and one of hir wardrobe, the soldiors watching and warding about the house, and she close shut vp within hir prison.

Ladie Elizabeth remooued from Woodstocke to Hampton court.

The next daie following, hir grace entred Hampton court on the backeside, into the princes lodging, the doores being shut to hir: and she garded with soldiors, as before, laie there a fortnight at the least, yet euer anie had recourse vnto hir. At length came the lord William Howard, who maruellous honourablie vsed hir grace. Wherat she tooke much comfort, and requested him to be a meane that she might speake with some of the councell. To whome (not long after) came the bishop of Winchester, the lord of Arundell, the lord of Shrewsburie, and secretarie Peter, who with great humilitie humbled themselues vnto hir grace. She againe likewise saluting

Lord William Howard gentle and fauourable to ladie Elizabeth.

ing them, said: My lords (quoth she) I am glad to sée you: for me thinke I haue béene kept a great while from you desolatelie alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a meane to the king and quéenes maiesties, that I maie be deliuered from prison, wherein I haue beene kept a long space, as to you my lords it is not unknowne.

Ladie Elisabeth requested by Winchester to submit hir selfe to the quéenes mercie.

When she had spoken, Stephan Gardiner the bishop of Winchester kneeled downe, and requested that she would submit hir selfe to the quéenes grace, and in so dooing he had no doubt but that hir maiestie would be good vnto hir. She making answer that rather than she would so doo, she would lie in prison all the daies of hir life, adding that she craued no mercie at hir maiesties hand, but rather desired the law, if euer she did offend hir maiestie in thought, word, or déed. And besides this, in yéelding (quoth she) I should speake against my selfe, and confesse my selfe to be an offendor, which neuer was towards hir maiestie: by occasion whereof the king and the quéene might euer hereafter conceiue of me an ill opinion: and therefore I saie my lords, it were better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected of my prince. And so they departed promising to declare hir message to the quéene.

Ladie Elisabeth standeth to be tried by the law.

Talke againe betwéene Winchester and ladie Elisabeth.

On the next daie the bishop of Winchester came againe vnto hir grace, and knéeling downe, declared that the quéene maruelled that she would so stoutlie vse hir selfe, not confessing to haue offended: so that it should séeme the quéenes maiestie wrongfullie to haue imprisoned hir grace. Naie (quoth the ladie Elisabeth) it pleaseth hir to punish me as she thinketh good. Well quoth Gardiner, hir maiestie willeth me to tell you, that you must tell an other tale yer that you be set libertie. Hir grace answered, that she had as léefe be in prison with honestie and truth, as to be abroad suspected of hir maiestie: and this that I haue said, I will (said she) stand vnto, for I will neuer béelie my selfe. Winchester againe knéeled down and said: Then your grace hath the vantage of me and other the lords for your long and wrong imprisonment. What vantage I haue (quoth she) you know, taking God to record I seeke no vantage at your hands for your so dealing with me, but God forgiue you and me also. With that the rest kneeled, desiring hir grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, she being fast locked vp againe. A seauen nights after, the quéene sent for hir grace at ten of the clocke in the night to speake with hir: for she had not séene hir in two yeares before. Yet for all that she was amazed at the sudden sending for, thinking it had béene woorse than afterwards it prooued, and desired hir gentlemen and gentlewomen to praie for hir, for that she could not tell whether euer she should sée them againe or no.

Ladie Elisabeth denied to confesse anie fault doone to the quéene.

Ladie Elisabeth sent for to the quéene.

Ladie Elisabeth brought to the queenes bedchamber.

At which time sir Henrie Benefield with mistresse Clarencius comming in, hir grace was brought into the garden vnto a staires foot that went into the quéenes lodging, hir graces gentlewomen waiting vpon hir, hir gentleman vsher and hir groomes going before with torches, where hir gentlemen and gentlewomen being commanded to staie all sauing one woman, mistresse Clarencius conducted hir to the queenes bedchamber where hir maiestie was. At the sight of whome hir grace knéeled downe, and desired God to preserue hir maiestie, not mistrusting but that she should trie hir selfe as true a subiect towards hir maiestie, as euer did anie, and desired hir maiestie euen so to iudge of hir: and said that she should not find hir to the contrarie, whatsoeuer report otherwise had gone of hir. To whome the quéene answered: You will not confesse your offense, but stand stoutlie to your truth: I praie God it maie so fall out. If it dooth not, quoth the ladie Elisabeth, I request neither fauour nor pardon at your maiesties hands. Well said the quéene, you stiflie still perseuere in your truth. Belike you will not confesse but that you haue béene wrongfullie punished. I must not saie so (if it please your maiestie) to you.

Talke betwéene the quéene and ladie Elisabeth.

Why then (said the queene) belike you will to others. No, if it please your maiestie (quoth she) I haue borne the burthen, and must beare it; I humblie beséech your maiestie to haue a good opinion of me, and to thinke me to be your true subiect, not onelie from the beginning hitherto, but for euer, as long as life lasteth: and so they departed with verie few comfortable words of the queene, in English: but what she said in Spanish, God knoweth. It is thought that king Philip was there behind a cloth, and not séene, and that he shewed himselfe a verie friend in that matter, &c. Thus hir grace departing, went vnto hir lodging againe, and the seauenth night after was released of sir Henrie Benefield hir gailor (as she tearmed him) and his soldiors, and so hir grace being set at libertie from imprisonment, went into the countrie, and had appointed to go with hir sir Thomas Pope, one of quéene Maries councellors, and one of hir gentlemen vshers, master Gage, and thus strictlie was she looked vnto all quéene Maries time. And this is the discourse of hir highnesse imprisonment.

Small comfort at the quéenes hand toward hir sister.

King Philip thought to be a friend to ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth by Gods prouidence set at libertie.

Sir Henrie Benefield discharged.

Then there came to Lamheire, master Gerningham, and master Noris, gentleman vsher, quéene Maries men, who tooke awaie from hir grace mistresse Ashleie to the Fléet, and thrée other of hir gentlewomen to the tower: which thing was no little trouble to hir grace, saieng: that she thought they would fetch all awaie at the end. But God be praised, shortlie after was fetched awaie Gardiner thorough the mercifull prouidence of the Lords goodnesse, by occasion of whose opportune deceasse (as is partlie touched in this storie before,) the life of this excellent princesse, the wealth of all England, was preserued. For this is crediblie to be supposed, that the said wicked Gardiner of Winchester had long laboured his wits, and to this onelie most principall marke bent all his deuises, to bring this our happie and deere souereigne out of the waie, as both by his words and doings before notified maie sufficientlie appeare.

Mistresse Ashleie sent to the Fléet.

Thrée gentlewomen of ladie Elisabeths sent to the tower.

Note the wonderfull working of the Lords prouidence in sauing of ladie Elisabeth.

Ladie Elisabeth deliuered by the death of Stephan Gardiner.

But such was the gratious and fauourable prouidence of the Lord, to the preseruation not onelie of hir roiall maiestie, but also the miserable and wofull state of this whole Iland, and poore subiects of the same, whereby the proud platforms and péeuish practices of this wretched Achitophell preuailed not: but contrariwise, both he, and all the snares and traps of his pernicious councell laid against an other, were turned to a net to catch himselfe, according to the prouerbe: Malum consilium consultori pessimum. After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death also and dropping awaie of other hir enimies, whereby by little and little hir ieopardie decreased, feare diminished, hope of comfort began to appeare as out of a darke cloude. And albeitas yet hir grace had no full assurance of perfect safetie, yet more gentle interteinement dailie did grow vnto hir, till at length to the moneth of Nouember, and seauentéenth daie of the same, three yeares after the death of Stephan Gardiner, followed the death of quéene Marie, as heretofore at large hath béene truelie declared. Although this historie following be not directlie apperteining to the former matter, yet the same maie here not vnaptlie be inserted, for that it doth discouer and shew foorth the malicious hearts of the papists towards this vertuous quéene our souereigne ladie in the time of queene Marie hir sister, which is reported as a truth crediblie told by sundrie honest persons, of whome some are yet aliue, and doo testifie the same. The matter whereof is this.

How the Lord here began to worke for ladie Elisabeth.

A note of a storie declaring the malignant harts of the papists towards ladie Elisabeth.

Soone after the stirre of Wiat and the troubles that happened to this queene for that cause: it fortuned one Robert Farrer a haberdasher of London, dwelling neere vnto Newgate market, in a certeine morning to be at the Rose tauerne (from whence he was seldome absent) and falling to his common drinke, as he was euer accustomed, and hauing in his companie thrée other companions like vnto himselfe, it chanced the same time one Laurence Shiriffe grocer, dwelling also not farre from thence, to come into the said tauerne, and finding there the said Farrer

Rober Farrer of London a sore enimie to ladie Elisabeth.

Laurence Shiriffe, sworne friend and ser-

(to

uant to ladie Elisabeth his mistresse.

(to whome of long time he had borne good will) sat downe in the seat to drinke with him, and Farrer hauing in his full cups, and not hauing consideration who were present began to talke at large, and namelie against the ladie Elisabeth, and said: That gill hath béene one of the chiefe dooers of this rebellion of Wiat, and before all be doone, she and all the heritikes hir partakers shall well vnderstand of it. Some of them hope that she shall haue the crowne, but she and they (I trust) that so hope, shall hop headlesse, or be fried with fagots before she come to it.

Robert Farrer raileth against ladie Elisabeth.

The part of a good trustie seruant.

The aforesaid Laurence Shiriffe grocer, being then seruant vnto the said ladie Elisabeth, and sworne vnto hir grace, could no longer forbeare his old acquaintance and neighbor Farrer in speaking so vnreuerentlie of his mistresse, but said to him: Farrer, I haue loued thée as a neighbour, and haue had a good opinion of thée, but hearing of thée that I now heare, I defie thée: and I tell thée I am hir graces sworne seruant, and she is a princesse, and the daughter of a noble king, and it euill becommeth thée to call hir a gill, and for thy so saieng, I saie thou art a knaue, and I will complaine vpon thée. Doo thy woorst said Farrer, for that I said, I will saie againe: and so Shiriffe came from his companie. Shortlie after, the said Shiriffe taking an honest neighbour with him, went before the commissioners to complaine: the which commissioners sat then at Boner the bishop Londons house beside Paules, and there were present Boner then being the chiefe commissioner, the lord Mordant, sir Iohn Baker, doctor Derbishire, chancellor to the bishop, doctor *Storie, doctor Harpsfield, and others. The aforesaid Shiriffe comming before them, declared the maner of the said Robert Farrers talke against the ladie Elisabeth. Boner answered, Peraduenture you tooke him woorse than he meant. Yea my lord (said doctor Storie) if you knew the man as I doo, you would saie that there is not a better catholike, nor an honester man in the citie of London.

Robert Farrer complained of to the commissioners, but no redresse was had.

*A knaue.

Well, said Shiriffe, my lord, she is my gratious ladie and mistresse, and it is not to be suffered that such a varlet as he is, should call so honorable a princesse by the name of a gill: and I saw yesterdaie in the court that my lord cardinall Poole méeting hir in the chamber of presence, knéeled downe on his knées and kissed hir hand: and I saw also that king Philip méeting hir, made hir such obeisance that his knée touched the ground: and then (me thinketh) it were too much to suffer such a varlet as this is, to call hir gill, and to wish them to hop headlesse that shall wish hir grace to inioie the possession of the crowne when God shall send it vnto hir as in the right of hir inheritance. Yea! Staie there (quoth Boner.) When God sendeth it vnto hir, let hir inioie it. But trulie (said he) the man that spake the words that you haue reported, meant nothing against the ladie Elisabeth your mistresse, and no more doo we: but he like an honest and zealous man feared the alteration of religion, which euerie good man ought to feare: and therefore (said Boner) good man go your waies home and report well of vs towards your mistresse, and we will send for Farrer and rebuke him for his rash and vndiscréet words, and we trust he will not doo the like againe. And thus Shiriffe came awaie, and Farrer had a flap with a fox taile. Now that ye maie be fullie informed of the aforesaid Farrer, whome doctor Storie praised for so good a man, ye shall vnderstand that the same Farrer, hauing two daughters, being handsome maidens, the elder of them for a summe of monie he himselfe deliuered vnto sir Richard Cholmleie to be at his commandement; the other he sold to a knight called sir William Gooddolphin to be at his commandement: whome he made his lackie and so carried hir with him, being apparelled in mans apparell to Bullongne, and the said Farrer followed the campe. He also was a great and horrible blaphemer of God, and a common accuser of honest and quiet men, also a common drunkard. And now I referre the life of these catholiks to your iudgement, to thinke of them as you please.

How bishop Boner and doctor Storie bear with him that railed against ladie Elisabeth.

Note the vngodlie life of these catholikes.

But

But of this matter enough and too much. Now let vs returne where we left before, which was at the death of queene Marie. After whose deceasse succéeded hir foresaid sister ladie Elisabeth into the right of the crowne of England: who after so long restreinement, so great dangers escaped, such blusterous stormes ouerblowne, so manie iniuries digested and wrongs susteined by the mightie protection of our mercifull God, to our no small comfort and commoditie, hath béene exalted and erected out of thrall to libertie, out of danger to peace and quietnesse, from dread to dignitie, from miserie to maiestie, from mourning to ruling; brieflie, of a prisonner made a princesse, and placed in hir throne roiall, proclamed now quéene, with as manie glad hearts of hir subiects, as euer was anie king or queene in this realme before hir, or euer shall be (I dare saie) hereafter. Touching whose florishing state, hir princelie reigne and peaceable gouernment, with other things diuerse and sundrie incident to the same, and especiallie touching the great stirres and alterations which haue happened in other forren nations, and also partlie among our selues here at home, forsomuch as the tractation hereof requireth an huge volume by it selfe, I shall therefore deferre the reader to the next booke or section insuing: wherein (if the Lord so please to susteine me with leaue and life) I maie haue to discourse of all and singular such matters doone and atchiued in these our latter daies and memorie, more at large.

Ladie Elisabeth proclamed quéene the same daie that quéene Marie died.

The Lord make England thankefull to him for his great benefits.

He meaneth his owne worke; not this volume or anie part thereof.

Now then after these so great afflictions falling vpon this realme from the first beginning of quéene Maries reigne, wherein so manie men, women, and children were burned, manie imprisoned and in prisons starued, diuerse exiled, some spoiled of goods and possessions, a great number driuen from house to home, so manie weeping eies, so manie sobbing harts, so manie children made fatherlesse, so manie fathers bereft of their wiues and children, so manie vexed in conscience, and diuerse against conscience constreined to recant; and in conclusion, neuer a good man almost in all the realme but suffered something during all the time of this bloudie persecution: after all this (I saie) now we are come at length (the Lord be praised) to the seuentéenth of Nouember, which daie as it brought to the persecuted members of Christ, rest from their carefull mourning, so it easeth me somewhat likewise of my laborious writing, by the death I meane of quéene Marie, who being long sicke before vpon the said seuenteenth daie of Nouember, in the yeare aboue said, about thrée or foure of the clocke in the morning, yéelded hir life to nature, and hir kingdome to quéene Elisabeth hir sister.

Nouemb 17. quéene Marie endeth.

Quéene Elisabeth beginneth hir reigne.

As touching the maner of whose death, some saie that she died of a timpanie, some by hir much sighing before hir death supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Wherevpon hir councell seeing hir sighing, and desirous to know the cause, to the end they might minister the more readie consolation vnto hir, feared (as they said) that she tooke some thought for the kings maiestie hir husband, which was gone from hir. To whome she answering againe; In deed (said she) that maie be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pearseth mine oppressed mind: but what that was she would not expresse to them. Albeit afterward she opened the matter more plainlie to mistresse Rise and mistresse Clarentius (if it be true that they told me, which heard it of mistresse Rise hirselfe) who then being most familiar with hir, and most bold about hir told hir that they feared she tooke thought for king Philips departing from hir. Not that onelie (said she) but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calis lieng in my hart, &c. Which one supposing to be true, hath left this report:

The maner of quéene Maries death.

Q. Marie tooke thought for the losse of Calis.

Hispani* oppidulo amisso contabuit vxor,
Quam cruciatu ægro confecerat anxia cura.

* Caleto.

And here an end of quéene Marie, and of hir persecution, during the time of hir misgouernment. Of which quéene this trulie may be affirmed and left in storie for a perpetuall memoriall or epitaph for all kings and quéenes that shall succéed hir to be noted, that before hir neuer was read in storie of anie king or quéene of England since the time of king Lucius, vnder whom in time of peace, by hanging, heading, burning, and prisoning: so much christian bloud, so manie Englishmens liues were spilled within this realme, as vnder the said quéene Marie for the space of foure yeares was to be séene, and I beseech the Lord neuer may be séene hereafter.

More English bloud spilled in quéene Maries time, than euer was in anie kings reigne before hir.

Now, for so much as quéene Marie, during all the time of hir reigne, was such a vehement aduersarie and persecutor against the sincére professors of Christ Iesus and his gospell: for the which there be manie which doo highlie magnifie and approue hir dooings therein, reputing hir religion to be sound and catholike, and hir procéedings to be most acceptable and blessed of almightie God: to the intent therefore that all men may vnderstand, how the blessing of the Lord God did not onelie not procéed with hir proceedings; but contrarie, rather how his manifest displeasure euer wrought against hir, in plaging both hir and hir realme, and in subuerting all hir counsels and attempts, what soeuer she tooke in hand: we will bestow a little time therein, to perpend and surueie the whole course of hir dooings and cheuances: and consider what successe she had in the same. Which being well considered, we shall find neuer no reigne of anie prince in this land, or anie other, which had euer to shew in it (for the proportion of time) so manie arguments of Gods great wrath and displeasure, as was to be séene in the reigne of this queene Marie, whether we behold the shortnesse of hir time, or the vnfortunate euent of all hir purposes? Who séemed neuer to purpose anie thing that came luckilie to passe, neither did anie thing frame to hir purpose, what soeuer she tooke in hand touching hir owne priuat affaires.

The reigne of quéene Marie how vnprosperous it was both to hir and hir realme in all respects.

Quéene Marie neuer had good successe in anie thing she went about.

Of good kings we read in the scripture, in shewing mercie and pitie, in seeking Gods will in his word, and subuerting the monuments of idolatrie, how God blessed their waies, increased their honors, and mightilie prospered all their procéedings: as we sée in king Dauid, Salomon, Iosias, Iosophat, Ezechias, with such others. Manasses made the stréets of Hierusalem to swim with the bloud of his subiects, but what came of it the text dooth testifie. Of quéene Elisabeth, which now reigneth among vs, this we must néeds saie, which we sée, that she in sparing the bloud, not onelie of Gods seruants, but also of Gods enemies, hath doubled now the reigne of quéene Marie hir sister with such aboundance of peace and prosperitie, that it is hard to saie, whether the realme of England felt more of Gods wrath in queene Maries time, or of Gods fauour and mercie in these so blessed and peaceable daies of queene Elisabeth.

A good king alwaie maketh a flourishing realme.

Comparison betweene the reigne of Q. Marie and quéene Elisabeth.

Gamaliell speaking his mind in the councell of the Phariseis concerning Christes religion, gaue this reason, that if it were of God, it should continue, who soeuer said naie: if it were not, it could not stand. So may it be said of quéene Marie and hir Romish religion, that if it were so perfect and catholike as they pretend, and the contrarie faith of the Gospellers were so detestable and hereticall as they make it, how commeth it then, that this so catholike a quéene, such a necessarie piller of his spouse the church continued no longer, till she had vtterlie rooted out of the land this hereticall generation? Yea how chanced it rather, that almightie God, to spare these poore heretikes, rooted out quéene Marie so soone from hir throne, after she had reigned but onelie fiue yeares and fiue moneths?

Gamaliels reason. Acts. 5.

Now furthermore, how God blessed hir waies and indeauors in the meane time while she thus persecuted the true seruants of God, remaineth to be discussed. Where first this is to be noted, that when she first began to stand for the title of the crowne, and yet had wrought no resistance against Christ and his gospell, but had

Quéene Marie prospered so long as she went not against the Lord.

had promised hir faith to the Suffolke men, to mainteine the religion left by king Edward hir brother, so long God went with hir, aduanced hir, and by the means of the gospellers brought hir to the possession of the realme. But after that she breaking hir promise with God and man, began to take part with Stephan Gardiner, and had giuen ouer hir supremasie vnto the pope, by and by Gods blessing left hir, neither did anie thing well thriue with hir afterward during the whole time of hir regiment. For first incontinentlie the fairest and greatest ship she had, called great Harrie, was burned: such a vessell as in all these parts of all Europe was not to be matched.

Q. Maries promise to the gospellers broken.

The ship called the great Harrie burned.

Then would she need bring in king Philip, and by hir strange marriage with him, make the whole realme of England subiect vnto a stranger. And all that notwithstanding, either that she did or was able to doo, she could not bring to passe to set the crowne of England vpon his head. With king Philip also came in the pope and his popish masse: with whome also hir purpose to restore againe the monks and nunnes vnto their places, neither lacked there all kind of attempts to the vttermost of hir abilitie: and yet therein also God stopt hir of hir will, that it came not forward. After this, what a dearth happened in hir time here in hir land the like wherof hath not lightlie in England béene seene, in so much that in sundrie places hir poore subiects were faine to féed of acorns for want of corne?

Q. Maries marriage with a stranger.

Q. Marie disappointed of hir purpose in crowning king Philip.

Q. Marie stopped of hir will in restoring abbeie lands.

Furthermore, where other kings are woont to be renowmed by some worthie victorie and prowesse by them atchiued, let vs now sée what valiant victorie was gotton in quéene Maries daies. King Edward the sixt hir blessed brother, how manie rebellions did he suppresse in Deuonshire, in Norffolke, in Oxfordshire, and elsewhere? What a famous victorie in his time was gotten in Scotland, by the singular working (no doubt) of Gods blessed hand rather than by anie expectation of man? King Edward the third (which was the eleuenth king from the conquest) by princelie puissance purchased Calis vnto England which hath beene kept English euer since, till at length came quéene Marie, the eleuenth likewise from the said king Edward, which lost Calis from England againe: so that the winnings of this quéene were verie small; what the losses were, let other men iudge.

The victorie of king Edward the sixt in Scotland.

The ill lucke of Q. Marie in losing of Calis.

The eleuenth king from the conquest got Calis, and the eleuenth againe after him lost it

Hitherto the affaires of quéene Marie haue had no great good successe, as you haue heard. But neuer worsse successe had anie woman, than had she in hir childbirth. For séeing one of these two must néeds be granted, that either she was with child or not with child; if she were with child and did trauell, why was it not séene? if she were not, how was all the realme deluded? And in the meane while where were all the praiers, the solemne processions, the deuout masses of the catholike cleargie? Why did they not preuaile with God, if their religion were so godlie as they pretended? If their masses Ex opere operato be able to fetch Christ from heauen, and to reach downe to purgatorie, how chanced then they could not reach to the quéenes chamber, to helpe hir in hir trauell, if she had béene with child in déed? If not how then came it to passe, that all the catholike church of England did so erre, and was so décpelié deceiued? Quéene Marie, after these manifold plagues and corrections, which might sufficientlie admonish hir of Gods disfauor prouoked against hir, would not yet ceasse hir persecution, but still continued more and more to reuenge hir catholike zeale vpon the lords faithfull people, setting fire to their poore bodies by dozens and halfe dozens together. Wherevpon Gods wrathfull indignation increasing more and more against hir, ceassed not to touch hir more neare with priuat misfortunes and calamities.

The ill lucke of quéene Marie in hir childbirth.

For after that he had taken from hir the fruit of children (which chiefle and aboue all things she desired) then he bereft hir of that, which of all earthlie things should haue beene hir chiefe staie of honour, and staffe of comfort; that is, withdrew from hir the affection and companie euen of hir owne husband, by

Q. Marie left desolate of K. Philip hir husband.

whose mariage she had promised before to hirselfe whole heapes of such ioy and felicitie. But now the omnipotent gouernour of all things, so turned the wheele of hir owne spinning against hir, that hir high buildings of such ioies and felicities came all to a castell come downe, hir hopes being confounded, hir purposes disappointed, and she now brought to desolation: who seemed neither to haue the fauour of God, nor the hearts of hir subiects, nor yet the loue of hir husband: who neither had fruit by him while shee had him, neither could now inioie him whome she had maried, neither yet was in libertie to marrie anie other whome she might inioie. Marke here (christian reader) the wofull aduersitie of this queene, and learne withall, what the Lord can doo when mans wilfulnes will néeds resist him, and will not be ruled.

The ill lucke of Q. Marie with hir husband.

At last, when all these faire admonitions would take no place with the queene, nor mooue hir to reuoke hir bloudie lawes, nor to staie the tyrannie of hir priests, nor yet to spare hir owne subiects; but that the poore seruants of God were drawne dailie by heapes most pittifullie as sheepe to the slaughter, it so pleased the heauenlie maiestie of almightie God, when no other remedie would serue, by death to cut hir off, which in hir life so little regarded the life of others: giuing hir throne, which she abused to the destruction of Christs church and people, to another who more temperatlie and quietlie could guide the same, after she had reigned here the space of fiue yeares and fiue moneths. The shortnesse of which yeares and reigne, vneth we find in anie other storie of king or quéene since the conquest or before (being come to their owne gouernment) saue onelie in king Richard the third. Which reigne was so rough and rigorous, notwithstanding the shortnesse of the same, that it became a verie spectacle to all christendome; and the maner of dealing vsed vnder hir gouernment was so detestable, that as it was rare, so it raised vp a rare report, euen among strangers, whose heads being fuller of matter than their pens full of inke, wrote in tearmes brode inough of the tumults and slaughters happening in hir vnhappie daies: among whome I will set downe for a saie a few verses drawne out of an hundred and od, presented to Henrie the French king of that name the second, touching the conquest of Calis, whereat for ioy the French were rauished. Thus therefore he saith:

The finall end and death of Q. Marie.

Q. Marie reigned fiue yeares and fiue moneths.

The shortnes of Q. Maries reigne noted.

Ex Simone Schardio de capto Caleto, pag. 1968.

Regina pacem nescia perpeti,
Iam spreta mœret fœdera, iam Dei
Iram pauet sibi imminentem,
Vindicis & furiæ flagellum.
Ciues & hostes iam pariter suos
Odit pauétque & ciuium & hostium
Hirudo communis, cruorem
Aequè auidè sitiens vtrúnque.
Huic luce terror Martius assonat,
Diræque cædis mens sibi cõscia,
Vmbræque nocturnæ quietem
Terrificis agitant figuris.

These short verses were thus subscribed. La. B. Te.

And thus much here, as in the closing vp of this storie, I thought to insinuat, touching the vnlucky and rufull reigne of quéene Marie: not for anie detraction to hir place and state roiall, wherevnto shee was called of the Lord: but to this onelie intent and effect, that forsomuch as she would needs set hirselfe so confidentlie to worke and striue against the Lord and his proceedings, all readers and rulers not onelie maie sée how the Lord did worke against hir therefore, but also

An admonition to all christian rulers.

by

by hir maie be aduertised and learne what a perillous thing it is for men and women in authoritie, vpon blind zeale and opinion, to stirre vp persecution in Christs church, to the effusion of christian bloud, least it prooue in the end with them (as it did here) that while they thinke to persecute heretikes, they stumble at the same stone as did the Iewes in persecuting Christ and his true members to death, to their owne confusion and destruction.]

Leauing quéene Marie being dead and gone, you are to vnderstand and note, that the same euening, or (as some haue written) the next daie after the said quéens death, Cardinall Poole the bishop of Romes legat departed out of this life, hauing béene not long afore made archbishop of Canturburie: he died at his house ouer against Westminster commonlie called Lambeth, and was buried in Christs church at Canturburie. This cardinall was descended of the noble house of Clarence that is to saie, of one of the yoonger sonnes of Magaret countesse of Salisburie, daughter of George duke of Clarence, brother to K. Edward the fourth. ¶ So that hereby you haue a proofe of the noblenesse of his birth, but how barbarous he was of behauiour, and how vnnaturall in the course of his life (which blemished the honour of his descent) it maie appeare by the order and maner of his visitation in Cambridge, with the condemning, taking vp, and burning both the bones and bookes of Bucer and Paulus Phagius, as also by the despitefull handling and madnesse of the papists towards Peter Martyrs wife at Oxford, taken vp from hir graue at the commandement of the said cardinall, and after buried in a dunghill: so that in his actions he shewed himselfe (as he is noted) earnest in burning the bodies of the dead. And for further testimonie of his crueltie, it shall not be impertinent out of maister Fox, here to adioine and set forth to the eies of the world, the blind and bloudie articles set out by cardinall Poole, to be inquired vpon within his dioces of Canturburie. Whereby it maie the better appeare what yokes and snares of fond and fruitlesse traditions were laid vpon the poore flocke of Christ, to intangle and oppresse them with losse of life and libertie. By the which wise men haue to sée what godlie fruits proceeded from that catholike church and see of Rome. In which albeit thou seest (good reader) some good articles insparsed withall, let that nothing mooue thée: for else how could such poison be ministred, but it must haue some honie to relish the readers tast?

The death of cardinall Poole.

The description of cardinall Poole. Abr. Fl. ex l. F. martyrologio.

Cardinall Poole earnest in burning the bones of the dead.

HERE FOLLOW THE ARTICLES SET FORTH BY CARDINALL POOLE,

TO BE INQUIRED IN HIS ORDINARIE VISITATION, WITHIN HIS DIOCES OF CANTURBURIE.

TOUCHING THE CLEARGIE.

Articles of the cardinall to be inquired in his visitation of Kent.

FIRST, whether the diuine seruice in the church at times, daies and houres, be obserued and kept dulie or no.

2 Item, whether the parsons, vicars, and curats, doo comlie and decentlie in their maners and dooings behaue themselues or no.

3 Item, whether they doo reuerentlie and dulie minister the sacraments or sacramentals or no.

4 Item, whether anie of their parishioners doo die without ministration of the sacraments, through the negligence of their curats or no.

5 Item

5 Item, whether the said parsons, vicars or curats, doo haunt tauerns or alehouses, increasing thereby infamie and slander or no.

6 Item, whether they be diligent in teaching the midwiues how to christen children in time of necessitie, according to the canons of the church or no.

7 Item, whether they see that the font be comelie kept, and haue holie water alwaies readie for children to be christened.

8 Item, if they doo keepe a booke of all the names of them that be reconciled to the dutie of the church.

9 Item, whether there be anie priests, that late vnlawfullie had women vnder pretensed mariage, and hitherto are not reconciled, and to declare their names and dwelling places.

10 Item, whether they doo diligentlie teach their parishioners the articles of the faith, and the ten commandements.

11 Item, whether they doo decentlie obserue those things that doo concerne the seruice of the church, and all those things that tend to a good and christian life, according to the canons of the church.

12 Item, whether they doo deuoutlie in their praiers praie for the prosperous estate of the king and quéens maiesties.

13 Item, whether the said parsons and vicars doo sufficientlie repare their chancels, rectories, and vicarages, and doo kéepe and mainteine them sufficientlie repared and amended.

14 Item, whether anie of them doo preach or teach anie erronious doctrine, contrarie to the catholike faith and vnitie of the church.

15 Item, whether anie of them doo saie the diuine seruice, or doo minister the sacraments in the English toong, contrarie to the vsuall order of the church.

16 Item, whether anie of them doo suspiciouslie kéepe anie women in their houses, or doo keepe companie with men suspected of heresies, or of euill opinions.

17 Item, whether anie of them that were vnder pretense of lawfull matrimonie maried, and now reconciled, doo priuilie resort to their pretensed wiues, or that the said women do priuilie resort vnto them.

18 Item, whether they go decentlie apparelled, as it becommeth sad, sober, and discréet ministers, and whether they haue their crowns and beards shauen.

19 Item, whether anie of them doo vse anie vnlawfull games, as dice, cards, and other like, wherby they grow to slander and euill report.

20 Item, whether they doo kéepe residence and hospitalitie vpon their benefices, and doo make charitable contributions, according to all the lawes ecclesiasticall.

21 Item, whether they doo keepe the booke or register of christening, burieng, and mariages, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers.

Touching the laie people.

Articles of cardinal Poole to be inquired vpon touching the laitie.

FIRST, whether anie maner of person, of what state, degrée, or condition soeuer he be, doo hold, mainteine, or affirme anie heresies, errors, or erronious opinions, contrarie to the lawes ecclesiasticall, and the vnitie of the catholike church.

2 Item, whether anie person doo hold, affirme, or saie, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is not conteined the reall and substantiall presence of Christ: or that by anie maner of meanes doo contemne and despise the said blessed sacrament, or doo refuse to doo reuerence or worship therevnto.

3 Item, whether they doo contemne or despise by anie maner of means anie other

of

of the sacraments, rites or ceremonies of the church, or doo refuse or denie auricular confession.

4 Item, whether anie doo absent or refraine, without vrgent and lawfull impediment, to come to the church, and reuerentlie to heare diuine service vpon sundaies and holie daies.

5 Item, whether being in the church, they doo not applie themselues to heare the diuine seruice, and to be contemplatiue in holie praier, and not to walke, iangle or talke in the time of diuine seruice.

6 Item, whether anie be fornicators, adulterers, or doo commit incest, or be bawds and receiuers of euill persons, or be vehementlie suspected of anie of them.

7 Item, whether anie doo blaspheme and take the name of God in vaine, or be common swearers.

8 Item, whether anie be periured, or haue committed simonie or vsurie, or doo still remaine in the same.

9 Item, whether the churches and churchyards be well and honestlie repared and inclosed.

10 Item, whether the churches be sufficientlie garnished and adorned with all ornaments and books necessarie, and whether they haue a rood in their church of a decent stature, with Marie and Iohn, and an image of the patrone of the me church.

11 Item, whether anie doo withold, or dooth draw from the church anie maner of monie or goods, or that doo withold their due and accustomed tithes from their parsons and vicars.

12 Item, whether anie be common drunkards, ribalds, or men of euill liuing, or doo exercise anie lewd pastimes, especiallie in the time of diuine seruice.

13 Item, if there be anie that doo practise or exercise anie arts of magike, or necromancie, or doo vse or practise anie incantations, sorceries, or witchcraft, or be vehementlie suspected thereof.

14 Item, whether anie be maried in the degrees of affinitie, or consanguinitie, prohibited by the laws of holie church, or that doo marie, the banes not asked, or doo make anie priuie contracts.

15 Item, whether in the time of Easter last, anie were not confessed, or did not receiue the blessed sacrament of the altar, or did vnreuerentlie behaue themselues in the receiuing thereof.

16 Item, whether anie doo keepe anie secret conuenticles, preachings, lectures, or readings, in matters of religion contrarie to the lawes.

17 Item, whether anie doo now not duelie keepe the fasting and embring daies.

18 Item, whether the altars in the churches be consecrated or no.

19 Item, whether the sacrament be caried deuoutlie to them that fall sicke, with light and with a little sacring bell.

20 Item, whether the common schooles be well kept, and that the schoolemaisters be diligent in teaching, and be also catholike, and men of good and vpright iudgement, and that they be examined and approued by the ordinarie.

21 Item, whether anie doo take vpon them to minister the goods of those that be dead, without authoritie from the ordinarie.

22 Item, whether the poore people in euerie parish be charitablie prouided for.

23 Item, whether there doo burne a lampe or a candle before the sacrament: and if there doo not, that then it be prouided for, with expedition.

24 Item,

24 Item, whether infants and children be brought to be confirmed in conuenient time.

25 Item, whether anie doo keepe or haue in their custodie anie erronious or vnlawfull books.

26 Item, whether anie doo withhold anie monie or goods bequeathed to the amending of the high waies, or anie other charitable déed.

27 Item, whether anie haue put away their wiues, or anie wiues doo withdraw themselues from their husbands, being not lawfullie diuorsed.

28 Item, whether anie doo violat or breake the sundaies and holie daies, dooing their dailie labors and exercises vpon the same.

29 Item, whether the tauerns or alehouses, vpon the sundaies and holie daies, in the time of masse, matins, and euensong, doo kéepe open their doores, and doo receiue people into their houses to drinke and eate, and thereby neglect their duties in comming to church.

30 Item, whether anie haue, or doo depraue or contemne the authoritie or iurisdiction of the popes holinesse, or the see of Rome.

31 Item, whether anie minstrels, or anie other persons doo vse to sing anie songs against the holie sacraments, or anie other the rites and ceremonies of the church.

32 Item, whether there be anie hospitals within your parishes, and whether the foundations of them be dulie and trulie obserued and kept; and whether the charitable contributions of the same be doone accordinglie.

33 Item, whether anie goods, plate, iewels, or possessions be taken awaie, or withholden from the said hospitals, and by whome.]

Thus you see of what a malignant nature the cardinall was: neuerthelesse, of more lenitie than manie other popelings, sauoring of the like lewd leuen of anti-christianisme. For at what time two and twentie prisoners for their conscience were appprehended and sent vp all togither to London from Colchester (as maister Fox reporteth in his martyrologe) and conuented before Boner then bishop of that sée, the said Boner himselfe wrote to cardinall Poole concerning them, as you shall heare.

¶ A LETTER OF BISHOP BONER TO CARDINALL POOLE.

Bishop Boners letter to cardinall Poole, concerning the two and twentie prisoners aforesaid.

MAY it please your good grace with my most humble obedience, reuerence and dutie, to vnderstand that going to London vpon thursdaie last, and thinking to be troubled with maister Germains matter onelie, and such other common matters as are accustomed, inough to werie a right strong bodie, I had the daie following to comfort my stomach withall, letters from Colchester, that either that day, or the day following I should haue sent thense two and twentie heretikes, indicted before the commissioners, and in déed so I had, and compelled to beare their charges as I did of the other, which both stood me in aboue twentie nobles, a sum of money that I thought full euill bestowed. And these heretikes, notwithstanding they had honest catholike kéepers to conduct and bring them vp to me, and in all the waie from Colchester to Stratford of the bow, did go quietlie, and obedientlie, yet comming to Stratford, they began to take heart of grace, and to doo as pleased themselues, for there they began to haue their gard, which generallie increased till they came to Algate, where they were lodged fridaie night.

And

And albeit I tooke order, that the said heretikes should be with me verie earlie on saturdaie morning, to the intent they might quietlie come and be examined by me: yet it was betweene ten and eleuen of the clocke before they would come, and no waie would they take, but through Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with about a thousand persons. Which thing I tooke verie strange and spake to sir Iohn Gresham then being with me, to tell the maior and the shiriffes that this thing was not well suffered in the citie. These naughtie heretikes all the waie they came through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort A promiscua plebe, and being entred into my house and talked withall, they shewed themselues desperat and verie obstinat: yet I vsed all the honest meanes I could, both by my selfe and other, to haue woone them, causing diuerse learned men to talke with them: and finding nothing in them but pride and wilfulnesse, I thought to haue had them all hither to Fulham, and here to giue sentence against them. Neuerthelesse, perceiuing by my last dooing that your grace was offended, I thought it my dutie before I anie thing further proceeded herein, to aduertise first your grace hereof, and know your good pleasure, which I beseech your grace I may doo by this trustie bearer. And thus most humblie I take my leaue of your good grace, beseeching almightie God alwaies to preserue the same. At Fulham Postridie Natiu. 1556.

Your graces most bounden bedesman
and seruant Edmund Boner.

By this letter of Bishop Boner to the cardinall (saith maister Fox) is to be vnderstood what goodwill was in this bishop, to haue the bloud of these men, and to haue past with sentence of condemnation against them, had not the cardinall somewhat (as it seemed) haue staied his feruent headinesse. Concerning the which cardinall, although it cannot be denied by his acts and writings, but that he was a professed enimie, and no otherwise to be reputed but for a papist: yet againe it is to be supposed, that he was none of the bloudie and cruell sort of papists, as may appeare, not by staieng the rage of this bishop: but also by his solicitous writing, and long letters written to Cranmer, also by the complaints of certeine papists, accusing him to the pope to be a hearer with the heretikes, and by the popes letters sent to him vpon the same, calling him vp to Rome, and setting frier Peto in his place, had not queene Marie by speciall intreatie made kept him out of the popes danger. All which letters I haue (if need be) to shew: besides also, that it is thought of him that toward his latter end, a little before his comming from Rome to England, he began somewhat to sauour the doctrine of Luther, and was no lesse suspected at Rome: yea, and furthermore did there at Rome conuert a certeine learned Spaniard from papisme to Luthers side: notwithstanding the pompe and glorie of the world afterward caried him awaie to plaie the papist thus as he did.]

Bishop Boners crueltie somewhat staied by the cardinall.

Cardinall Poole a papist but no bloudie papist.

Cardinall Poole halfe suspected for a Lutheran at Rome.

¶ And sith I haue waded thus far in portraieng the said cardinall, I am willing to make you communicants of a report concerning him, vttered by Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Duresme, in a sermon which he made vpon Palmesundaie, in the yeare of our Lord 1539, before king Henrie the eight, treating vpon these words of saint Paule to the Philippians, Cap. 2. Hoc sentite in vobis, quod & in Christo Iesu, &c: See the same mind be in you, that was in Iesu Christ, &c. The ground of whose sermon standing vpon obedience and disobedience, after he had discoursed at large therevpon, he fell into these words in presence of the king, the nobles and people.

Ab. Fl. ex sonnicione Cut. Tunstalli coram Hen. 8.

And the bishop of Rome now of late, to set foorth his pestilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpose a subiect of this realme Reginald Poole, come of a noble

Cardinall Poole an arrant traitor.

bloud, and thereby the more arrant traitor, to go about from prince to prince, and from countrie to countrie, to stur them to warre against this realme, and to destroie the same, being his natiue countrie. Whose pestilent purpose albeit the princes that he breaketh it vnto, haue in much abomination, both for that the bishop of Rome (who being a bishop should procure peace) is a sturrer of warre, and because this most arrant and vnkind traitor is his minister to so diuelish a purpose to destroie the countrie that he was borne in, which anie heathen man would abhorre to doo. But for all that without shame he still goeth on, exhorting therevnto all princes that will heare him; who doo abhorre to sée such vnnaturalnesse in anie man, as he shamelesse dooth set forwards, whose pernicious treasons late secretlie wrought against this realme, haue béene, by the worke of almightie God so maruellouslie detected, and by his owne brother, without looking therefore so disclosed, and condigne punishment insued, that hereafter (God willing) they shall not take anie more such root to the noisance of this realme.

Cardinall Poole a seditious fellow and an impudent.

Cardinall Pooles treasons detected by his owne brother.

And where all nations of gentiles by reason and law of nature preferre their countrie before their parents, so that for their countrie they will die against their parents being traitors: this pestilent man worse than a pagan, is not ashamed to destroie if he could his natiue countrie. And whereas Curtius a heathen man was content for sauing of the citie of Rome where he was borne, to leape into a gaping of the earth, which by the illusions of the diuell it was answered should not be shut, but that it must first haue one; this pernicious man is content to run headlong into hell: so that he maie destroie thereby his natiue countrie of England, being in that behalfe incomparablie worse than anie pagan. And besides his pestilent treason, his vnkindnesse against the kings maiestie, who brought him vp of a child, and promoted both him, and restored his bloud being attainted, to be of the péeres of this realme, and gaue him monie yéerelie out of his coffers, to find him honorablie at studie, maketh his treason much more detestable to all the world, and him to be reputed more wild and cruell than anie tiger.

Cardinall Poole no christian, but worse than a pagan.

Cardinall Pooles vnkindnesse to king Henrie that brought him vp.

Thus much out of Cutbert Tunstals sermon printed Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum, by Thomas Berthelet, the yeare aboue named. Now it resteth to conclude this discourse concerning cardinall Poole with a briefe epitome of his last will and testament, which he made not long before he let his life, wherein he professeth him selfe resolute to die in the same faith and obedience of the Romish church wherein he liued; willing and ordeining his bodie to be buried in his cathedrall church of Canturburie (as he termeth it) in the same chappell where the head of the most blessed martyr Thomas Becket, whilome archbishop of the said church was kept: with masses and dirges, &c: to be said for his soule, the soules of his parents, and of all the faithfull departed out of this life, &c.

A traitor he liued, a traitor he died.

As for patrimoniall goods, sith he had none whereby he ought to haue had regard of his kindred; therefore such goods as he had he willed to be distributed among such person as had well deserued of him, and vpon godlie vses. He made one Aloisius Priolus a Venetian his heire and executor of all his goods and chattels, as well within England as without, in Spaine, Italie, Rome, Venice, or elsewhere, &c. And for dilapidations, there is no reason (saith he) whie my successor in the sée of Canturburie should demand anie thing, because I haue bestowed more than a thousand pounds within these few yéeres, in reparing and making better such houses as belonged to the said sée, since I came to it (which was no long time by our computation.) The ouerséers and defenders of this his last will he made Nicholas archbishop of Yorke chancellor of England, Thomas bishop of Elie, his cousine the lord Edward Hastings the kings chamberleine, sir Iohn Borall the queenes secretarie, sir Edward Cordall master of the rolles, and master Henrie Cole his vicar generall in his spiritualties. All these he besought to giue quéene Marie knowledge of this his last

The distribution of his goods.

Touching dilapidations.

last will, and with all reuerence to beséech hir, that what good will and fauor she shewed him in all causes and affaires whiles he was aliue; the same she would vouchsafe to exhibit and bestow vpon him being dead, and gratiouslie prouide that all lets and impediments to the execution of this his last will and testament might be remoued and vtterlie taken awaie: and to euerie one of his ouerséers for their paines taking herein, he gaue fiftie pounds a peece by will. This testament was subscribed with his owne hand, and signed with his owne seale, in presence of a number of witnesses there vndernamed. All which, with the tenor of his said last will at large are remembred by Schardius in epitome rerum gestarum sub Ferdinando imperatore. And thus much of cardinall Poole.

He is desirous that quéene Marie should haue knowledge of this his last will.

Vpon whose discourse presentlie ended, as hath beene doone in the treatise of high constables at the duke of Buckinghams beheadding, and of the lord protectors at the duke of Summersets suffering (in which two honorable personages those two offices had their end) so here we are to infer a collection of English cardinals, which order ceased when Reginald Poole died. After which treatise ended, according to the purposed order, and a catalog of writers at the end of this quéenes reigne annexed, it remaineth that quéene Elizabeth shew hir selfe in hir triumphs at hir gratious and glorious coronation.

THE CARDINALS OF ENGLAND COLLECTED BY FRANCIS THIN,

IN THE YEARE OF OUR LORD, 1585.

THIS cardinall Poole being the last cardinall in England, and so likelie to be, as the state of our present time dooth earnestlie wish; dooth here offer occasion to treat of all such Englishmen as haue possessed that honor. Which I onelie doo, for that I would haue all whatsoeuer monuments of antiquitie preserued, least Pereat memoria eorum cum sonitu. Wherefore thus I begin.

Adrian the fourth of that name bishop of Rome (called before that time Nicholas Breakespeare) being borne in England about saint Albons (whome Onuphrius affirmeth to be borne in the towne of Malmesberie, in the dominions of saint Albons, in the dioces of Bath, somewhat like a stranger mistaking the names of places and persons, as he often dooth) was for the pouertie of his father (who after became a moonke in saint Albons) not able to be mainteined here at learning. Wherevpon he goeth into Prouince to the monasterie of saint Rufus, whereof in time he was made a canon, and after abbat of that house; but in the end misliked of the couent, they appealed him to Rome before Eugenius the third then pope; who for that time pacifieng the matter betweene them, they did after fall at variance againe, and so called him before the pope the second time. Eugenius séeing these continuall braules, wearie to heare them, and fauouring this Nicholas, made them choose an other abbat, and appointed Nicholas to the bishoprike of Alba, and to the honor of a cardinall, sending him legat into Denmarke and Norweie: where he remained some yeares. But at length returning to Rome after the death of Eugenius and his successor Anastasius, this Nicholas was aduanced from a cardinall to a pope, and called Adrian the fourth. Who died in the first yeare of Henrie the second king of England, in the yeare of Christ 1159.

Adrian the fourth pope of Rome. Will. Parrus lib. 2. cap. 26. Onuphrius. Matt. Parker. Ranulph Higden.

Bosa, an Englishman and cardinall, was not that Bosa which was bishop of Yorke, of whome Beda maketh mention, lib. 4. cap. 13. and cap. 23. of his ecclesiasticall historie, where he saith that the same Bosa was made bishop of the same

Bosa. Matt. Parker. Onuphrius.

see, in the yeare of Christ 678. And therefore being long before this Bosa, our cardinall could not be the same man, as some vnconsideratlie haue stiflie mainteined. For this our Bosa was a cardinall deacon, and the nephue to pope Adrian the fourth before named; and intituled a deacon cardinall of the title of Cosma and Damian, in the yeare of Christ 1155, being after made a priest cardinall of the title of saint Prudentian, by pope Alexander the third, in the yeare of Christ 1163, before which he was chamberleine to the church of Rome, being created to the first cardinalship and office of chamberleine by his vncle the said pope Adrian the fourth.

Robert Curson. Matt. Parker. Matt. Paris. Matt. West. Holinshed.

Robert Curson, a man excellentlie learned both in diuine and humane letters, comming from Rome, grew in such estimation, that in the end he became a cardinall, of whom we find recorded in this sort. At the taking of Dameta in Egypt, there was with Pelagius the popes legat, maister Robert Curson an Englishman a most famous clearke, borne of a noble house, and cardinall of the church of Rome.

Stephan Langhton. Matt. Parker. Matt. Paris. Holinshed. Onuphrius.

Stephan Langhton made priest cardinall, in the yeare of Christ 1213, and the sixtéenth yeare of pope Innocent the third, of the title of saint Chrysogon, was archbishop of Canturburie, for whose cause and contention betwéene king Iohn and him, the realme of England was long interdicted, the nobilitie was slaine, the king deposed, his kingdome made feodarie to Rome, and Pandolph the cardinall sent hither to receiue the crowne of K. Iohn. This Stephan departed the world, in the twelfe yeare of Henrie the third, and in the yeare of our redemption 1238.

Robert Somercot. Holinshed. Matt. Paris. Fol. 772.

Robert Somercot a cardinall, a man well esteemed for his vertue and learning, a graue writer, and well beloued of all men, departed from the vanities of this life, in the yeare of our saluation 1241, being the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third.

Ancherus. Onuphrius. Matt. Parker.

Ancherus citizen and archdeacon of London, was made priest cardinall of the title of saint Praxidis, by pope Urban the second, in the yéere that the word became flesh 1262, and the yeare of the long reigne of king Henrie the third, the foure and fortith.

Robert de Kilwarbie. Matt. Parker. Hen. of Lecest. Onuphrius.

Robert de Kilwarbie, whome Onuphrius calleth Robert Biliberie frier preacher, doctor of diuinitie was remooued from the archbishoprike of Canturburie to be bishop of Portua, and afterward was made cardinall of saint Rufinian by pope Nicholas the third, in the yeare of Christ as some saie 1277, and as others haue 1278, or 1273: being about the first yeare of Edward the first of that name king of England: who died vnder the same pope Nicholas, in the yeare of Christ 1280, as hath Onuphrius.

Bernard de Anguiscelle. Matt. Parker.

Barnard de Anguiscelle was remooued from the archbishoprike of Arras, and made bishop of Portua and cardinall of saint Rufinian, being a bishop cardinall, and aduanced to that principalitie by pope Martine the fourth of that name, in the yeare of our redemption 1291, being about the nintéenth yeare of the said Edward the first: whome Onuphrius much mistaking himselfe maketh a Frenchman: and Matthew Parker rightlie setteth him downe as an Englishman.

Hugh Attrat. Matthew Parker. Rafe Baldocke. Onuphrius.

Hugh Attrat priest cardinall, of the title of saint Laurence in Lucina was created cardinall by pope Martine the fourth, in the yéere of our Lord 1281: he was also called Hugh of Euesham, and died at Rome in the yeere of Christ 1287, whilest the sée was vacant, being about the fifteenth yeere of Edward the first.

Berard Matthew Parker.

Berard or rather Bernard a cardinall of Prestina was aduanced to the dignitie of a cardinall by Nicholas the fourth of that name bishop of Rome in the yeere (as I suppose) 1298, though some saie in the yéere 1288, the error whereof I gather to be in the printer.

Leonard

Leonard Guercine bishop, cardinall of Alba was receiued to the scarlet hat and robe by pope Bonifacius the eight, in the yéere of Christ 1300, being the eight and twentith of Edward the first. Leonard Guercine. Matthew Parker.

William one of the order of the frier preachers doctor of diuinitie in Oxford, priest cardinall of the title of saint Sabina, to which place he was adopted by pope Benedict the eleuenth, in the yéere 1303. being the one and thirtith yeere of Edward the first, in which yeere he died in England. Onuphrius. William. Matthew Parker. Onuphrius. Walsingham.

Walter Winterborne (that came in place of William last before named) doctor of diuinitie of the order of frier preachers, confessor to Edward the first, and priest cardinall of the title of saint Sabina, was by the said Benedict the eleuenth admitted to the college of cardinals in the yeare of Christ 1304, being the one and thirtith yeere of Edward the first, which Walter small time inioied that place. For going with other cardinals into France, and so into Italie, he died at Genoa or Gene, whose bodie being carried into England, was buried in the church of the frier preachers in the yéere of Christ 1305, being the thrée and thirtith yeere of Edward the first. Walter Winterborne. Matthew Parker. Nic. Triuet. Onuphrius.

Thomas Iorze a frier preacher doctor of diuinitie of Oxford, confessor to Edward the first, priest cardinall of the title of saint Sabina was created by pope Clement the fift in the yeere of Christ 1305, being the three and thirtith yéere of Edward the first, or (as saith Walsingham) a little before Christmasse in the yéere of Christ 1306, who by him is also named Iorza. This man (as hath Onuphrius) died in the iorneie he made as ambassador into Italie to Henrie the seuenth of that name emperour in the yéere 1311, and the seuenth yeere of the popedome of Clement the fift, who sent him in that ambassage: his bodie was carried into England, and buried at Oxford in a monasterie of the frier preachers. Thomas Iorze Walsingham. Nic. Triuet. Matthew Parker. Onuphrius.

Simon Langham abbat of Westminster, treasuror of England, bishop of Elie and of Canturburie, and chancellor of England, was elected to the honor of the purple hat and cardinall dignitie, in the yéere of our redemption 1368, being the two and fortith yéere of king Edward the third. And here because I would not set it downe in a distinct place, as receiuing it for truth, sith by search I find it not so, what authoritie soeuer they that wrote the same had to lead them to it: I will note an ouersight passed the fingers of Fabian, Holinshed, and Grafton, all writers of our age, who affirme that the bishop of Winchester, in the fiue and fortith yéere of king Edward the third, being a cardinall (for so I gather by the words and circumstance of the storie) with the bishop of Beauois likewise a cardinall, were put in commission by pope Gregorie the eleuenth to treat betwixt the king of England and France. But because I can not find in Onuphrius nor in Matthew Parker anie such cardinall set downe, I doo not at this time imbrace it, vntill I maie find better proofe thereof than the authoritie of Grafton, Fabian, and those before named; especiallie sith that he which was then bishop of Winchester in the said fiue and fortith yéere of Edward the third, and all they which were bishops of Winchester from the first yeare of the reigne of Edward the third, vntill the yeare of Christ 1404, in which Henrie Beaufort was bishop of Winchester, were neuer cardinalls: the said bishops in orderlie succession thus named; Adam Orletie, William de Edington, William Wickham, and then Henrie Beaufort, who was a cardinall. But these writers mistaking perchance the yeare of the king, and the name of the bishops sée, in the fiue and fortith yeare of Edward the third (in which yeare Iohn Thorsbie was cardinall as after followeth) haue (in setting downe Winchester for Worcester committed a fault) so easie it is for the printer or anie other to misplace and misname the one bishoprike for the other. Simon Langham.

Iohn Thorsbie bishop of saint Dauids in Wales chancellor of England, bishop of Worcestor, and after bishop of Yorke, was made cardinall by Urban the fift then Iohn Thorsbie Holinshed and other authors.

bishop of Rome (as I suppose) before the fiue and fortith yeare of Edward the third. This man surrendred his life in the yeare of our redemption 1374, being the eight and fortith yeare of king Edward the third.

Adam. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker. Holinshed.

Adam priest cardinall of the title of saint Cicilia, was inuested with the dignitie of a scarlet hat in the yeare of our redemption 1378, about the first yeare of Richard the second. Holinshed mentioneth one Adam Eston to be a cardinall, who (considering the time when he liued) must néeds be this man, of whome he writeth in this sort. Adam Eston well séene in all the toongs, was made a cardinall by pope Gregorie the eleuenth, but by pope Urban the sixt he was committed to prison in Genoa (in the yeare of our redemption 1383, being about the seauenth yeare of Richard the second) and by contemplation of the said king Richard, was taken out of prison, but not fullie deliuered, vntill the daies of Boniface the ninth, who (in the yeare of our redemption 1389, about the thirteenth yeare of Richard the second) restored the said Adam to his former dignitie: all which Holinshed speaketh of him amongst the writers of England, except the yeares of the Lord which I haue added out of Onuphrius, and the yeares of the king which I haue ioined of my selfe. Which Onuphrius maketh this Adam to be bishop of London, and to die in Rome the third calends of Maie, in the yéere of our sauior 1397, being the one and twentith of Richard the second, vnder Boniface the ninth pope of that name, and was buried in the place whereof he was intituled to the honor of a cardinall.

Philip de Repindone. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker.

Philip de Repindone bishop of Lincolne and doctor of diuinitie, was by pope Gregorie the twelfe, then bishop of Rome, in the yeare of Christ 1408, being the tenth yeare of king Henrie the fourth created cardinall of the title of saint Nereus and Achilleus.

Thomas. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker. Liber Dunel.

Thomas bishop of Durham was made (as saith Onuphrius, in the yeare of our redemption 1411 by Iohn the two and twentith, commonlie called Iohn the thrée and twentith) priest cardinall. Touching which matter there is no mention made in the life of Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham, and liuing at this time that this Langleie was a cardinall: for this Thomas Langleie was made bishop of Durham in the yeare of our Lord 1406, and continued in that see one and thirtie yeares, departing the world 1437, and so the creation of this Thomas bishop of Durham mentioned by Onuphrius and Matthew Parker bishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 1411 must néedes fall in the life of this Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham.

Robert. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker.

Robert bishop of Salisburie priest cardinall (although it be not shewed of what title) was preferred to that place by pope Iohn the thrée and twentith in the yeare of our redemption 1411, being about the twelfe yere of the reigne of king Henrie the fourth, of whom Onuphrius writeth in this sort: Roberti episcopi Sarisburiensis presbyteri cardinalis, & Egidij de campis presbyteri cardinalis gesta & exitus, quòd nunquam Romanam curiam adierint, incerti & obscuri omninò sunt. Satis tamen constat, eos ante papæ Martini electionem mortuos fuisse.

Henrie Beaufort.

Henrie Beaufort, sonne vnto Iohn of Gant and Katharine Swineford, being bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England, tooke the state of a cardinall (of the title of saint Eusebius) at Calis, being absent (as hath Matthew Parker) in the yeare of our redemption 1426: in the fift yeare of king Henrie the sixt. He was called the rich cardinall of Winchester, being aduanced to that honor by Martine the third, commonlie called Martine the fift then pope of Rome. This Henrie died vnder pope Nicholas the fift in the yeare of Christ 1447: being about the six and twentith yeare of the miserable reigne of king Henrie the sixt.

Iohn Stafford. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker.

Iohn Stafford bishop of Bath and Welles chancellor of England, after bishop of Canturburie, was created priest cardinall by Eugenius then bishop of Rome, in

the yeare that the word became flesh 1434: being the twelfe yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt.

Iohn Kempe bishop of London, twise lord chancellour of England, bishop of Yorke, and after that archbishop of Canturburie, was by Eugenius the fourth then archbishop of Rome, made cardinall of the title of saint Sabina, as saith Holinshed, otherwise by Onuphrius called Balbina: contrarie to Polydor, who in his three and twentith booke of the historie of England, affirmeth him to be cardinalited by pope Nicholas the fift. He died (as saith Onuphrius) in the yeare that the godhead was vnited to the manhood, to wit, one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and foure vnder pope Nicholas the first, which yeare of our Lord met with the fiue and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt. Iohn Kempe. Holinshed. Polydor. Onuphrius.

Thomas Bourcher (borne of the noble house of the earles of Essex, being chancellor of England, bishop of Worcester, from thence remooued to Elie, from that Isle aduanced to the metropolitan sée of Canturburie, and priest cardinall of the title of saint Siriacus, in Thermis or the Baths) was honored with the scarlet hat and siluer pillers, by pope Paule the second of that name, in the yeare that the second person in trinitie tooke vpon him the forme of a seruant, one thousand foure hundred sixtie and fiue, being the fift yeare of the reigne of the noble prince king Edward the fourth. Thomas Bourcher. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker. Holinshed. Polydor.

Iohn Morton bishop of Elie chancellor of England and archbishop of Canturburie, being priest cardinall of the title of saint Anastasius, was honored with a scarlet hat by Alexander the sixt of that name (then gouernour of the seat of Peter at Rome) in the yeare from the birth of Christ 1493, being the ninth yeare of the Salomen of England king Henrie the seauenth. He died as saith Onuphrius, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand and fiue hundred, being about the eight yeare of Alexander the sixt still pope of Rome, and the sixteenth yeare of the said Henrie the seauenth then king of England. Iohn Morton. Onuphrius. Matthew Parker. Polydor. Holinshed.

Christopher Bembridge a gentleman borne, was archbishop of Yorke, and priest cardinall of the title of S. Praxidis, was aduanced to that scarlet dignitie by pope Iulius the second, in the yere that the virgin was deliuered of our sauiour one thousand fiue hundred and eleuen, being the third yeare of the triumphant reigne of king Henrie the eight. He died at Rome, (as saith Onuphrius) by poison, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and thirtéene yeares (being the eleuenth yeare, when Leo the tenth did hold the sterne of the Romane bishoprike, and the fift yeare when the said Henrie the eight did rule the scepter of England) and was buried at Rome in the church of the holie trinitie of the English nation. Christopher Bembridge. Matthew Parker. Onuphrius.

Thomas Wolseie the kings almoner, deane of Yorke, abbat of saint Albons, and of saint Austins, bishop of Lincolne, Winchester, and Yorke, chancellour of England; all which or all saue two he held at one time in his owne hands, was made priest cardinall of the title of saint Cicilie, wherevnto he was promoted by pope Leo the tenth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and fifteene, being the seauenth yéere of the reigne of the famous king Henrie the eight, of whome Onuphrius somewhat mistaking the pronuntiation of his name thus writeth: Thomas Wlce ex oppido Sufforth diocessis Norducensis, &c: wherein like a stranger to our countrimen he mistaketh both name, towne place, and the prouince of Suffolke for the towne of Ipswich. For this cardinall Wolseie being descended of meane parentage, was borne in the towne of Gipswich now called Ipswich in the prouince or countie of Suffolke in the diocesse of the bishoprike of Norwich. Thomas Wolseie.

Iohn Fisher bishop of Rochester priest cardinall of the title of saint Vitalis, was (although he neuer came at Rome, nor for anie thing that I can learne was euer out of England) created cardinall at Rome by Paule the third of that name, then wearing the triple crowned miter, and being bishop of Rome. But this Fisher neuer ware Iohn Fisher.

ware his scarlet hat: for after this high dignitie and before he might couer his priestlie crowne with the same, he lost his head, in the yeare from which the angels sang at the birth of the Messias one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and fiue, being the seauen and twentith of the reigne of that king Henrie the eight, which deliuered his kingdome from all subiection to the bishop of Rome Clement the seauenth of that name.

Reginald Poole. Reginald Poole, noblie borne, and yoong sonne to sir Richard Poole knight of the garter, by his wife Margaret countesse of Salisburie, daughter to George duke of Clarence brother to K. Edward the fourth, was made deacon cardinall of the title of saint Marie in Cosmeden, by pope Paule the third of that name, in the yeare that the mother of God brought foorth the sonne of man 1536, being the eight and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight. This man legat of pope Iulius the third, comming into England in the yeare of our Lord 1554, being the second yeare of quéene Maries reigne, was after made bishop of Canturburie, on the fiue and twentith of March, in the yeare of Christ 1556, being the third yeare of the reigne of the said quéene Marie, and died the seauentéeuth daie of Nouember, in the yeare of Christ 1558, being the last daie of the reigne of the said quéene Marie, or rather the next daie earlie in the morning, at his house at Lambeth, and was honorablie conueied to Canturburie, where he was buried. This man was the last English cardinall that liued and inioied that title of honour in England. For although the English cardinall which followeth were created after him, yet I suppose that he died much before him: but he liued not in England at the same time that cardinall Poole died, as farre as I can lerne. Wherefore I still make this cardinall Poole the last English cardinall that was liuing in England.

Peter Peto. Peter Peto, borne of ancient familie, and one of the order of the frier minors obseruants (whome Onuphrius calleth Angliæ legatus) was created cardinall by Paul the fourth of that name, chéefe bishop of Rome, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1557, being the fift yeare of quéene Marie. Besides this number of thirtie cardinals, there haue been manie other to the number of ten or more, before the time that pope innocent the first of that name did weald the charge of the Romane bishoprike, as Matthew Parker late bishop of Canturburie a worthie antiquarie dooth witnesse, and I my selfe haue obserued, besides those which Onuphrius and the said Matthew Parker (in the Latine booke of the archbishops of his owne sée) haue recited. But bicause neither they nor I haue yet atteined to their names, we must and doo omit them: and yet it may be that these thrée which follow, named by Onuphrius being English names, were Englishmen, and part of the said number of ten cardinals, whose names we doo not know, which thrée cardinals were Hugh Foliot, Peter Mortimer, and Simon Braie. But bicause I cannot certeinlie gather out of Onuphrius that they were Englishmen, I dare not presume so to make them; though in mine owne conceit I verelie suppose that they were borne in England: for in vncerteine matters I dare not set downe anie certeintie.

Wherefore to set end to this cardinals discourse, I will knit vp this matter with one onelie note drawne out of Matthew Parkers beforenamed booke of the liues of the bishops of Canturburie, which is as followeth: That this number and remembrance of our cardinals is not so wonderfull as is that computation of the Romane bishops, which pope Iohn the two and twentith of that name hath gathered of his predecessors. For he doth recite that out of the order of saint Benet or Benedict (whereof himselfe was) there haue issued foure and twentie popes, 183 cardinals, 1464 archbishops, 3502 bishops, and abbats innumerable. Thus concluding (that of all these our English cardinals, with the description of their liues, I will more largelie intreat in my booke intituled the Pantographie of England, conteining the vniuersall description of all memorable places and persons, as well temporall as spirituall)

I request

I request the reader to take this in good part, till that booke may come to light. Thus much Francis Thin, who with the wheele of George Ripleie canon of Bridlington, after the order of circulation in alchimicall art, and by a geometricall circle in naturall philosophie dooth end this cardinals discourse, resting in the centre of Reginald Poole, the last liuing cardinall in England, by whose death the said Francis tooke occasion to pase about the circumference of this matter of the cardinals of this realme.]

Learned men in quéene Maries reigne.

Of such learned men as had written and did liue in the reigne of quéene Marie there were manie, of whome no small number ended their liues also during that short time of hir reigne, some by fire, and others in exile. Iohn Rogers borne in Lancashire, wrote diuerse treatises, translated the bible into English with notes, and published the same vnder the name of Thomas Matthew, he suffred in Smithfield the fourth of Februarie, in the yeare 1555. Nicholas Ridleie bishop first of Rochester, and after of London, suffered at Oxford in the said yeare 1555. Hugh Latimer borne in Leicestershire, sometime bishop of Worcester, a notable preacher, and a most reuerend father, suffered at the same place, and in the same daie and yeare with bishop Ridleie. Iohn Hooper borne in Summersetshire, bishop first of Glocester, and after of Worcester, suffered at Glocester in the yeare of our Lord 1555. Iohn Bradford, borne in Manchester, a notable towne in Lancashire, a sober, mild, and discréet learned man, suffered at London the first of Iulie in the said yeare 1555.

Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester borne in the towne of saint Edmundsburie in Suffolke, of king Henrie the eights councell, and in king Edwards daies committed to ward within the tower, released by quéene Marie, made lord chancellor, and so died a stout champion in defense of the popes doctrine, and a great enimie to the professours of the gospell. Iohn Philpot borne in Hamshire, sonne to sir Peter Philpot knight, was archdeacon of Winchester, ended his life by fire in the yeare aforesaid 1555, the 18 of December, going then on the foure and fortith yeare of his age. Thomas Cranmer borne in Notinghamshire, archbishop of Canturburie, a worthie prelat, in sundrie vertues right commendable, suffered at Oxford the one and twentith of March, one thousand, fiue hundred, fiftie and six. Richard Morison knight, borne in Oxfordshire, wrote diuerse treatises, and deceassed at Strausburge the 17 of March 1556. Iohn Poinet borne in Kent, bishop of Rochester first, and after of Winchester, deceassed likewise at Strausburgh, about the tenth or eleauenth of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1556.

Robert Record a doctor of physicke, and an excellent philosopher, in arithmetike, astrologie, cosmographie, and geometrie most skilfull, he was borne in Wales, descended of a good familie, and finallie departed this life in the daies of queene Marie. Bartholomew Traheron descended of a worshipfull house in the west parts of England, deane of Chichester, departed this life in Germanie, where he liued in exile, about the latter end of quéen Maries reigne. Cutbert Tunstall, bishop first of London, and after of Durham, borne in Lancashire of a right worshipfull familie, excellentlie learned, as by his workes it may appeare, doctor of both the lawes, departed this life in the yeare 1559. Richard Sampson bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield wrote certeine treatises, and departed this life 1555. Lucas Shepherd borne in Colchester in Essex, an English poet. Iane Dudleie daughter vnto Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke, wrote diuerse things highlie to hir commendation, of whome yée haue heard more before héere in this historie; William Thomas a Welshman borne, of whome yée haue likewise heard how he suffered for treason, wrote the historie of Italie, and other things verie eloquentlie; Iames Brookes a doctor of diuinitie, Iohn Standish a doctor likewise of the same profession, great defenders of the popes doctrine, as by their workes appeareth; William Perine a blacke frier by profession, and a doctor also of diuinitie, wrote in defense of the masse, and

preached sermons which were printed of like stuffe; Iohn Baret borne in Lin, a doctor of diuinitie, and sometime a Carmelit frier, but reuolting from the popes religion, he became an earnest setter foorth of the gospell, but eftsoones he fell off, and returned to his former opinions now in the daies of quéene Marie; Henrie lord Stafford, sonne to Edward duke of Buckingham, amongst other things which he wrote, he translated a booke out of Latine into English, intituled Vtriusque potestatis differentia, that is, The difference betwixt the two powers, which booke (as some thinke) was first compiled and set foorth by Edward Fox bishop of Hereford; Iohn Hopkins translated diuerse psalmes of the psalter into English méeter, which are to be found amongst those appointed to be sung in the churches of England.

Thus farre the troublesome reigne of Queene Marie the first of that name (God grant she may be the last of hir religion) eldest daughter to king Henrie the eight.

THE

PEACEABLE AND PROSPEROUS REGIMENT

OF

BLESSED QUEENE ELISABETH,

SECOND DAUGHTER TO KING HENRIE THE EIGHT.

AFTER all the stormie, tempestuous, and blustering windie weather of quéene Marie was ouerblowne, the darkesome clouds, of discomfort dispersed, the palpable fogs and mists of most intollerable miserie consumed, and the dashing showers of persecution ouerpast: it pleased God to send England a calme and quiet season, a cleare and louelie sunshine, a quitsest from former broiles, of a turbulent estate, and a world of blessings by good quéene Elisabeth: into whose gratious reigne we are now to make an happie entrance as followeth.

When true knowledge was had that quéene Marie was deceased, who left hir life in this world the seuentéenth daie of Nouember, as is before mentioned in the latter end of hir historie: in the time of a parlement, the lords that were assembled in the vpper house, being resolued according to the lawes of the land, to declare the ladie Elisabeth sister to the said quéene to be verie true and lawfull heire to the crowne of England, sent immediatlie to the speaker of the parlement, willing him with the knights and burgesses of the neather house, without delaie to repaire vnto them into the vpper house, for their assents in a case of great importance. Who being come thither, after silence made (as the maner is) the archbishop of Yorke chancellor of England, whose name was Nicholas Heth, doctor in diuinitie, stood vp and pronounced in effect these words following.

The resolution of the lords to declare ladie Elisabeth quéene.

The cause of your calling hither at this time, is to signifie vnto you, that all the lords here present are certeinlie certified, that God this present morning hath called to his mercie our late souereigne ladie queene Marie. Which hap as it is most heauie and gréeuous vnto vs, so haue we no lesse cause another waie to reioise with praise to almightie God; for that he hath left vnto vs a true, lawfull and right inheritrice to the crowne of this realme, which is the ladie Elisabeth, second daughter to our late souereigne lord of noble memorie king Henrie the eight, and sister to our said late quéene, of whose most lawfull right and title in the succession of the crowne (thanks be to God) we néed not to doubt. Wherefore the lords of this house haue determined with your assents and consents, to passe from hence into the palace, and there to proclame the said ladie Elisabeth quéene of this realme, without further tract of time. Whereto the whole house answered with euident appearance of ioy, God saue quéene Elisabeth, long may quéene Elisabeth reigne ouer vs. And so this present parlement being dissolued by the act of God, the said lords immediatlie calling vnto them the kings and principall heralds at armes, went into the palace of Westminster, and directlie before the hall doore in the foore noone of the same daie, after seuerall soundings of trumpets made, in most solemne maner, proclamed

The words of doctor Heath lord chancellor, vttered in the parlement house touching the proclaming of the ladie Elisabeth quéene.

The ladie Elisabeth proclamed quéen.

clamed the new quéene, by this name and title: Elisabeth by the grace of God queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c: to the great comfort and reioising of the people, as by their maners and countenances well appeared. After which proclamation made at Westminster, the said lords, to wit the duke of Norffolke, the lord treasuror, the earle of Oxford, and diuerse other lords and bishops, with all spéed repaired into the citie of London, where the like proclamation was made in the presence of them, and also of the lord maior and aldermen in their scarlet gowns, at the crosse in Cheape, with no lesse vniuersall ioy and thanksgiuing to God of all the hearers. And so our most gratious souereigne ladie queene Elisabeth began hir happie reigne ouer this realme of England, to the great comfort and gladnesse of all estates christianlie minded and disposed, vpon the foresaid seuentéenth day of Nouember,

The beginning of quéene Elisabeths prosperous reigne.

——(lux hæc venerabilis Anglis,
Hæc ést illa dies albo signando lapillo

1558. saith the poet) in the yeare after the creation of the world, fiue thousand, fiue hundred, twentie and fiue, after the birth of our sauiour one thousand, fiue hundred, fiftie and eight; of the empire of Ferdinando the first emperor of Rome bearing that name, the first; in the twelfe yeare of the reigne of Henrie the second of that name French king; and in the sixtéenth yeare of the reigne of Marie quéene of Scotland.

The quéenes remouing from Hatfield.

On wednesdaie the three and twentith of Nouember, the quéenes maiestie remooued from Hatfield, vnto the Charter house in London, where she lodged in the lord Norths house: in which remouing, and comming thus to the citie, it might well appeare how comfortable hir presence was to them that went to receiue hir on the waie, and likewise to the great multitudes of people that came abroad to sée hir grace, shewing their reioising harts in countenance and words, with hartie praiers for hir maiesties prosperous estate and preseruation: which no doubt were acceptable to God, as by the sequele of things it may certenlie be belieued, sith his diuine maiestie hath so directed hir dooings, that if euer the commonwealth of this land hath flourished, it may rightlie be said, that in hir most happie reigne it hath béene most flourishing, in peace, quietnesse, and due administration of iustice, mixed with mercifull clemencie, so as those which cannot content themselues with the present state of things vnder hir rule, no doubt they are such factious creatures, as will not rest satisfied with anie kind of gouernement, be it neuer so iust and commendable. From the which sort of men the Lord deliuer hir roiall maiestie, and all hir true and louing subiects, and preserue hir in long life to all our comforts, and continue hir in such happie procéedings as she hath begun, to the end.

The flourishing estate of this land vnder quéene Elisabeth.

Hir grace remoueth to the tower.

On mondaie the eight and twentith of Nouember, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, hir grace remooued againe, and taking hir chariot, rode from my lord Norths house alongst Barbican, and entring by Criplegate into the citie, kept along the wall to Bishopsgate, and so by blanch Chapelton vnto Marke lane. At hir entring into blanch Chapleton, the artillerie in the tower began to go off, continuallie shooting for the space almost of halfe an houre, but yet had made an end before hir maiestie was aduanced to Berkin church, and so with great ioie and prease of people, of whom all the streets were full as she passed, declaring their inward reioisings by gesture, words and countenance, she entered the tower, where she continued till the fift of December being mondaie, on the which daie she remooued by water vnto Summerset place in the Strond, where she arriued about ten of the clocke in the forenoone the same daie.

Hir remouing to Summerset house.

¶ On

¶ On thursdaie betwéene two and thrée in the morning the eight of December 1558 in the first yeare of our souereigne ladie quéene Elisabeths reigne died in the tower of London, that honorable man sir Thomas Cheineie knight of the order, treasuror of hir maiesties most honorable houshold, warden of the cinque ports, and of hir highnesse priuie councell, whose pulses (by the report of his surgeon) laboured more than thrée quarters of an houre after his death, so stronglie as though life had not béene absent from the bodie. By the report also of the same surgeon, he had the swéetest face of death to behold for one of his yeares that euer he saw, and died so quietlie, and patientlie, that neither his face, mouth, eies, hands, or féet were vncomelie vsed in the changing of this his life.

Abr. Fl. ex manuscripto Hen. Tennant.

The death of sir Thomas Cheinie lord warden of the cinque ports.

For twentie yeares before his departure, he kept in his stable continuallie winter and summer twentie great horsse at the least, and eight or nine geldings, besides sixtéene or seuentéene geldings which were kept at grasse, and had in a readinesse furniture for them all to serue in the field: and no one of the same horsse or geldings but he was able and readie for anie man at armes to serue vpon. Beside this he kept so bountifull a house, and was so liberall and good to his men, that well was that noble mans son, gentlemans sonne, or other that might happen to be preferred into his seruice. And againe, the number of his seruants to whom he gaue liueries, were 205, wherof in houshold were six score, besides strangers that were dailie comming and going. And his seruants had no iust cause, either for lacke of great wages trulie paid them euerie quarter, and boord wages euerie sundaie, or plentie of meat and drinke, and lodging on good featherbeds to liue out of order. And such commoditie as might by chance fall within the iurisdiction of his office of wardenrie, being a thing fit for his men, he neuer turned the same to his owne vse; but alwaies gaue it them. Whether this realme hath not lost a worthie subiect, and speciallie his men a good maister, let all men iudge that knew him.

His horsse for seruice which proued him to be a louer of chiualrie.

The like is reported of cardinall Wolsele when he was in the floure of his prosperitie.

But how manie be there now that will giue away the profits of their office to their seruants?

Before his departure out of this world, he seemed to haue a great care for his men, thinking least without some prouision for them, they would after his death run at random and liue disorderlie, which like a noble man he preuented after this liberall sort as followeth. In his last will and testament, to some he gaue annuities during life, and to others a whole yeares wages after his death; but both to the one sort and the other he prouided that all things which he owght them might be paied: and also so long as they vsed themselues like honest men, and were not reteined in seruice, they should haue meat, drinke, and lodging at his house, till his sonne now lord Cheinie came to his lawfull age, which was the space of thrée yeares, in no lesse or worsse maner than they were woont and accustomed to haue in his life time. In his last will he also remembred some of his freends, as well those of nobilitie and worship, as others, some with one gift and some with an other, desiring them to assist his executors for the performance of his last will.

His honest and honorable care for his men that serued him.

His mindfulnes of his friends at his death.

His wit, experience, courtesie, and valiantnesse in seruice was such, as king Henrie the eight, and his children, to wit, king Edward the sixt, quéene Marie, and queene Elisabeth vsed him as one of all their priuie councell, and was treasuror of all their honorable housholds during his life. He was brought vp in king Henrie the seuenths house, and was one of his henchmen. So that it appeareth before he died, he had serued thrée kings, and two quéenes. His truth was such to all these princes, that he euer liued towards them Sine macula, seruing in the court thrée score years. And although he bare this great saile, yet prouided he to paie euerie man iustlie that he owght them. His bountifulnesse, liberalitie, and courtesie to diuerse noble men, gentlemen and others, attending in the court was such, that they were euer glad to haue him there amongst them; and his stoutnessse and haltie courage was such, and so well knowen to the Frenchmen, as they both feared and loued him wonderfullie. In the end he was so worthie a gentleman, and such a necessarie

Sir Thomas Cheineie an old seruitor in court.

A commendation of courtesie, bountifulnes, and warlike stoutnesse.

member in the commonwealth, as his want cannot but be lamented of all good and true English harts. But the almightie must be serued when his good will and pleasure is.]

Quéene Marie buried. The thirteenth of December being tuesdaie, the corps of quéene Marie was right honorablie conueied from hir manor of S. Iames, vnto the abbeie of Westminster. Hir picture was laid on the coffin, apparelled in hir roiall robes, with a crowne of gold set on the head thereof, after a solemne manner. In the abbeie was a rich and sumptuous hearse prepared and set vp with war, and richlie decked with penons, baners, and scutchions, of the armes of England and France, vnder which hearse the corpse rested all that night, and the next daie it was brought into the new chappell, where king Henrie the seuenth lieth, and was interred there in the chappell on the north side.

An obsequie kept for the emperour. The foure and twentith of December, being the euen of the natiuitie of our Lord, was a solemne obsequie kept in the abbeie church of Westminster, for Charles the seuenth late emperour, who departed this life in September last, the one and twentith of the same moneth, in the monasterie of S. Iustus in Castile, being then of age about eight and fiftie yeares, hauing gouerned the empire before he renounced the same a six and thirtie yeares; and his kingdoms of Castile, Arragon, Naples, Sicill, and others, aboue fortie yeares.

Moreouer in this yeare 1558 there died two of the said emperors sisters, that went with him into Spaine, after he had resigned the empire, to wit, queene Leonor, first maried vnto Emanuell king of Portugall, and after his deceasse vnto the French king Francis the first of that name: she deceassed in Februarie last past. His other sister Marie, quéene of Hungarie, late regent of the low countries, deceassed on saint Lukes daie, the eightéenth of October last past. And so the one preuenting him, the other taried not long after him, in so much that king Philip did celebrate the exequies in the towne of Brussels, of his father the emperour, of his aunt Marie queene of Hungarie, and of his wife Marie quéene of England, in this present moneth of December subsequentlie, after the most pompous and solemne manner.

The deceasse of the quéene of France.

The deceasse of the quéene of Hungarie.

On sundaie the first of Ianuarie, by vertue of the quéenes proclamation, the English letanie was read accordinglie as was vsed in hir graces chappell in churches through the citie of London. And likewise the epistle and gospell of the daie began to be read in the same churches at masse time in the English toong, by commandement giuen by the lord maior, according to the tenour of the same proclamation, published the thirtith of the last month. On thursdaie the twelfe of Ianuarie, the quéenes maiestie remooued from hir palace of Westminster by water vnto the tower of London, the lord maior and aldermen in their barge, and all the citizens with their barges decked and trimmed with targets and banners of their mysteries accordinglie attending on hir grace.

1559.

The letanie.

The epistle and gospell in English.

The quéene remooueth from Westminster to the tower by water.

The bachellers barge of the lord maiors companie, to wit, the mercers had their barge with a foist trimmed with three tops, and artillerie aboord, gallantlie appointed to wait vpon them, shooting off lustilie as they went, with great and pleasant melodie of instruments, which plaied in most sweet and heauenlie maner. Hir grace shut the bridge about two of the clocke in the after noone, at the still of the ebbe, the lord maior and the rest following after hir barge, attending the same, till hir maiestie tooke land at the priuie staires at the tower wharfe: and then the said lord maior with the other barges returned, passing through the bridge againe with the floud, and landed at the wharfe of the three cranes in the Vintrie. Vpon saturdaie, which was the foureteenth daie of Ianuarie, in the yeare of our Lord God 1559, about two of the clocke at after noone, the most noble and christian princesse, our most dread souereigne ladie Elisabeth, by the grace of God quéene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c: marched from the tower, to passe thorough

the citie of London toward Westminster, richlie furnished, and most honourablie accompanied, as well with gentlemen, barons, and other the nobilitie of this realme, as also with a notable traine of goodlie and beautifull ladies, richlie appointed. The quéene passeth from the tower to Westminster through the citie.

At hir entring the citie, she was of the people receiued maruellous intierlie, as appeared by the assemblies, praiers, wishes, welcommings, cries, tender words, and all other signes, which argued a woonderfull earnest loue of most obedient subiects towards their souereigne. And on the other side, hir grace by holding vp hir hands, and merrie countenance to such as stood farre off, and most tender and gentle language to those that stood nigh vnto hir grace, did declare hirselfe no lesse thankefullie to receiue hir peoples good will, than they louinglie offered it vnto hir. To all that wished hir grace well, she gaue heartie thanks; and to such as bad God saue hir grace, she said againe God saue them all, and thanked them with all hir hart. So that on the other side there was nothing but gladnesse, nothing but praier, nothing but comfort. The queenes maiestie reioised maruellouslie to sée that so excéedinglie shewed towards hir grace, which all good princes haue euer desired, I meane so ernest loue of subiects, so euidentlie declared euen to hir graces owne person, being caried in the midst of them. The quéene saluteth them that salute hir.

The people againe were wonderfullie rauished with the louing answers and gestures of their princesse, like to the which they had before tried at hir first comming to the tower from Hatfield. This hir graces louing behauior preconceiued in the peoples heads, vpon these considerations was then throughlie confirmed, and in deed implanted a woonderfull hope in them touching hir woorthie gouernment in the rest of hir reigne. For in all hir passage she did not onelie shew hir most gratious loue toward the people in generall, but also priuatlie if the baser personages had either offered hir grace anie flowers, or such like, as a signification of their good will, or mooued to hir anie sute; she most gentlie, to the common reioising of all the lookers on, and priuat comfort of that partie, staied hir chariot, and heard their requests. So that if a man would saie well, he could not better tearme the citie of London that time, than a stage, wherein was shewed the woonderfull spectacle of a noble hearted princesse towards hir most louing people, and the peoples excéeding comfort in beholding so woorthie a souereigne, and hearing so princelike a voice, which could not but haue set the enimie on fire, sith the vertue is in the enimie alwaie commended, much more could not but inflame hir naturall, obedient, and most louing people, whose weale leaneth onelie vpon hir grace, and hir gouernment. The peoples hearts wholie set vpon Elisabeth. The citie of London a stage for the time of this solemnitie.

Thus therefore the quéenes maiestie passed from the tower, till she came to Fanchurch, the people on each side ioyouslie beholding the view of so gratious a ladie their quéene, and hir grace no lesse gladlie noting and obseruing the same. Néere vnto Fanchurch was erected a scaffold richlie furnished, whereon stood a noise of instruments, and a child in costlie apparell, which was appointed to welcome the queenes maiestie in the whole cities behalfe. Against which place when hir graee came, of hir owne will she commanded the chariot to be staied, and that the noise might be appeased, till the child had vttered his welcoming oration, which he spake in English as here followeth: A scaffold set vp at Fanchurch with melodie, &c.

O peerelesse souereigne queene,
behold what this thy towne
Hath thee presented with,
at thy first entrance heere;
Behold with how rich hope
she leades thee to thy crowne,
Behold with what two gifts,
she comforteth thy cheere.
The first is blessing toongs,
which manie a welcome saie,

These verses were vttered by a child to the quéene who gaue good eare to them.

Which

Which praie thou maist doo well,
  which praise thee to the skie.
Which wish to thee long life,
  which blesse this happie daie,
Which to thy kingdome heapes
  all that in toongs can lie.
The second is true hearts,
  which loue thee from their root,
Whose sute is triumph now,
  and ruleth all the game,
Which faithfulnesse haue woone,
  and all vntruth driuen out,
Which skip for ioy, when as
  they heare thy happie name.
Welcome therefore ô queene,
  as much as heart can thinke,
Welcome againe ô queene,
  as much as toong can tell
Welcome to ioyous toongs,
  and hearts that will not shrinke,
God thee preserue we praie,
  and wish thee euer well.

At which words of the last line, all the people gaue a great shout, wishing with one assent as the child had said. And the quéens maiestie thanked most heartilie both the citie for this hir gentle receiuing at the first, and also the people for confirming the same.

Here was noted in the quéenes maiesties countenance, during the time that the child spake, besides a perpetuall attentiuenesse in hir face, a maruellous change in looke, as the childs words either touched hir person, or the peoples toongs and hearts. So that she with reioising visage did euidentlie declare that the words tooke no lesse place in hir mind, than they were most heartilie pronounced by the child, as from all the hearts of hir most heartie citizens. The same verses were fastened vp in a table vpon the scaffold, and the Latine thereof likewise in Latine verses in another table, as herafter insueth:

The verses in Latine which the child vttered to the quéene in English.

Vrbs tua quæ ingressu dederit tibi munera primo,
  O regina parem non habitura, vide,
Ad diadema tuum, te spe quàm diuite mittat,
  Quæ duo lætitiæ det tibi dona, vide.
Munus habes primum, linguas, bona multa precantes
  Quæ te quum laudant, tum pia vota sonant,
Fœlicémque diem hunc dicunt, tibi sæcula longa
  Optant, & quicquid denique longa potest.
Altera dona feres, vera & tui amantia corda,
  Quorum gens ludum iam reget vna tuum.
In quibus est infracta fides, falsúmque perosa,
  Quæque tuo audito nomine læta salit.
Grata venis igitur, quantum cor concipit vllum,
  Quantum lingua potest dicere, grata venis.
Cordibus infractis, linguísque per omnia lætis
  Grata venis: saluam te velit esse Deus.

Now

Now when the child had pronounced his oration, and the quéenes highnesse so thankfullie had receiued it, she marched forward toward Gratious stréet, where at the vpper end before the signe of the eagle, the citie had erected a gorgeous and sumptuous arch as here followeth. A stage was made which extended from the one end of the stréet to the other, richlie vawted with battlements conteining thrée ports, and ouer the middlemost was aduanced thrée seuerall stages in degrées.

A great stage arched and verie sumptuous at Gratious stréet.

Vpon the lowest stage was made one seat roiall, wherein were placed two personages, representing king Henrie the seuenth, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of king Edward the fourth; either of these two princes sitting vnder one cloth of estate in their seates, none otherwise diuided, but that the one of them which was king Henrie the seuenth, procéeding out of the house of Lancaster, was inclosed in a red rose, and the other which was quéene Elizabeth, being heire to the house of Yorke, inclosed with a white rose, each of them roiallie crowned, and decentlie apparelled, as apperteineth to princes, with scepters in their hands, and one vawt surmounting their heads, wherein aptlie were placed two tables, each conteining the title of those two princes. And these personages were so set, that the one of them ioined hands with the other, with the ring of matrimonie perceiued on the finger. Out of the which two roses sprang two branches gathered into one, which were directed vpward to the second stage or degrée, wherein was placed one representing the valiant and noble prince king Henrie the eight, which sproong out of the former stocke, crowned with a crowne imperiall, and by him sat one representing the right worthie ladie quéene Anne, wife to the said king Henrie the eight, and mother to our most souereigne ladie quéene Elizabeth that now is, both apparelled with scepters and diadems and other furniture due to the state of a king and quéene, and two tables surmounting their heads, wherein were written their names and titles.

The vnitie of the white rose and the red.

Vertuous quéene Anne mother to gratious quéene Elizabeth.

From their seat also procéeded vpwards one branch, directed to the third and vppermost stage or degrée, wherein likewise was planted a seat roiall, in the which was set one representing the quéenes most excellent maiestie Elizabeth, now our most dread souereigne ladie, crowned and apparrelled as the princes were. Out of the fore part of this pageant was made a standing for a child, which at the queens maiesties comming declared vnto hir the whole meaning of the said pageant. The two sides of the same were filled with lowd noises of musicke. And all emptie places thereof were furnished with sentences concerning vnitie, and the whole pageant garnished with red roses and white. And in the fore front of the same pageant, in a faire wreath, was written the name and title of the same, which was; The vniting of the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke. This pageant was grounded vpon the quéens maiesties name. For like as the long warre betweene the two houses of Yorke and Lancaster then ended, when Elizabeth daughter to Edward the fourth matched in mariage with Henrie the seuenth, heire to the house of Lancaster: so sith that the quéene maiesties name was Elizabeth, and for somuch as she is the onelie heire of Henrie the eight, which came of both the houses, as the knitting vp of concord; it was deuised, that like as Elizabeth was the first occasion of concord, so she another Elizabeth, might mainteine the same among hir subiects, so that vnitie was the end whereat the whole deuise shot, as the quéenes maiesties name moued the first ground.

The posie explaning the shew set forth in colors.

Vnitie the end whereat the deuise of the pageant was directed.

The pageant now against the quéenes maiesties comming was addressed with children representing the forenamed personages, with all furniture due vnto the setting forth of such a matter well meant, as the argument declared costlie and sumptuoulie set foorth, as the beholders can beare witnesse. Now the quéenes maiestie drew néere vnto the said pageant. And for so much as the noise was great, by reason of the prease of people, so that she could scarse heare the child which did interpret the said pageant, and hir chariot was passed so far forwards, that she could not well view

The quéene is desirous to know the meaning of euerie representation.

the personages representing the kings and quéenes aboue named: she required to haue the matter opened vnto hir, and what they signified, with the end of vnitie and ground of hir name, according as is before expressed. For the sight whereof hir grace caused hir chariot to be remooued backe, and yet hardlie could she sée, because the children were set somewhat with the furthest in. But after that hir grace had vnderstood the meaning thereof, she thanked the citie, praised the fairenesse of the worke, and promised that she would doo hir whole indeuor for the continuall preseruation of concord, as the pageant did import. The child appointed in the standing aboue named, to open the meaning of the said pageant, spake these words vnto hir grace:

The meaning of the pageant opened by the spéech of a child.

The two princes that sit,
vnder one cloth of state,
The man in the red rose,
the woman in the white:
Henrie the seauenth, and
queene Elizabeth his mate,
By ring of marriage,
as man and wife vnite.
Both heires to both their blouds,
to Lancaster the king,
The queene to Yorke, in one
the two houses did knit:
Of whome as heire to both,
Henrie the eight did spring,
In whose seate his true heire
thou queene Elizabeth doost sit.
Therefore as ciuill warre,
and shead of bloud did cease,
When these two houses were
vnited into one;
So now that iarre shall stint,
and quietnesse increase,
We trust, ô noble queene,
thou wilt be cause alone.

The which also were written in Latine verses, and both drawen in two tables vpon the fore front of the foresaid pageant, as hereafter orderlie followeth:

The same verses in Latine.

Hij quos iungit idem solium, quos annulus idem:
Hac albente nitens, ille rubente rosa:
Septimus Henricus rex, regina Elizabetha,
Scilicet hæredes gentis vterque suæ.
Hæc Eboracensis, Lancastrius ille dederunt
Connubio, è geminis quo foret vna domus.
Excipit hos hæres Henricus copula regum
Octauus, magni regis imago potens,
Regibus hinc succedis auis regíque parenti,
Patris iusta hæras Elizabetha tui.

SENTENCES

SENTENCES PLACED THEREIN CONCERNING VNITIE.

Nullæ concordes animos vires domant.
Qui iuncti terrent, deiuncti timent.
Discordes animi soluunt, concordes ligant.
Augentur parua pace, magna bello cadunt.
Coniunctæ manus fortius tollunt onus.
Regno pro mœnibus æneis ciuium concordia.
Qui diu pugnant diutiùs lugent.
Dissidentes principes subditorum lues.
Princeps ad pacem natus non ad arma datus.
Filia concordiæ copia, neptis quies.
Dissentiens respublica hostibus patet.
Qui idem tenent, diutius tenent.
Regnum diuisum facilè dissoluitur.
Ciuitas concors armis frustrà tentatur.
Omnium gentium consensus firmat fidem, &c.

These verses concerne concord and discord.

These verses and other pretie sentences were drawen in void places of this pageant, all tending to one end, that quietnes might be mainteined, and all dissention displaced: and that by the quéenes maiestie heire to agreement, and agreeing in name with hir, which tofore had ioined those houses, which had béene the occasion of much debate and ciuill war within this realme, as maie appéere to such as will search chronicles, but be not to be touched herein: onelie declaring hir graces passage through the citie, and what prouision the citie made therefore. And yer the quéenes maiestie came within hearing of this pageant, she sent certeine as also at all the other pageants, to require the people to be silent. For hir maiestie was disposed to heare all that should be said vnto hir.

When the quéenes maiestie had heard the childs oration, and vnderstood the meaning of the pageant at large, she marched forward toward Cornehill, alwaie receiued with like reioising of the people. And there as hir grace passed by the conduit, which was curiouslie trimmed against that same time, with rich banners adorned, and a noise of lowd instruments vpon the top thereof, she spied the second pageant. And bicause she feared for the peoples noise, that she should not heare the child which did expound the same, she inquired what that pageant was yer that shée came to it; and there vnderstood, that there was a child representing hir maiesties person, placed in a seat of gouernement, supported by certeine vertues which suppressed their contrarie vices vnder their feet, and so foorth, as in the description of the said pageant shall hereafter appeere.

The conduit in Cornehill decked, and a noise of loud instruments on the top of the same.

This pageant standing in the nether end of Cornhill, was extended from the one side of the stréet to the other. And in the same pageant was deuised thrée gates all open, and ouer the middle part thereof was erected one chaire or seate roiall, with a cloth of estate to the same apperteining, wherein was placed a child representing the quéenes highnesse, with consideration had for place conuenient for a table, which conteined hir name and title: and in a comelie wreath artificiallie and well deuised, with perfect sight and vnderstanding to the people.

The deuise of the pageant in Cornehill.

In the front of the same pageant was written the name and title thereof, which is; The seat of worthie gouernance. Which seat was made in such artificiall maner, as to the appearance of the lookers on, the fore part seemed to haue no staie, and therefore of force was staied by liuelie personages, which personages were in number foure

Liuely workmanship and right commendable.

foure, standing and staieng the forefront of the same seat roiall, each hauing his face to the quéene and people, whereof euerie oné had a table to expresse their effects, which are vertues, namelie Pure religion, Loue of subiects, Wisedome and Iustice, which did tread their contrarie vices vnder their feet: that is to wit; Pure religion did tread vpon superstition and ignorance, Loue of subiects did tread vpon rebellion and Insolence, Wisedome did tread vpon Follie and Vaine glorie, Iustice did tread vpon Adulation and Briberie. Ech of these personages according to their proper names and properties, had not onelie their names in plaine and perfect writing set vpon their breasts easilie to be read of all: but also euerie of them was aptlie and properlie apparelled, so that his apparell and name did agree to expresse the same person, that in title he represented.

A proper morall.

This part of the pageant was thus appointed and furnished. The two sides ouer the two side ports had in them placed a noise of instruments, which immediatlie after the childs speech, gaue an heauenlie melodie. Vpon the top or vppermost part of the said pageant, stood the armes of England, roiallie purtraitured with the proper beasts to vphold the same. One representing the quéenes highnesse sat in this seat crowned with an imperiall crowne, and before hir seat was a conuenient place appointed for one child, which did interpret and applie the said pageant, as hereafter shall be declared. Euerie void place was furnished with proper sentences, commending the seat supported by vertues, and defacing the vices, to the vtter extirpation of rebellion, and to euerlasting continuance of quietnesse and peace. The queénes maiestie approching nigh vnto this pageant thus beautified and furnished in all points, caused hir chariot to be drawne nigh therevnto, that hir grace might heare the childs short oration, which was this:

How the pageant was appointed and furnished.

The quéene draweth néere the pageant to heare the childs oration.

While that religion true,
shall ignorance suppresse,
And with hir weightie foot,
breake superstitions head:
While loue of subiects shall
rebellion distresse,
And with zeale to the prince,
insolencie downe tread.
While iustice flattering toongs,
and briberie can deface,
While follie and vaine glorie,
to wisedome yeeld their hands:
So long shall gouernement
not swarue from hir right race,
But wrong decaieth still,
and right wisenesse vp stands.
Now all thy subiects hearts,
ô prince of peerelesse fame,
Do trust these vertues shall
mainteine vp thy throne:
And vice be kept downe still,
the wicked put to shame,
That good with good may ioy,
and naught with naught may mone.

Which verses were painted vpon the right side of the same pageant, and the Latine thereof on the left side in another table, which were these héere following:

Quæ subnixa altè solio regina superbo est,
Effigiem sanctæ principis alma refert,
Quam ciuilis amor fulcit, sapientia firmat,
Iustitia illustrat, relligióque beat,
Vana superstitio & crassa ignorantia frontis
Pressæ sub pura relligione iacent.
Regis amor domat effrænos animósque rebelles,
Iustus adulantes doniuorósque terret.
Cùm regit imperium sapiens, sine luce sedebunt
Stultitia, atque huius numen inanis honor.

The same verses in Latine painted on a table.

Beside these verses, there were placed in euerie void roome of the pageant, both in English and Latine, such sentences as aduanced the seat of gouernance, vpholden by vertue. The ground of this pageant was, that like as by vertues (which doo abundantlie appeare in hir grace) the quéenes maiestie was established in the seat of gouernement: so she shuld sit fast in the same, so long as she imbrased vertue, and held vice vnder foot. For if vice once got vp the head, it would put the seat of gouernement in perill of falling. The queenes maiestie when she had heard the child, and vnderstood the pageant at full, gaue the citie also thanks therefore, and most gratiouslie promised hir good indeuor for the maintenance of the said vertues, and suppression of vices, and so marched on, till she came against the great conduit in Cheape, which was beautified with pictures and sentences accordinglie, against hir graces comming thither. Against Soper lane end was extended from the one side of the street to the other, a pageant which had three gates all open: ouer the middlemost whereof were erected three seuerall stages, whereon sat eight children, as hereafter followeth. On the vppermost one child, on the middle three, on the lowest foure, each hauing the proper name of the blessing that they did represent, written in a table, and placed aboue their head.

The ground or morall of the pageant.

The quéenes promise with thanks to the citie.

A pageant at Soper lane end.

In the forefront of this pageant, before the children which did represent the blessings, was a conuenient standing cast out for a child to stand, which did expound the said pageant vnto the quéenes maiestie, as was doone in the other before. Euerie of these children were appointed and apparelled, according vnto the blessing which he did represent. And on the forepart of the said pageant was written in faire letters the name of the foresaid pageant in this manner:

The eight beatitudes expressed in the fifth chapter of the gospell of saint Matthew, applied to our souereigne ladie queene Elisabeth.

The inscription fixed or set vpon the front of the said pageant.

Ouer the two side ports was placed a noise of instruments. And all the void places in the pageant were furnished with prettie saiengs, commending and touching the meaning of the said pageant, which was the promises and blessings of almightie God, made to his people. Before that the queenes highnesse came vnto this pageant, she required the matter somewhat to be opened vnto hir, that hir grace might the better vnderstand, what should afterward by the child be said vnto hir. Which so was, that the citie had there erected the pageant with eight children, representing the eight blessings touched in the fift chapter of saint Matthew. Whereof euerie one vpon iust considerations, was applied vnto hir highnesse, and that the people thereby put hir grace in mind, that as hir good dooings before had giuen iust occasion, why that these blessings might fall vpon hir, that so if hir grace did continue in hir goodnesse as she had entered, she should hope for the fruit of these promises due vnto them that doo exercise themselues in the blessings: which hir grace heard maruellous gratiouslie, and required that the chariot might be remooued towards the pageant, that she might better peceiue the childs words, which were these, the quéenes maiestie

The meaning of the pageant.

The quéene giueth attentiue eare to the childs words.

maiestie giuing most attentiue eare, and requiring that the peoples noise might be staid. The verses were as follow:

Thou hast beene eight times blest,
ô queene of worthie fame,
By meekenesse of thy spirit,
when care did thee beset,
By mourning in thy griefe,
by mildnesse in thy blame,
By hunger and by thirst,
and iustice couldst none get.
By mercie shewd, not felt,
by cleannessse of thine heart,
By seeking peace alwaies,
by persecution wrong.
Therefore trust thou in God,
sith he hath helpt thy smart,
That as his promise is,
so he will make thee strong.

A consent on all sides of prince, people, and children.

When these words were spoken, all the people wished, that as the child had vttered, so God would strengthen hir grace against all hir aduersaries, whome the queenes maiestie did most gentlie thanke for their so louing wish. These verses were painted on the left side of the said pageant, and other in Latine on the other side, which were these héere insuing:

Qui lugent hilaris fient, qui mitia gestant
Pectora, multa soli iugera culta metent:
Iustitiam esuriens sitiénsue replebitur: ipsum
Fas homini puro corde videre Deum:
Quem alterius miseret, Dominus miserebitur huius:
Pacificus quisquis, filius ille Dei est:
Propter iustitiam quisquis patietur habétque
Demissam mentem cœlica regna capit.
Huic hominum generi terram, mare, sidera, vouit
Omnipotens, horum quisque beatus erit.

Besides these, euerie void place in the pageant was furnished with sentences touching the matter and ground of the said pageant. When all that was to be said in this pageant was ended, the queenes maiestie passed on forwards in Cheapside. At the standard in Cheape, which was dressed faire against the time, was placed a noise of trumpets, with banners and other furniture. The crosse likewise was also made faire, and well trimmed. And néere vnto the same, vpon the porch of saint Peters church doore, stood the waits of the citie, which did giue a pleasant noise with their instruments, as the quéenes maiestie did passe by, which on euerie side cast hir countenance, and wished well to all hir most louing people. Soone after that hir grace passed the crosse, she had espied the pageant erected at the little conduit in Cheape, and incontinent required to know what it might signifie. And it was told hir grace, that there was placed Time. Time, quoth she? And time hath brought me hither. And so foorth the whole matter was opened to hir grace, as hereafter shall be declared in the description of the pageant.

The standard and crosse in Cheape adorned and trimmed.

A pageant erected at the little conduit in Cheape.

But in the opening, when hir grace vnderstood that the bible in English should be deliuered vnto hir by Truth, which was therein represented by a child: she thanked the citie for that gift, and said, that she would oftentimes read ouer that booke, commanding sir Iohn Parrat, one of the knights which held vp hir canopie, to go before

The quéene promiseth the citie often to read ouer the bible.

and to receiue the booke. But learning that it should be deliuered vnto hir grace downe by a silken lace, she caused him to staie, and so passed forward till she came against the aldermen in the high end of Cheape before the little conduit, where the companies of the citie ended, which began at Fanchurch, and stood along the stréets, one by an other inclosed with railes, hanged with cloths, and themselues well apparelled mith manie rich furres, and their liuerie hoods vpon their shoulders in comelie and seemelie maner, hauing before them sundrie persons well apparelled in silks and chains of gold: as wiflers and garders of the said companies, besides a number of rich hangings, as well of tapistrie, arras, cloths of gold, siluer, veluet, damaske, sattin, and other silks plentifullie hanged all the waie, as the queenes highnesse passed from the tower thorough the citie.

The seuerall companies of the citie shew their ioifull hearts at the quéenes coming.

Out at the windowes and penthouses of euerie house did hang a number of rich and costlie banners and stremers, till hir grace came to the vpper end of Cheape. Where by appointment, the right worshipfull master Ranulph Cholmelie recorder of the citie, presented to the quéenes maiestie a pursse of crimson sattin, richlie wrought with gold, wherein the citie gaue vnto the quéens maiestie a thousand marks in gold, as master recorder did declare bréefelie vnto the quéens maiestie, whose words tended to this end; that the lord maior, his brethren, and communaltie of the citie, to declare their gladnesse and goodwill towards the quéenes maiestie, did present hir grace with that gold, desiring hir grace to continue their good and gratious queene, and not to esteeme the value of the gift, but the mind of the giuers. The queens maiestie with both hir hands tooke the pursse, and answered to him againe maruellous pithilie; and so pithilie, that the standers by, as they imbraced intirelie hir gratious answer, so they maruelled at the couching thereof, which was in words truelie reported these. I thanke my lord maior, his brethren, and you all. And whereas your request is that I should continue your good ladie and quéene, be yée ensured, that I will be as good vnto you, as euer quéene was to hir people. No will in me can lacke, neither doo I trust shall there lacke anie power. And persuade your selues, that for the safetie and quietnesse of you all, I will not spare (if néed be) to spend my bloud, God thanke you all. Which answer of so noble an hearted princesse, if it mooued a maruellous shout and reioising, it is nothing to be maruelled at, sith both the haltinesse thereof was so woonderfull, and the words so iointlie knit.

The citie giueth a thousand marks to the quéene in a pursse.

The verie words of the quéene vttered to the lord maior, &c.

When hir grace had thus answered the recorder, she marched toward the little conduit, where was erected a pageant with square proportion, standing directlie before the same conduit, with battlements accordinglie. And in the same pageant was aduanced two hilles or mounteins of conuenient height. The one of them being on the north side of the same pageant was made cragged, barren and stonie, in the which was erected one trée, artificiallie made all withered and dead, with branches accordinglie. And vnder the same trée at the foot thereof sat one in homelie and rude apparell crookedlie, and in mourning maner, hauing ouer his head in a table, written in Latine and English, his name which was Ruinosa respublica, A decaied commonweale. And vpon the same withered trée were fixed certeine tables, wherein were written proper sentences, expressing the causes of the decaie of a commonweale. The other hill on the south side was made faire, fresh, greene, and beautifull, the ground thereof full of floures and beautie, and on the same was erected also one trée, verie fresh and faire, vnder the which stood vpright one fresh personage well apparelled and appointed, whose name also was written both in English and Latine, which was, Respublica bene instituta, A flourishing commonweale.

A pageant of a square proportion, and what things the same had represented in it.

Respublica ruinosa.

Respublica bene instituta.

And vpon the same tree also were fixed certeine tables conteining sentences, which expressed the causes of a flourishing commonweale. In the middle betweene the said hils, was made artificiallie one hollow place or caue, with doore and locke inclosed, out of the which, a little before the quéenes highnesse comming thither, issued

issued one personage, whose name was Time, apparelled as an old man, with a sieth in his hand, hauing wings artificiallie made, leading a personage of lesser stature than himselfe, which was finelie and well apparrelled, all clad in white silke, and directlie ouer hir head was set hir name and title in Latine and English, Temporis filia, The daughter of Time. Which two so appointed, went forwards toward the south side of the pageant. And on hir brest was written hir proper name, which was Veritas, Truth, who held a booke in hir hand, vpon the which was written Verbum veritatis, The word of truth. And out of the south side of the pageant was cast a standing for a child, which should interpret the same pageant. Against whome when the quéenes maiestie came, he spake vnto hir grace these swéet words:

Veritas temporis filia, expounded to the quéene.

The interpretation of the pageant deliuered in speech to the quéene by a child.

This old man with the sieth,
old father Time they call,
And hir his daughter Truth,
which holdeth yonder booke:
Whome he out of his rocke,
hath brought foorth to vs all,
From whence this manie yeares
she durst not once out looke.
The ruthfull wight that sits
vnder the barren tree,
Resembleth to vs the forme,
when common weales decaie:
But when they be in state
triumphant, you may see
By him in fresh attire,
that sits vnder the baie.
Now sith that Time againe,
his daughter Truth hath brought,
We trust ô worthie queene,
thou wilt this truth imbrace,
And sith thou vnderstandst,
the good estate and naught,
We trust wealth thou wilt plant,
and barrennes displace.
But for to heale the sore,
and cure that is not seene,
Which thing the booke of truth,
dooth teach in writing plaine:
Shee dooth present to thee
the same, ô worthie queene,
For that, that words doo flie,
but written dooth remaine.

When the child had thus ended his spéech, he reached his booke towards the quéenes maiestie, which a little before Truth had let downe vnto him from the hill, which by sir Iohn Parrat was receiued, and deliuered vnto the quéene. But shée as soone as she had receiued the booke, kissed it, and with both hir hands held vp the same, and so laid it vpon hir brest, with great thanks to the citie therefore: and so went forward towards Paules churchyard. The former matter which was rehearsed vnto the quéenes maiestie, was written in two tables, on either side the pageant eight verses, and in the middest, these in Latine:

The queene receiueth Verbum Dei, kisseth it, and laieth it in hir lap.

Ille,

Ille, vides falcem læua qui sustinet vncam,
Tempus is est, cui stat filia vera comes:
Hanc pater exesa deductam rupe reponit
In lucem, quam non viderat antè diu.
Qui sedet à læua cultu malè tristis inepto
Quem duris crescens cautibus orbis obit,
Nos monet effigie qua sit respublica, quando
Corruit, at contra quando beata viget.
Ille docet iuuenis forma spectandus, amictu
Scitus, & æterna laurea fronde virens.

The sentences written in Latine and English vpon both the trées, declaring the causes of both estates, and first of a ruinous commonweale were these: Want of Gods feare, disobedience to rulers, blindnesse of guides, briberie in magistrats, rebellion in subiects, ciuill discord, flattering of princes, vnmercifulnesse in rulers, vnthankefulnesse in subiects. Causes of a flourishing commonweale are these: Feare of God, a wise prince, learned rulers, obedience to officers, obedient subiects, louers of the commonweale, vertue rewarded, vice chastened.

The meaning in bréefe of this pagent.

The matter of this pageant dependeth of them that went before. For as the first declared hir grace to come out of the house of vnitie, the second that she is placed in the seat of gouernement staid with vertues, to the suppression of vice; and therefore in the third, the eight blessings of almightie God might well be applied vnto hir: so this fourth now is, to put hir grace in remembrance of the state of the commonweale, which Time with Truth his daughter dooth reueale: which Truth also hir grace hath receiued, and therefore cannot but be mercifull and carefull for the good gouernement thereof. From thence, the quéenes maiestie passed toward Paules churchyard, and when she came ouer against Paules schoole, a child appointed by the schoolemaister thereof, pronounced a certeine oration in Latine, and certeine verses, which also were there written as followeth:

A scholer of Paules vttereth an oration in Latine to the quéene.

Philosophus ille diuinus Plato inter multa præclarè ac sapienter dicta, hoc posteris proditum reliquit; Rempublicam illam fœliciss. fore, cui princeps sophiæ studiosa, virtutibúsque ornata contigerit. Quem si verè dixisse censeamus (vt quidem verissimè) cur non terra Britannica plauderet? cur non populus gaudium atque lætitiam agitaret? Immo, cur non hunc diem, albo (quod aiunt) lapillo notaret? Quo princeps talis nobis adest, quale priores non viderunt, qualémque posteritas haud facilè cernere poterit, dotibus quum animi, tum corporis vndique fœlicissima. Casti quidem corporis dotes ita apertæ sunt, vt oratione non egeant. Animi verò tot tantæque, vt ne verbis quidem exprimi possint. Hæc nempe regibus summis orta, morum atque animi nobilitate genus exuperæt. Huius pectus Christi religionis amore flagrat. Hæc gentem Britannicam virtutibus illustrabit, clypéoque iustitiæ teget. Hæc literis Græcis & Latinis eximia, ingenióque præpollens est. Hac imperante pietas vigebit, Anglia florebit, aurea sæcula redibunt. Vos igitur Angli tot commoda accepturi, Elisabetham reginam nostram celeberrimam ab ipso Christo huius regni imperio destinatam, honore debito prosequimini. Huius imperijs animo libentissimo subditi estote, vósque tali principe dignos præbete. Et quoniam pueri non viribus sed precibus officium præstare possunt, nos alumni huius scholæ ab ipso Coleto olim templi Paulini decano extructæ, teneras palmas ad cœlum tendentes, Christum Opt. Max. precaturi sumus, vt tuam celsitudinem annos Nestoreos summo cum honore Anglis imperitare faciat, matrémque pignoribus charis beatam reddat: Amen.

Laus Elisabethæ regni iugum subeuntis.

Ad Anglorum gentem breuis adhortatio.

Anglia nunc tandem plaudas, lætare, resulta,
Præsto iam vita est, præsidiúmque tibi.
En tua spes venit, tua gloria, lux, decus omne
Venit iam, solidam qua tibi præstat opem.
Succurrétque tuis rebus quæ pessum abiere,
Perdita quæ fuerant hæc reparare volet.
Omnia florebunt, redeunt nunc aurea sæcla,
In melius surgent quæ cecidere bona.
Debes ergo illi totam te reddere fidam,
Cuius in accessu commoda tot capies.
Salue igitur dicas, imo de pectore summo,
Elizabeth regni non dubitanda salus,
Virgo venit, veniátque optes comitata deinceps,
Pignoribus charis, læta parens veniat.
Hoc Deus omnipotens ex alto donet olympo,
Qui cœlum & terram condidit atque regit.

Quenam prestabit Elisabetha suo regimine.

Which the quéenes maiestie most attentiuelie hearkened vnto. And when the child had pronounced, he did kisse the oration which he had there faire written in paper, and deliuered it vnto the quéenes maiestie, which most gentlie receiued the same. And when the quéenes maiestie had heard all that was there offered to be spoken, then hir grace marched toward Ludgate, where she was receiued with a noise of instruments, the fore front of the gate being finelie trimmed vp against hir maiesties comming. From thence by the way as she went downe toward Fleetbridge, one about hir grace noted the cities charge, that there was no cost spared. Hir grace answered, that she did well consider the same, and that it should be remembred. An honorable answer, worthie a noble prince, which may comfort all hir subiects, considering that there can be no point of gentlenesse, or obedient loue shewed towards hir grace, which she dooth not most tenderlie accept, and graciouslie weie. In this maner, the people on euerie side reioising, hir grace went forward towards the conduit in Fléetstréet, where was the fift and last pageant erected in forme following.

The quéenes maiestie considered the cities charge.

From the conduit, which was beautified with painting, vnto the north side of the stréet was erected a stage, imbatteled with foure towers, and in the same a square plat rising with degrées; and vpon the vppermost degrée was placed a chaire, or seat roiall, and behind the same seat, in curious artificiall maner was erected a trée of reasonable height, and so farre aduanced aboue the seat, as it did well and seemelie shadow the same, without indamaging the sight of anie part of the pageant: and the same trée was beautified with leaues as gréene as art could deuise, being of a conuenient greatnesse, and conteining therevpon the fruit of the date. And on the top of the same tree in a table was set the name thereof, which was a palme tree, and in the aforesaid seat or chaire was placed* a séemelie and meet personage richlie apparelled in parlement robes, with a scepter in hir hand, as a queene, crowned with an open crowne, whose name and title was in a table fixed ouer hir head, in this sort: Debora the iudge and restorer of the house of Israell: Iudic. 4. And the other degrees on either side were furnished with six personages, two representing the nobilitie, two the cleargie, and two the communaltie. And before these personages was written in a table: Debora with hir estates consulting for the good gouernment of Israell. At the féet of these, and the lowest part of the pageant was ordeined a conuenient roome for a child to open the meaning of the pageant. When the quéenes maiestie drew neare vnto this pageant, and perceiued, as in the other, the child readie to speake; hir grace required silence, and commanded hir chariot to be remooued nigher,

A pagent in Fléetstréet described.

* Alluding to the quéenes maiestie no doubt.

How willing the quéene was to heare the child speake.

nigher, that she might plainlie heare the child speake, which said as hereafter followeth:

Iabin of Canaan king,
had long by force of armes
Opprest the Israelites,
which for Gods people went:
But God minding at last
for to redresse their harmes,
The worthie Debora
as iudge among them sent.
In warre she through Gods aid,
did put hir foes to flight,
And with the dint of sword
the band of bondage brast.
In peace she, through Gods aid,
did alwaie mainteine right,
And iudged Israell
till fortie yeares were past.
A worthie president,
ô worthie queene thou hast,
A worthie woman iudge,
a woman sent for staie:
And that the like to vs
indure alwaie thou maist,
Thy louing subiects will
with true harts and toongs praie

Which verses were written vpon the pageant, and the same in Latin also fixed in the face of the people:

Quando Dei populum Canaan, rex pressit Iaben,
Mittitur à magno Debora magna Deo:
Quæ populum eriperet, sanctum seruaret Iudan,
Milite quæ patrio frangeret hostis opes.
Hæc Domino mandante Deo lectissima fecit
Fœmina, & aduersos contudit ense viros.
Hæc quater denos populum correxerat annos
Iudicio, bello strenua, pace grauis:
Sic, ô sic populum bellóque & pace guberna,
Debora sis Anglis Elisabetha tuis.

The void places of this pageant were filled with pretie sentences concerning the same matter. The ground of this last pageant was, that for somuch as the next pageant before had set before hir graces eies the flourishing and desolate states of a commonweale, she might by this be put in remembrance to consult for the worthie gouernement of hir people, considering God oftentimes sent women noblie to rule among men, as Debora, which gouerned Israell in peace the space of fortie yeares: and that it behoueth both men and women so ruling to vse aduise of good councell. When the queenes maiestie had passed this pageant, she marched toward Temple bar. But at S. Dunstans church, where the children of the hospitall were appointed to stand with their gouernors, hir grace perceiuing a child offered

The morall of the foresaid pageant.

The children of Christs hospitall stand at S. Dunstans.

to make an oration vnto hir, staied hir chariot, and did cast vp hir eies to heauen as who should saie; I here see this mercifull worke toward the poore, whome I must in the middest of my roialtie needs remember: and so turned hir face toward the child, which in Latine pronounced an oration to this effect: That after the queenes highnesse had passed through the citie, and had seene so sumptuous, rich, and notable spectacles of the citizens, which declared their most hartie receiuing, and ioious welcomming of hir grace into the same: this one spectacle yet rested and remained, which was the euerlasting spectacle of mercie vnto the poore members of almightie God, furthered by that famous and most noble prince king Henrie the eight hir graces father, erected by the citie of London, and aduanced by the most godlie and vertuous prince king Edward the sixt, hir graces deare and louing brother, doubting nothing of the mercie of the queenes most gratious clemencie, by the which they may not onelie be relieued and helped, but also staied and defended: and therefore incessantlie they would praie and crie vnto almightie God, for the long life and reigne of hir highnesse, with most prosperous victorie against hir enimies.

The child after he had ended his oration, kissed the paper wherein the same was written, and reached it to the queenes maiestie, which receiued it gratiouslie, both with words and countenance, declaring hir gratious mind toward their relefe. From thence hir grace came to Temple bar, which was dressed finelie with the two images of Gogmagog the Albion, and Corineus the Briton, two giants, big in stature, furnished accordinglie, which held in their hands aboue the gate a table, wherein was written in Latine verses the effect of all the pageant which the citie before had erected, which verses were these insuing:

Temple bar adorned with Gogmagog, and other giants.

Quinque arcus quam significationem implicitam teneant.

Ecce sub aspectu iam contemplaberis vno
(O princeps populi sola columna tui)
Quicquid in immensa passim perspexeris vrbe,
Quæ cepere omnes vnus hic arcus habet.
Primus te solio regni donauit auiti,
Hæres quippe tui vera parentis eras.
Suppressis vitijs, domina virtute. Secundus,
Firmauit sedem regia virgo tuam.
Tertius ex omni posuit te parte beatam,
Si, qua cæpisti pergere velle, velis.
Quarto quid verum, respublica lapsa quid esset,
Quæ florens staret te docuere tui.
Quinto magna loco monuit te Debora missam
Cœlitus, in regni gaudia longa tui.
Perge ergo regina, tuæ spes vnica gentis,
Hæc postrema vrbis suscipe vota tuæ.
Viue diu, regnáque diu, virtutibus ornæ
Rem patriam, & populi spem tueare tui.
Sic ô sic petitur cœlum, sic itur in astra:
Hoc virtutis opus, cætera mortis erunt.

Which verses were also written in English méeter, in a lesse table as hereafter plainelie followeth;

Behold here in one view,
thou maist see all that plaine,
O princesse vnto this
thy people th' onlie staie:

What

What each where thou hast seene
in this wide towne, againe,
This one arch whatsoeuer
the rest conteind, dooth saie.
The first arch as true heire
vnto thy father deere,
Did set thee in thy throne
where thy grandfather sat.
The second did confirme
thy seat as princesse heere,
Vertues now bearing swaie,
and vices bet downe flat.
The third, if that thou wouldst
go on as thou began,
Declared thee to be
blessed on euerie side.
The fourth did open truth,
and also taught thee whan
The common weale stood well,
and when it did thence slide.
The fift, as Debora
declared thee to be sent
From heauen, a long comfort
to vs thy subiects all.
Therefore go on ô queene,
on whom our hope is bent,
And take with thee this wish
of thy towne as finall.
Liue long, and as long reigne,
adorning thy countrie
With vertues, and mainteine
thy peoples hope of thee.
For thus, thus heauen is woone,
thus must thou perse the skie,
This is by vertue wrought,
all other needs must die.

What the arches signifie.

On the southside was appointed by the citie a noise of singing children, and one child richlie attired as a poet, which gaue the queenes maiestie hir farewell in the name of the whole citie, by these sweet words:

As at thine entrance first,
ô prince of high renowne,
Thou wast presented with
toongs and hearts for thy faier:
So now sith thou must needs
depart out of this towne,
This citie sendeth thee
firme hope and earnest praier.
For all men hope in thee,
that all vertues shall raine,

The cities farewell to the queene going out at Temple barre.

For

For all men hope that thou
none error wilt support,
For all men hope that thou
wilt truth restore againe,
And mend that is amisse,
to all good mens comfort.
And for this hope they praie,
thou maist continue long,
Our queene amongst vs here,
all vice for to supplant,
And for this hope they praie,
that God maie make thee strong,
As by his grace puissant,
So in his truth constant.
Farewell ô worthie queene,
and as our hope is sure,
That into errors place,
thou wilt now truth restore:
So trust we that thou wilt
our souereigne queene endure,
And louing ladie stand,
from hense foorth euermore.

The last words of the quéene to the citie by waie of promise.

While these words were in saieng, and certeine wishes therein repeated for maintenance of truth, and rooting out of errour, she now and then held vp hir hands towards heauen, and willed the people to saie, Amen. When the child had ended, she said; Be ye well assured I shall stand your good quéene. At which saieng, hir grace departed foorth through Templebarre toward Westminster, with no lesse showting and crieng of the people, than she entered the citie with a noise of ordinance which the tower shot off at hir graces enterance first into Towerstréet. The childs saieng was also in Latine verses written in a table verie faire which was hanged vp there:

Carmen valedictorium a puero recitatum.

O regina potens, quam primam vrbem ingredereris,
Dona tibi linguas fidáque corda dedit.
Discedenti etiam tibi nunc duo munera mittit,
Omnia plena spei, votáque plena precum.
Quippe tuis spes est in te, quòd prouida virtus
Rexerit, errore nec locus vllus erit.
Quippe tuis spes est, quòd tu verum omni reduces
Solatura bonas, dum mala tollis, opes.
Hac spe freti orant, longum vt regina gubernes,
Et regni excindas crimina cuncta tui.
Hac spe freti orant, diuina vt gratia fortem
Et veræ fidei te velit esse basin.
Iam regina vale, & sicut nos spes tenet vna,
Quòd vero inducto, perditus error erit:
Sic quóque speramus quòd eris regina benignæ
Nobis per regni tempora longa tui.

Thus the queenes highnesse passed through the citie, which without anie foreigne person, of it selfe beautified it selfe, and receiued hir grace at all places as hath beene

beene before mentioned, with most tender obedience and loue, due to so gratious a queene and souereigne a ladie. And hir grace likewise of hir side in all hir graces passage, shewed hir selfe generallie an image of a worthie ladie and gouernour. But priuatlie these especiall points were noted in hir grace, as signes of a most princelike courage, whereby hir louing subiects maie ground a sure hope for the rest of hir gratious dooings hereafter.

Certeín notes of the quéence maiesties great mercie, clemencie, and wisdome vsed in this passage.

About the nether end of Cornehill toward Cheape, one of the knights about hir grace had espied an ancient citizen, which wept, and turned his head backe, and therewith said this gentleman; Yonder is an alderman (for so he tearmed him) which wéepeth, andturneth his face backeward; how maie it be interpreted that he so dooth, for sorrow, or for gladnesse? The quéens maiestie heard him, and said, I warrant you it is for gladnesse. A gratious interpretation of a noble courage, which would turne the doubtfull to the best. And yet it was well knowne, that as hir grace did confirme the same, the parties cheare was mooued for verie pure gladnesse for the sight of hir maiesties person, at the beholding whereof he tooke such comfort, that with teares he expressed the same. In Cheape side hir grace smiled, and being thereof demanded the cause, answered, for that she heard one saie; Remember old king Henrie the eight. A naturall child, which at the verie remembrance of hir fathers name, tooke so great ioy, that all men maie well thinke that as she reioised at his name whome this realme dooth hold of so worthie memorie: so in hir dooings she will resemble the same.

Of one that wept for ioy and inward gladnesse.

When the cities charge without parcialitie, and onelie the citie was mentioned vnto hir grace, shée said it should not be forgotten. Which saieng might moone all naturall Englishmen hartilie to shew due obedience and intiernesse to their so good a queene, which will in no point forget anie parcell of dutie louinglie shewed vnto hir. The answer which hir grace made vnto maister recorder of London, as the hearers know it to be true, and with melting hearts heard the same: so maie the reader thereof conceiue what kind of stomach and courage pronounced the same. What more famous thing doo we read in ancient histories of old time, than that mightie princes haue gentlie receiued presents offered them by base and low personages. If that be to be woondered at (as it is passinglie) let me sée anie writer that in anie princes life is able to recount so manie presidents of this vertue, as hir grace shewed in that one passage thorough the citie.

The humblenesse of the quéene in receiuing verie trifles of hir poore subiects thankefullie.

How manie nosegaies did hir grace receiue at poore womens hands? How oftentimes staid she hir chariot, when she saw anie simple bodie offer to speake to hir grace? A branch of rosemarie giuen hir grace with a supplication by a poore woman about Fleetbridge, was séene in hir chariot till hir grace came to Westminster, not without the maruellous woondering of such as knew the presenter, and noted the quéens most gratious receiuing and keeping the same. What hope the poore and néedie maie looke for at hir graces hand, she as in all hir iournie continuallie, so in hir hearkening to the poore children of Christs hospitall* with eies cast vp into heauen, did fullie declare: as that neither the wealthier estate could stand without consideration had to the pouertie, neither the pouertie be dulie considered, vnlesse they were remembred, as commended vnto vs by Gods owne mouth.

* Where hir mind then was no doubt in heauen vpon God.

As at hir first entrance she as it were declared hir selfe prepared to passe through a citie that most intierlie loued hir: so she at hir last departing as it were bound hir selfe by promise, to continue good ladie and gouernor vnto that citie, which by outward declaration did open their loue vnto their so louing and noble prince, in such wise, as she hir selfe woondered thereat. But because princes be set in their seat by Gods appointing, and therefore they must first and chieflie tender the glorie of him, from whom their glorie issueth: it is to be noted in hir grace, that

The quéens maiestie is not forgetfull to glorifie God who glorified hir.

that for somuch as God hath so woonderfullie placed hir in the seat of gouernement ouer this realme, she in all hir dooings dooth shew hir selfe most mindfull of his goodnesse and mercie shewed vnto hir. And among all other, two principall signes thereof were noted in this passage. First in the tower, where hir grace before she entred hir chariot, lifted vp hir eies to heauen, and saith as followeth.

THE PRAIER OF QUEENE ELISABETH AS SHE WENT TO HIR CORONATION.

O LORD almightie and euerlasting God, I giue thee most heartie thanks, that thou hast beene so mercifull vnto me, as to spare me to behold this ioifull daie. And I acknowledge that thou hast delt as woonderfullie and as mercifullie with me, as thou diddest with thy true and faithfull seruant Daniell thy prophet; whome thou deliueredst out of the den from the crueltie of the greedie and raging lions: euen so was I ouerwhelmed, and onlie by thee deliuered. To thee therefore onlie be thankes, honor, and praise, for euer: Amen.

The second was the receiuing of the bible at the little conduit in Cheape. For when hir grace had learned that the bible in English should there be offered: she thanked the citie therefore, promised the reading thereof most diligentlie, and incontinent commanded that it should be brought. At the receipt whereof, how reuerendlie did she with both hir hands take it, kisse it, and laie it vpon hir brest, to the great comfort of the lookers on? God will vndoubtedlie preserue so woorthie a prince, which at his honor so reuerendlie taketh hir beginning. For this saieng is true, and written in the booke of truth; He that first séeketh the kingdome of God, shall haue all other things cast vnto him. Now therefore all English hearts, and hir naturall people must néeds praise Gods mercie, which hath sent them so woorthie a prince, and praie for hir graces long continuance amongst vs. On sundaie the fiue and twentith of Ianuarie, hir maiestie was with great solemnitie crowned at Westminster in the abbeie church there, by doctor Oglethorpe bishop of Carleill. She dined in Westminster hall, which was richlie hoong, and euerie thing ordered in such roiall maner, as to such a regall and most solemne feast apperteined.

As religious a princesse is quéene Elisabeth as euer she was.

Hir coronation at Westminster.

In the meane time, whilest hir grace sat at dinner, sir Edward Dimmocke knight, hir champion by office, came riding into the hall in faire complet armor, mounted vpon a beautifull courser, richlie trapped in cloth of gold, entred the hall, and in the midst thereof cast downe his gantlet: with offer to fight with him in hir quarell, that should denie hir to be the righteous and lawfull quéene of this realme. The quéene taking a cup of gold full of wine, dranke to him thereof, and sent it to him for his fée togither with the couer.

Sir Edward Dimmocke knight hir champion by office.

Now after this, at the seruing vp of the wafers; the lord maior of London went to the cupboord, and filling a cup of gold with ipocrasse, bare it to the quéene: and kneeling before hir took the assaie, and she receiuing it of him, and drinking of it, gaue the cup with the couer vnto the said lord maior for his fee, which cup and couer weied sixtéene ounces Troie weight. Finallie, this feast being celebrated with all roiall ceremonies, and high solemnities, due and in like cases accustomed, tooke end with great ioy and contentation to all the beholders. On wednesdaie the fiue and twentith of Ianuarie the parlement began, the queenes maiestie riding in hir parlement robes, from hir palace of Whitehall, vnto the abbeie church of Westminster,

The lord maior of London serueth the quéene of ipocrasse.

A parlement.

minster, with the lords spirituall and temporall, attending hir likewise in their parlement robes. Doctor Cox sometime schoolemaister to king Edward the sixt and now latelie returned from the parties of beyond the seas, where during the daies of quéene Marie he had liued as a banished man, preached now before the estates there assembled in the beginning of the said parlement. In this parlement, the first fruits and tenths were restored to the crowne, and also the supreame gouernment ouer the state ecclesiasticall, which queene Marie had giuen to the pope. Likewise the booke of common praier and administration of the sacraments in our mother toong was restored. *Iohn Stow.* The first fruits and tenths restored to the crowne.

¶ But before this good woorke was agréed vpon, there was much debating about matters touching religion, and great studie on both parties imploied, the one to reteine still, the other to impugne the doctrine and faction which before in quéene Maries time had béene established. But speciallie here is to be noted, that though there lacked no industrie on the papists side, to hold fast that which they most cruellie from time to time had studied, and by all meanes practised to come by: yet notwithstanding, such was the prouidence of God at that time, that for lacke of the other bishops, whom the Lord had taken awaie by death a little before, the residue that there were left could doo the lesse: and in verie deed, God be praised therefore, did nothing at all in effect; although yet notwithstanding there lacked in them neither will nor labor to doo what they could, if their cruell abilitie there might haue serued. But namelie amongst all others, not onelie the industrious courage of doctor Storie, but also his words in this parlement are woorthie to be known of posteritie, who like a stout and furious champion of the popes side, to declare himselfe how lustie he was, and what he had and would doo in his maisters quarell, shamed not openlie in the said parlement house to burst out into such impudent sort of words, as was wonder to all good eares to heare, and no lesse woorthie of historie. *Abr. Fl. ex Ioan. Foxi martyrologio.* Doctor Storie impudent and sawcie.

The summe of which his shamelesse talke was vttered to this effect. First beginning with himselfe, he declared, that whereas he was noted commonlie abroad, and much complained of, to haue béene a great dooer, and a setter foorth of such religion, orders, and procéedings, as of his late souereigne that dead is quéene Marie were set foorth in this relme, he denied nothing the same; protesting moreouer that he had doone nothing therein, but that both his conscience did lead him therevnto, and also his commission did as well then command him, as now also dooth discharge him for the same; being no lesse readie now also to doo the like, and more, in case he by this queene were authorised likewise, and commanded therevnto. Wherefore as I sée (saith he) nothing to be ashamed of; so lesse I see to be sorie for: but rather said that he was sorie for this, bicause he had doone no more than he did, and that in executing those lawes, they had not béene more vehement and seuere. Wherein he said, there was no default in him, but in them, whome he both oft and earnestlie had exhorted to the same; being therefore not a little gréeued with them, for that they labored onelie about the yoong and little sprigs and twigs, while they should haue stroken at the root, and cleane haue rooted it out: &c. And concerning his persecuting and burning them, he denied not, but that he was once at the burning of an earewig (for so he termed it) at Uxbridge, where he tost a fagot at his face as he was singing psalmes, and set a wine bush of thorns vnder his feet, a little to pricke him, with manie other words of like effect. In the which words he named moreouer sir Philip Hobbie, and another knight of Kent, with such other of the richer and higher degrée, whom his counsell was to plucke at, and to bring them vnder Coram; wherein (said he) if they had followed my aduise, then had they doone well and wiselie. This or much like was the effect of the shamelesse and tyrannicall excuse of himselfe, more méete to speake with the The words of doctor Storie in the parlement house. This martyr burnt at Uxbridge was maister Denleie.

voice of a beast, than of a man. Although in this parlement some diuersitie there was of iudgement and opinion betwéene parties: yet notwithstanding through the mereifull goodnesse of the Lord, the true cause of the gospell had the vpper hand, the papists hope was frustrat, and their rage abated: the order and procéedings of king Edwards time concerning religion was reuiued againe, the supremasie of the pope abolished, the articles and bloudie statutes of queene Marie repealed: bréeflie, the furious fierbrands of cruell persecution, which had consumed so manie poore mens bodies, were now extinct and quenched.]

A motion made in the parlement house to the quéene touching marriage, &c.

Moreouer in the time of this parlement, a motion was made by the common house, that the queenes maiestie might be sued vnto, to grant hir graces licence to the speaker, knights, citizens and burgesses, to haue accesse vnto hir graces presence: to declare vnto hir matter of great importance, concerning the state of this hir graces realme. The which petition being mooued to hir grace, she most honorablie agréed and consented therevnto, and assigned a daie of hearing. When the daie came, the speaker and common house resorted vnto hir graces palace at Westminster called the White hall. And in the great gallerie there, hir grace most honorablie shewed hirselfe readie to heare their motion and petition. And when the speaker had solemnlie and eloquentlie set foorth the message (the principall matter wherof most speciallie was to mooue hir grace to marriage) whereby (to all our comforts) we might inioie (as Gods pleasure should be) the roiall issue of hir bodie to reigne ouer vs, &c. The quéenes maiestie after a little pause made this answer following, as néere as I could beare the same awaie (saith Grafton.)

THE QUEENES ANSWER

TO THE FORMER MOTION OF THE PARLEMENT HOUSE.

Rich. Grafton.

AS I haue good cause, so doo I giue to you my hartie thanks for the good zeale and care that you séeme to haue as well toward me, as to the whole state of your countrie. Your petition I gather to be grounded on thrée causes, and mine answer to the same shall consist in two parts. And for the first I saie vnto you, that from my years of vnderstanding, knowing my selfe a seruitor of almightie God, I chose this kind of life, in which I doo yet liue, as a life most acceptable vnto him, wherein I thought I could best serue him, and with most quietnesse doo my duetie vnto him. From which my choise, if either ambition of high estate offered vnto me by marriages (whereof I haue records in this presence) the displeasure of the prince, the eschewing the danger of mine enimies, or the auoiding the perill of death (whose messenger the princes indignation was no little time continuallie present before mine eies, by whose meanes if I knew or doo iustlie suspect, I will not now vtter them, or if the whole cause were my sister hir selfe, I will not now charge the dead) could haue drawen or dissuaded me, I had not now remained in this virgins estate wherein you sée me. But so constant haue I alwaies continued in this my determination (that although my words and youth maie seeme to some hardlie to agrée togither) yet it is true, that to this daie I stand frée from anie other meaning, that either I haue had in times past, or haue at this present. In which state and trade of liuing wherewith I am so throughlie acquainted, God hath so hitherto preserued me, and hath so watchfull an eie vpon me, and so hath guided me and led me by the hand, as my full trust is, he will not suffer me to go alone. The maner of your petition I doo like, and take in good part: for it is simple, and conteineth no limitation of place

The quéenes maiestie estéemeth no life so glorious as to serue God.

The quéenes maiestie hath no mind to marrie.

place or person. If it had béene otherwise, I must haue misliked it verie much, and thought in you a verie great presumption, being unfit and altogither vnméet to require them that may command, or those appoint whose parts are to desire, or such to bind and limit whose duties are to obeie; or to take vpon you to draw my loue to your likings, or to frame my will to your fansies. A guerdon constreined, and a gift fréelie giuen can neuer agrée. Neuerthelesse, if anie of you be in suspect, that whensoeuer it maie please God to incline my hart to that kind of life, my meaning is to doo or determine anie thing wherwith the realme maie haue iust cause to be discontented; put that out of your heads. For I assure you (what credence my assurance maie haue with you I can not tell, but what credit it shall deserue to haue, the sequele shall declare) I will neuer in that matter conclude anie thing that shall be preiudiciall vnto the realme. For the weale and good safetie whereof, as a good mother of my countrie, I will neuer shun to spend my life. And whomsoeuer my choise maie light vpon, he shall be as carefull for the preseruation of the realme as you, I will not saie as my selfe: for I cannot so certeinlie promise of another, as I doo surelie know of my selfe, but as anie other can be. And albeit it dooth please almightie God to continue me still in this mind, to liue out of the state of marriage: it is not to be feared, but he will so worke in my hart, and in your wisdoms, that as good prouision may be made in conuenient time, whereby the realme shall not remaine destitute of an heire that may be a fit gouernor, and peraduenture more beneficiall to the realme than such ofspring as may come of me. For though I be neuer so carefull for your well dooings, and mind euer so to be: yet may mine issue grow out of kind and become vngratious. And for me it shall be sufficient, that a marble stone declare that a quéene, hauing reigned such a time, liued and died a virgine. To make an end, I take your comming to me in good part, and giue vnto you eftsoons my hartie thanks, more yet for your zeale, good will, and good meaning, than for your message and petition.

A most excellent answer of a most excellent princesse.

The quéenes promise howsoeuer God incline hir hart.

The quéenes words touching an heire roiall the last part of their motion.

Manie that for feare of persecution in quéene Maries daies were fled the realme, and liued in voluntarie exile, now that all persecution ceased by the gratious clemencie of this noble princesse quéene Elisabeth, they returned with all conuenient spéed home into their natiue countrie, giuing to almightie God most humble thanks for that his mercifull deliuerance, in sending them a gouernor, that not onelie permitted libertie of conscience, but also was readie to aduance religion, and command frée exercise of common praier, preaching, and administration of the sacraments, according to the right institution of the primitiue churches. Fridaie the seauentéenth of Februarie, one of maister Hunnings seruants (that was also one of the takers of fresh fish for the prouision of the queenes house) was set on the pillorie in Cheapside in the fish market ouer against the kings head, hauing a bawdrike of smelts hanging about his necke, with a paper on his forehead written: For buieng smelts for twelue pence the hundred, and selling them againe for ten pence the quarter. He stood so likewise on the eightéenth and the twentith daie of the same moneth, euerie one of those three daies from nine of the clocke till twelue. The last daie he should haue had one of his eares slit, if by great sute made to the councell by the lord maior of London, he had not béene pardoned and released out of prison. This penance was assigned to him by the quéenes owne appointment, when to hir grace his trespasse was reuealed. Whereby shée gaue a tast to the people of a zealous mind to haue iustice dulie ministred, and faults accordinglie punished, namelie of those which vnder pretense of hir graces authoritie should go about to wrong and oppresse her louing subiects.

The returne of the protestants from exile.

One set on the pillorie; and what punishment the quéene by hir owne mouth appointed him.

This yéere in the Easter holidaies on the mondaie preached at the Spittle doctor Bill, on the tuesdaie doctor Cox, and on the wednesdaie doctor Horne: the first was

Preachers at Spittle.

hir maiesties chapleine, the other two had remained at Geneua, and in other places beyond the seas all queene Maries time. On low sundaie maister Samson made the rehearsal sermon: but when the lord maior and aldermen came to their places in Paules churchyard, the pulpit doore was locked, and the keie could not be heard of. Whervpon the lord maior sent for a smith to open the locke, which was doone, and when the preacher should enter the place, it was found very filthie and vncleanlie. Moreouer, the verger that had the custodie of the keie, which opened the doore of the place where the prelats and others vse to stand at the sermon time, would not open the doore; but the gentlemen with a forme brake it open, and so came in to heare the sermon. This disorder chanced by reason that since Christmasse last past there was not a sermon preached at Paules crosse, by meanes of an inhibition sent from the councell vnto the bishop of London, that he should admit no preacher, because of the controuersie betwixt the bishops and other of the clergie that were now returned into the realme, from the parties of beyond the seas.

The pulpit at Paules crosse all beraied and beastlie.

A conference appointed concerning religion.

The last of March the parlement yet continuing, was a conference begun at Westminster concerning certeine articles of religion betwixt the bishops and other of the clergie on the one part, and certeine learned preachers of whome some had beene in diguitie in the church of England before that time on the other part. The declaration of the procéeding wherein, and the cause of the breaking vp of the same conference by default and contempt of certeine bishops, parties of the said conference was published in a little treatise, and imprinted by Richard Iug and Iohn Cawood, printers to the quéenes maiestie, as here followeth. The quéenes most excellent maiestie, hauing heard of diuersitie of opinions in certeine matters of religion amongst sundrie of hir louing subiects, and being verie desirous to haue the same reduced to some godlie and christian concord, thought it best by the aduise of the lords, and other of hir priuie councell, as well for the satisfaction of persons doubtfull, as also for the knowledge of the verie truth in certeine matter of difference, to haue a conuenient chosen number of the best learned of either part, and to confer togither their opinions and reasons, and therby to come to some good and charitable agreement.

The best learned of ech side to be chosen for this conference.

And herevpon by hir maiesties commandement certeine of hir priuie councell declared this purpose to the archbishop of Yorke (being also one of the same priuie councell) and required him that he would impart the same to some of the bishops, and to make choise of eight, nine, or ten of them: and that there should be the like number named of the other part: and further also declared to him (as then was supposed) what the matters should be. And as for the time, it was thought meet to be as soone as possible might be agreed vpon. And then after certeine daies past, it was signified by the said archbishop, that there was appointed by such of the bishops, to whome he had imparted this matter, eight persons, that is to saie, foure bishops, and foure doctors, who were content at the quéenes maiesties commandement to shew their opinions; and (as he termed it) render account of their faith in those matters which were mentioned, and that speciallie in writing, although he said they thought the same so determined, as there was no cause to dispute vpon them.

The persons chosen and the propositions also doo hereafter follow.

It was herevpon fullie resolued by the quéenes maiestie, with the aduise aforesaid, that according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts, for auoiding of much altercation in words; and that the said bishops should, bicause they were in authoritie and degree superiors, first declare their minds and opinions in the matter, with their reasons in writing: and the other number being also eight men of good degrée in schooles, and some hauing béene in dignitie in the church of England, if they had anie thing to saie to the contrarie, should the same daie declare their opinions in like manner. And so ech of them should deliuer their writings to the

Order taken for quiet conference, and regard had of the bishops according to their dignitie.

other, to be considered what were to be improued therein, and the same to declare againe in writing at some other conuenient daie, and the like order to be kept in all the rest of the matters. All this was fullie agreed vpon with the archbishop of Yorke, and also signified to both parties. And immediatlie herevpon, diuerse of the nobilitie and states of the realme, vnderstanding that such a meeting and conference should be, and that in certeine matters, wherevpon (the court of parlement consequentlie following) some lawes might be grounded: they made earnest meanes to hir maiestie, that the parties of this conference might put and read their assertions in the English toong, and that in the presence of them of the nobilitie, and others of the parlement house, for the better satisfaction and inabling of their owne iudgements, to treat and conclude of such lawes as might depend herevpon.

This also being thought verie reasonable, was signified to both parties, and so fullie agreed vpon, and the daie appointed for the first méeting to be the fridaie in the forenoone, being the last of March at Westminster church, where both for good order, and for honour of the conference, by the quéenes maiesties commandement, the lords and others of the priuie councell were present, and a great part of the nobilitie also. And notwithstanding the former order appointed, and consented vnto by both parts, yet the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues, alleging that they had mistaken that their assertions and reasons should be written, and so onelie recited out of the booke, said their booke was not readie then written: but they were prouided to argue and dispute, and therefore would for that time repeat in speech that which they had to saie vnto the first proposition. This variation from the order, and speciallie from that which themselues had by the said archbishop in writing before required, adding thereto the reason of the apostle, that to contend with words is profitable to nothing, but to subuersion of the hearer, seemed vnto the quéenes maiesties councell somewhat strange: and yet was it permitted without anie great reprehension, bicause they excused themselues with mistaking the order, and agréed that they would not faile but put it in writing; and according to the former order, deliuer it to the other part. And so the said bishop of Winchester and his colleagues appointed doctor Cole deane of Paules, to be the vtterer of their minds, who partlie by spéech onelie, and partlie by reading of authorities written, and at certeine times being informed of his colleagues what to saie, made a declaration of their meanings, and their reasons to their first proposition. Which being ended, they were asked by the priuie councell, if anie of them had anie more to be said: and they said; No. So as then the other part was licenced to shew their minds, which they did according to the first order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded in a booke written, which after a praier and inuocation made most humblie to almightie God, for the induing of them with his holie spirit, and a protestation also to stand to the doctrine of the catholike church, builded vpon the scriptures, and the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles, was distinctlie read by one Robert Horne bachellor in diuinitie, late deane of Duresme.

The daie for the first méeting of this conference appointed.

The bishop of Winchesters waie of proceeding misliked but yet in fine followed notwithstanding the contrarie prouided.

The maner of their first entrance into this conference.

* Afterwards bishop of Winchester.

And the same being ended with some likelihood, as it séemed that the same was much allowable to the audience: certeine of the bishops began to saie contrarie to their former answer, that they had now much more to saie to this matter. Wherein although they might haue béene well reprehended for such maner of cauillation, yet for auoiding of any mistaking of orders in this colloquie or conference, and for that they should vtter all that which they had to saie: it was both ordered, and thus openlie agreed vpon of both parts in the full audience, that vpon the mondaie following, the bishops should bring their minds and reasons in writing to the second assertion, and the last also if they could, and first read the same, and that doone, the other part should bring likewise theirs to the same. And being read, ech of them

Another order taken for the next méeting to confer.

them should deliuer to other the same writings. And in the meane time the bishops should put in writing, not onelie all that which doctor Cole had that daie vttered: but all such other matters as they anie otherwise could thinke of for the same: and as soone as they might possiblie, to send the same booke touching that first assertion to the other part, and they should receiue of them that writing which master Horne had there read that daie, and vpon mondaie it should be agreed what daie they should exhibit their answers touching the first proposition.

Thus both parts assented thereto, and the assemblie quietlie dismissed. And therefore vpon mõndaie, the like assemblie began againe at the place and houre appointed: and there (vpon what sinister or disordered meaning is not yet fullie knowne, though in some part it be vnderstanded) the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues, and especiallie Lincolne, refused to exhibit or read, according to the former notorious order on fridaie, that which they had prepared for the second assertion. And therevpon by the lord kéeper of the great seale, they being first gentlie and fauourablie required to kéepe the order appointed; and that taking no place, being secondlie as it behooued, pressed with more earnest request: they neither regarding the authoritie of that place, nor their owne reputation, nor the credit of the cause, vtterlie refused that to doo. And finallie being againe particularlie euerie of them apart, distinctlie by name, required to vnderstand their opinions therein; they all sauing one (which was the abbat of Westminster, hauing some more consideration of order and his dutie of obedience than the other) vtterlie and plainelie denied to haue their booke read, some of them more earnestlie than others, and some other more vndiscréetlie and vnreuerentlie than others.

A new assemblie on the mondaie according to appointment.

Wherevpon giuing such example of disorder, stubbornesse and selfewill, as hath not béene séene and suffered in such an honourable assemblie, being of the two estates of this realme, the nobilitie and the commons, besides the presence of the quéenes maiesties most honourable priuie councell, the same assemblie was dismissed, and the godlie and most christian purpose of the quéens maiestie made frustrate. And afterwards for the contempt so notoriouslie made, the bishops of Winchester and Lincolne, hauing most obstinatelie both disobeied common authoritie, and varied manifestlie from their owne order, and speciallie Lincolne (who shewed more follie than the other) were condignelie committed to the tower of London, and the rest (sauing the abbat of Westminster) stood bound to make dailie their personall appéerance before the councell, and not to depart the citie of London and Westminster, vntill further order were taken with them for their disobedience and contempt.

The stubburnesse of the aduerse part an occasion to dissolue this assemblie.

THE THREE PROPOSITIONS

WHEREVPON CONFERENCE WAS DETERMINED TO HAUE BEENE AT WESTMINISTER.

1 IT is against the word of GOD, and the custome of the ancient church, to vse a toong vnknowne to the people, in common praier, and the administration of the sacraments.

2 Euerie church hath authoritie to appoint, take awaie, and change ceremonies and ecclesiasticall rites: so the same bee to edification.

3 It cannot be prooued by the word of God, that there is in the masse offered vp a sacrifice propitiatorie for the quicke and the dead.

THE

THE NAMES OF SUCH AS HAD CONFERENCE IN THE PROPOSITIONS AFORESAID.

The B. of Winchester.	D. Scorie B. of Chiche.
The bishop of Lichfield.	Doctor Cox.
The bishop of Chester.	Maister Whitehed.
The bishop of Caerleill.	Maister Grindall.
The bishop of Lincolne.	Maister Horne.
Doctor Cole.	Maister doctor Sands.
Doctor Harpesfield.	Maister Gest.
Doctor Langdall.	Maister Elmer.
Doctor Chedseie.	Maister Iewell.

The bishops and doctors sat on the one side of the quéere at a table for them prepared, and the other learned men sat at another table on the other side of the same queere. And at the vpper end thereof at an other table sat the quéenes maiesties councell, desirous to haue séene some good conclusion of the said conference, although (as ye may perceiue by that which is aboue recited) it came to small effect. In this meane time, a treatie of peace, which had béene in hand the last yeare, first at Lisle, and after at the abbeie of Cercampe, a thrée leagues from Dorlens, betwixt the two kings of Spaine and France, was now renewed againe, and the deputies were appointed to meet at Chasteau Cambresi, a six leagues distant from Cambraie. For the king of Spaine, the duke of Alua, the prince of Orange, the bishop of Arras, Rigomes de Silua earle of Mellito, monsieur Viglius Zwichem, knight and president of the priuie councell in the low countries, who neuerthelesse came nt, bicause he was letted by sicknesse. For the French king there came the cardinall of Loraine the conestable, the marshall of saint Andrew, the bishop of Orleans, and Claude de Aubespine, the said kings secretarie. For the queene of England, the bishop of Elie, the lord William Howard baron of Effingham lord chamberleine to the said quéene, doctor Nicholas Wootton deane of Canturburie and Yorke.

A treatie for peace betwixt the kings of Spaine and France.

The deputies or commissioners appointed for the princes.

For the duke of Sauoie, there were the earle of Stropiana, and the president of Asti. And as a meane or mediatrix betwéene the parties, there was Christierna dutchesse of Loraine, with hir sonne the yong duke, which dutchesse, as well here, as before the Cercampe, trauelled most earnestlie to doo good betwixt the parties, and to bring them to a finall accord, whose endeauor therein was to the great good liking and contentation of all the said parties. After that this treatie had continued a long time, and now rested nothing to staie them from concluding a generall peace, but onelie the article touching Calis, at length that matter was also accorded by a speciall treatie betwixt the quéenes maiestie of England, and the French king, Guido Caualcanti a gentleman of Florence being the meane to bring the same to effect. The substance of which articles was, that Calis shuld rest in the Frenchmens hands, for the terme of eight yéeres, and at the end of that terme, they couenanted to render the same: or else for default, to forfeit vnto the quéenes highnesse the summe of fiue hundred thousand crownes; and for suertie hereof, to deliuer four hostages, such as hir maiestie should thinke sufficient. And in case the towne were not deliuered at the end of the said eight yéeres, though the monie were paid according to the couenants: yet notwithstanding the right and title to the said towne and countrie adioining, should alwaies remaine and be reserued vnto the crowne and realme of England. It was further concluded also, that a peace should be firmed and had betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, such fortresses to be rased as had been built and made by the Scots and French on the borders towards England, as Haimouth and others.

Ludouico Guicciardine. The articles of the peace betwixt the quéenes maiestie and the French king.

Sir Iohn Mason.

Sir Iohn Mason knight, secretarie for the French toong, was sent ouer in post with instructions vnto the English commissioners, after whose comming, within two or thrée daies, a generall peace was concluded betwixt all the parties, the articles whereof not touching England, we haue of purpose omitted. But now after the conclusion of this peace, the said sir Iohn Mason returned in post with the same: and so therevpon, the seuenth of Aprill, the said peace was proclamed; to wit betwixt the quéenes maiestie on the one part, and the French king on the other, their realmes, dominions, and subiects; and likewise betwixt hir said maiestie and the king Dolphin and quéene of Scots his wife, their realmes, dominions, and subiects. This proclamation was made by Garter Norreie king at armes, accompanied with thrée other heralds, and fiue trumpettors: the lord maior of London and the aldermen in their scarlet gowns being also present, and riding in companie of the said heralds.

A generall peace betwixt the kings of France and Spaine.

The peace proclamed.

Plaies and enterludes forbidden for a time.

The same time also was another proclamation made vnder the quéenes hand in writing, inhibiting, that from thensefoorth no plaies nor interludes should be exercised, till Alhallowes tide next insuing. Vpon saturdaie the two and twentith of Aprill, the lord Wentworth, late deputie of Calis, was areigned at Westminster, vpon an indictment of treason found against him, in the late queene Maries daies, for the losse of Calis: but he was acquited by his péeres, the lord marquesse of Northampton sitting that daie as cheefe steward of England, vnder the cloth of estate. The eight of Maie, the parlement brake vp; in which parlement, beside other things before recited, concluded, and passed in the same; a subsidie was granted to the quéenes highnesse, of two shillings eight pence the pound of moueable goods, and foure shillings of lands, to be paid at two seuerall paiments, of euerie person spirituall and temporall, towards the better furnishing of hir maiestie with monie, for the necessarie charges which she was presentlie occasioned to susteine, finding the treasure of the realme greatlie consumed, and the reuenues of the crowne sore diminished, and the same crowne much indebted, by taking vp of notable summes of monie by waie of loane vpon interest, as well in the daies of hir brother K. Edward, as hir sister quéene Marie. The foureteenth of Maie being Whitsundaie, the seruice in churches began according to the booke of common praier, set foorth and established in this last parlement, correspondent to that which was vsed in the daies of hir brother king Edward. Vpon sundaie the second of Iulie, the citizens of London set foorth a muster before the quéenes maiestie at Greenwich in the parke there, of the number of 1400 men, whereof 800 were pikes, armed in fine corselets, foure hundred shot in shirts of male, with morians, and two hundred halbarders armed in Almaine riuets: these were furnished foorth by the crafts and companies of the citie. To euerie hundred two wifflers were assigned, richlie appointed and apparelled for the purpose. There were also twelue wardens of the best companies mounted on horssebacke in coates of black veluet, to conduct them, with drums and fiffes, and six ensignes, all in ierkins of white sattin of Bridges, cut and lined with blacke sarsenet, and caps, hosen, and scarfs according. The sergeant Maiors, capteine Constable, and capteine Sanders, brought them in order before the queenes presence, placing them in battell arraie, euen as they should haue fought; so as the shew was verie faire, the emperours and the French kings ambassadors being present.

The lord Wentworth arreigned and acquited.

A subsidie granted of moueables and vnmoueables.

Iohn Stow.

A muster at Greenwich by the citizens of London in presence of the quéene.

In this moneth also, the Archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of Elie, London, and others, to the number of thirtéene or fouretéene, being called before the quéenes councell, and refusing to receiue the oth touching hir maiesties supremasie, and other articles, were depriued from their bishopricks: in whose roomes and places, first for cardinall Poole, succéeded doctor Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canturburie. In the place of Heth, succeeded doctor Yoong. In steed of Boner, Edmund

Bishops depriued and others succeeding.

Iohn Fox.

mund Grindall was bishop of London. For Hopton, Thurlbie, Tunstall, Pates, Christoferson, Peto, Coats, Morgan, Feasie, White, Oglethorpe, &c: were placed doctor Iohn Parkhurst in Norwich, D. Cox in Elie, Iewell in Salisburie, Pilkington in Duresme, doctor Sands in Worcester, master Downam in Westchester, Bentam in Couentrie and Lichfield, Dauid in S. Dauies, Allie in Excester, Horne in Winchester, Scorie in Hereford, Best in Carleill, Bullingham in Lincolne, Scamler in Peterburie, Bartlet in Bath, Gest in Rochester, Barlow in Chichester, &c. In like maner, were diuerse deans, archdeacons, parsons, and vicars, remooued from their benefices, and some of them committed to prison in the Tower, Fléet, Marshalsea, and Kings bench.

Commissioners sent abrode for establishing of religion.

Moreouer, about the same time were commissioners appointed to visit in euerie diocesse within the relme, for the establishment of religion, according to the order appointed by an act and statute, passed and confirmed in the last parlement. For London were appointed sir Richard Sackuill knight, Robert Horne doctor of diuinitie, doctor Huic a ciuilian, and maister Sauage; who calling before them diuerse persons of euerie parish, sware them to inquire and make presentment accordinglie, vpon certeine iniunctions drawne and deuised, for the better accomplishment and execution of that which they had in charge. Furthermore, about the same time, by vertue of an act established in parlement, all such religious houses as were againe erected and set vp, were now suppressed, as the abbeies of Westminster, the houses of the nuns and brethren of the Sion and Shéene, the blacke friers of Gréenwich, &c. And on the twelfe of August being saturdaie, the high altar in Paules church, with the rood and the images of Marie and Iohn, standing in the rood loft, were taken downe, and the prebendaries and petie canons commanded to weare no more their graie amises, but to vse onelie a surplice in seruice time. This was doone by commandement of doctor Grindall, newlie elect bishop of London, doctor Maie, then also newlie elected deane of Paules, and other the commissioners then appointed. Also on the euen of saint Bartholomew, the day and morrow after, were burned in Paules church-yard, Cheapeside, and diuerse other places of the citie of London, all the roods and other images of churches: and in some places, the coapes, vestments, and altar clothes, bookes, banners, sepulchers, and rood lofts, were likewise committed to the fier, and so consumed to ashes.

Religious houses suppressed.

Images taken downe and burned in the streets.

Diuerse popish relikes consumed to ashes.

¶ The fift of September about midnight, fell a great tempest at London, in the end wherof, a great lightning, with a terrible clap of thunder strake the spire (being stone) of the steeple of Alhallowes church in Bredstréet, about a ten foot beneath the top, out of the which fell a stone that slue a dog, and ouerthrew a man plaieng with the same dog, and the spire of the steeple was so perished, that not long after the same was taken downe with lesse charges to the parish, than the reparing would haue cost. And at the same instant, by the same tempest, one of the south-dores of S. Dionise church in Fenchurchstréet, with the dore of the reuestrie of the same church, were both striken through and broken.]

Ex I. S. 1113. Churches in London striken and broken by tempest.

An obsequie for the French king, Henrie the second, in whose time Calis was lost.

Vpon Fridaie the eight of September, was kept in Paules church of London a solemne obsequie for Henrie, the second of that name, king of France, who departed this life, about the tenth of Iulie last past, of a wound receiued the 29 of Iune, in running at tilt in a solemne iusts holden at Paris, in honor of the marriage celebrated betwixt his sister the ladie Margaret of France, and Philibert duke of Sauoie. He was striken on the viser with a lance, as he ran against the counte de Montgomerie: the spilts entring by the sight of his headpéece, and persing through his eie into his head, so perished his braine, that there was no meane to saue his life.

The maner of the obsequie.

The obsequie for him was kept in verie solemne wise, with a rich hearse, made like an imperiall crowne, susteined with great pillers, and couered with blacke vel-

uet, with a valence fringed with gold and richlie hanged with scutchions, pennons, and banners of the French kings armes, without anie lights. And on the beere was laid a rich pall of cloth of gold, with a coat armor of the armes of France, and a crest, with an imperiall crowne standing vpon the béere: doctor Parker archbishop of Canturburie elect, doctor Barlow bishop of Chichester elect, and doctor Scorie bishop of Hereford elect, executing at the dirge of this euening song in English, they sitting in the bishop of Londons seat, in the vpper quéere, in surplices, with doctors hoods about their shoulders. The chéefe mourner was the marquesse of Winchester, lord treasuror, assisted with ten other lords mourners, with all the heralds in blacke, and their coat armours vppermost.

The chéefe mourners at this obsequie.

On the morrow being saturdaie, and ninth of September, a sermon was preached by doctor Scorie, in place of doctor Grindall bishop of London, who being appointed to preach that sermon, was letted by sicknesse. After the sermon, six of the lords mourners receiued the communion with the bishops, which bishops were in copes and surplices, onelie at the ministration of the said communion. Which being finished, there was a great dinner kept in the bishop of Londons palace by Paules, where the mourners apparelled them, and so ended the solemnitie of the said exequies. The bishops had blacke gownes giuen them, and eight blacké coats a peece for their seruants, at the quéenes charges.

Six bishops receiue the communion.

Ex I. S. pa. 1114.

¶ About the last of September, Iohn duke of Finland, second sonne to Gustabus king of Swethen, was sent by his father to treat a marriage for his eldest brother Ericus, with the quéenes maiestie of England: he arriued at Harwich in Essex, and was there honorablie receiued and interteined by the erle of Oxford, which said earle, and the lord Robert Dudleie, with a goodlie band of gentlemen and yeomen, conueied him to London, where he was receiued of diuerse knights and gentlemen of the court, on the fift of October, and was with his traine of about the number of fiftie persons well horssed, conueied to the bishop of Winchesters place in Southworke, where he was lodged during his abode here, and remoued from thence two daies before Easter homewards, and sped on his message as may appeare by that which followeth, taken out of Iohannes Lewenclaij comment. de bellis Moscorum.

Embassador from Swethen receiued into England.

The quéenes maiestie sued vnto out of Denmarke about mariage.

Ericus king of Swethen, sonne of Gustabus late king of the said kingdome, hauing committed to prison his brother Iohn duke of Finland, whom a little before he had imploied into England on an ambassage to the quéenes maiestie, whom he sued to for mariage, and had his sute reiected; againe the second time solicited hir maiestie in the same sute notwithstanding, to his great dishonor, and (as it fell out) his iust disgrace. He attempted the same matter with the yoongest daughter of Philip Lantgraue Vanhessen, at whose hand (hauing the second time beene reiected of hir maiestie héere) the matter being knowne there, he also not onelie receiued a deniall, but the ladie was by hir father bestowed vpon Adolfe duke Van Holst, vncle of Frederike king of Denmarke, then enimie of the said Ericus. Thus farre Iohannes Lewenclaij.

Iohannes Lewenclaij.

Fr. Thin. Description and commendation of bishop Tunstall.

¶ Cuthbert Tunstall was translated from London to Durham, after the death of cardinall Wolseie, of whome (besides that which Holinshed in this booke reporteth) I will saie a little, he being so reuerend a prelat; as the managing of the princes affaires by him dooth well witnesse, and this present age can yet well remember. This man (being of a mild condition) was borne at Hachaford in Richmondshire, and (as Leland hath left in writing that he heard) the base sonne of one Tunstall an ancient gentleman: whose ancestors (as I haue read) came into England with the conquerour, attending on him as his barbar, for which cause he beareth in his armes thrée combes as a note to posteritie of the originall of his gentrie. Which bishop although he is supposed to haue béene base borne (as manie noble capteins and other the valiant persons of the world haue béene, whereof six hundred examples

The armes of Tunstall.

as

as hath the prouerbe might be produced) yet was he not base in lerning, eloquence, grauitie, and honorable calling both in spirituall and temporall affaires: both in seruice of the prince and in charge of his church. For (besides manie other offices that he exercised) he was maister of the rols: sundrie time ambassador to forreine princes, bishop of London, and from thence (by vertue of Clement the seuenth his bulles to K. Henrie the eight in the yeare 1530, the fiue and twentith of March) aduanced to the sée of Durham, and (by the kings letters) elected therevnto the yeare before said. In the which function he behaued himselfe, as the worthinesse of the estate required, and as the doctrine of the church in those daies would permit; of which I meane not to intreat, neither of his fall or rising: but will onlie meddle with méere temporall accidents, as one that hath not béene accustomed to die his pen in the bloud of mens consciences, nor in the opinions of religion. Tunstall bare office.

Wherefore to omit all such things, I saie of this bishop, that he was a man singularlie learned (and as Caius tearmeth him Literatissimus) in the Hebrue, Gréeke, and Latine toongs; and did not onelie erect sumptuous buildings for the mind and inward man (in furnishing when he was bishop of London a librarie in Cambridge, with manie notable both written and printed bookes: compiling also manie other bookes, aswell of diuinitie as of other sciences, whereof at this daie his arithmetike is of great estimation through Europe) but did also for the flesh and outward man build from the ground a most beautifull porch or gatehouse (with a chapell annexed therevnto) of faire stone in the castell of Durham, withall adding vnto the said castell certeine gates with iron bars and portcullices supported with strong walles of stone on each part for the more strength against the enimie: not forgetting to make a water-conduit for the ease of washing (and to serue the other offices in the house) on the left side of the entrance into the said castell. To which these sumptuous déeds (for they are verie heroicall) may be added the gate-house built at Alnewike, and the tolboth in the market of Durham all of stone, with the rest of the houses of office next vnto the hinder part of the said tolboth, which afterward (with other great liberalities) he gaue to the citizens of Durham. Buildings founded by Tunstall, &c.

Lastlie (at his owne charge) he new repared with stoneworke the third part of Tinbridge, which his predecessour Thomas Langleie recouered against the manor of Newcastell: and which, others his predecessors (as occasion was offered therefore) did from time to time most statelie repare. In the end about the latter reigne of Edward the sixt (being by Kinian or Ninian, Menuile or Menille, accused, for that he somewhat fauoured the Romane religion, and was not so forward in futhering of the gospell as that time required) he was for that cause depriued from his bishoprike, from all other ecclésiasticall gouernment, and committed to the tower: where he remained all the time of K. Edward. Afterward (by the benefit of quéene Marie) in the first yeare of hir reigne, he was reinuested into his sée of Durham, which he possessed all the time of hir gouernement: during which he was not so seuere an executor of the Romane canons against the protestants, as the other bishops of England were. Tunstall deprived from his bishoprike. Tunstall restored.

But she not continuing long (such are the inconstancies of our estates and vncerteinties of our troubles) he was againe (by the noble quéene Elisabeth) depriued of his bishoprike, after disputation and conference had at Westminster: in which he defended the Roman religion, in the first yeare of the said Elisabeth, about the truth of Christs gospell: and was committed to Matthew Parker bishop of Canturburie, who vsed him verie honourablie, both for the grauitie, learning and age of the said Tunstall. But he not long remaining vnder the ward of the said bishop, did shortlie after the eightéenth of Nouember in the yeare 1559 depart this life at Lambeth where he first receiued his consecration, being a man of such age, as that he atteined to the number of foure-score and fiue years when he died. He was Tunstals death.

buried in the queere of the church of Lambeth, whose funerall sermon was doone by Alexander Nowell, then (and now in the yeare 1586) deane of Poules. Who taking this theame to intreat vpon, Blessed are they which die in the Lord, did there deliuer such liberall and singular commendation of this man for his vertuous life, lerning, grauitie, and good seruice doone to manie princes of England, that more could not be said of anie man, being spoken trulie. Such force hath vertue, that we ought to commend it euen in our enimies, ouer whose dead carcase in the said church of Lambeth is laid a faire marble, in which is ingrauen this epitaph of his, deuised by doctor Walter Haddon:

Mat. Par. In act. epis. Cant. ca. Wil. Warham.

Anglia Cutbertum Tunstallum mœsta requirit,
Cuius summa domi laus erat atque foris:
Rhetor, arithmeticus, iuris consultus & æqui,
Legatúsque fuit, denique præsul erat.
Annorum satur, & magnorum plenus honorum,
Vertitur in cineres aureus iste senex.

This man was (as it should appeare in stories) full of contumacie and selfe will, vntractable he was and of nature rebellious. For saith maister Fox in the reigne of king Edward, being cast into the tower for his disobedience, where he kept his Christmasse three yeares togither, more worthie of some other place without the tower, if it had pleased God otherwise not to haue meant a further plague to this realme by that man. Howbeit he was indued with such excellencie of lerning, and that of sundrie sutes, that of the learned he is noted for a mirror of that age wherein he liued: and albeit a papist, yet not depriuable of the praise which it pleased God to prouide for him (being an enimie vnto the truth, perhaps through feare as manie more) by those rare and manifold good means wherewith he was adorned. Insomuch that Leland, a man of cleare iudgement and great insight to discerne betweene substantiallie and superficiallie learned, comparing this bishop Tunstall with profound Budeus, saith as foloweth:

Iohn Fox.

Collatio Budei & Cutberti Tunstalli.

Qua te nostra canet Tunstalle Britannia laude?
An qua Budæum Gallia docta suum?
Candidus ille studet Græcam celebrare Mineruam,
Græcorum celebras tu monumenta patrum.
Ille colit veteres intento pectore leges,
Sunt studij leges cura discerta tui.
Ille rudes assis docuit cognoscere partes,
Tu numeros primus verba Latina loqui.
Gallia causidicum tecum dignare Britannum
Conferri, niueis dignus vtérque notis.]

Anno Reg 2.

In this meane time, through controuersie raised betwixt the Scotish nobilitie, and the quéene Dowager of Scotland, which chanced especiallie about matters of religion, certeine of the lords there minding a reformation therein; and the quéene resisting them to hir power, in purpose to mainteine the old popish religion, which some name catholike; diuerse companies of souldiers and men of war were sent out of France into Scotland to aid the said quéene, where they were placed in diuerse townes and forts, to the high displeasure of the more part of the Scotish nobilitie: who lothing to be oppressed with strangers in that sort, were forced to sue vnto the quéene of England for aid to expell the French, who sought to subuert the ancient state of that realme, and to annex the same vnto the crowne of France.

Trouble in Scotland.

Frenchmen sent into Scotland.

The Scots sue to the quéens maiestie of England for aid against the French.

Their

Their sute was the better liked of, for that it was doubted, least the Frenchmen (vnder pretense of bringing an armie into Scotland to appease the Scots) might attempt some inuasion here in England, considering that by procurement (as was thought) of the duke of Guise; vncle to the quéene of France and Scotland, a title should seeme to be pretended by his néece, the foresaid quéene, as might be gathered by manifest coniectures of the vsurping of armes and so foorth. The names of the lords of Scotland that made sute for aid against the Frenchmen at this season, were these: the duke of Chateau le reault, the earle of Arraine his sonne, the lord Iames prior of saint Andrews, the earle of Argile, the earle of Glencarne, the earle of Rothouse, the earle of Southerland, the earle of Mounteith, the earle of Huntleie, the carle of Cathnes, the earle of Erroll, the earle Marshall, the earle of Morton, the earle of Cassils, the earle of Eglenton, the earle of Montros, the lord Ruithuen, the lord Boid, the lord Ogletrée, the lord Erskin, the lord Dromond, the lord Hume, the lord Roose, the lord Chreighton, the lord Leuingston, the lord Somerwell, the maister of Lindseie, the maister of Maxwell.

The lords of Scotland that were confederat togither against the French.

The quéenes maiestie, with aduise of hir graces councell, considering of this weightie businesse, and withall foreseeing the malicious purpose of hir aduersaries, and how the queene of Scots was in France married and gouerned, so as she was not able to vse the libertie of hir crowne, did thinke it best to preuent such mischiefs as might insue, if timelie remedie were not vsed, to displace such dangerous neighbours the Frenchmen, that began to nestle themselues thus stronglie so néere at hand for no good purpose, as easilie might be ghessed. Herevpon was a power raised and sent foorth both by sea and land, the duke of Norffolke being appointed generall, and sent into the north, for the direction thereof. And first maister William Winter, appointed viceadmerall of the quéens nauie northwards, made saile toward Scotland, and wafting alongst the coast in Ianuarie, came into the Forth, and so to the road of Leith, and there cast anchor, as well to impeach the landing of such Frenchmen, as might happilie be sent foorth of France, to the aid of the French there, against the Scotish lords, named of the congregation; as also to keepe them that laie in Insketh from vittels: and likewise to sée that none of the Frenchmen by water should passe to or from Leith: but to watch them so, as they shuld not inioy any commoditie that might come to either place by the same water.

The quéenes maiestie determineth to aid the Scots.

Sir William Winter viceadmerall.

1560.

Moreouer, after that the armie by land was come togither into the north parts, and had soiourned at Berwike and thereabouts, the lord Greie of Wilton being appointed generall of the said armie, departed with the same out of the bounds of Berwike, and marched to Coldingham, where they incamped that night. Saturdaie the thirteenth of March, sir Iames Croft, and sir George Howard departed Berwike to the armie, with all the lances and light horssemen, conteining the number of twelue hundred and fiftie horsses. The number of the footmen amounted to aboue six thousand in all. The chiefe gouernours of which armie were these: the lord Greie of Wilton lieutenant generall, sir Iames Croft assistant with him in that charge, the lord Scroope lord marshall, sir George Howard generall of the men at armes and demilances, maister Barnabie Fitz Patrike his lieutenant, sir Henrie Persie generall of the light horssemen, Thomas Hugghens esquier prouost marshall, Thomas Gower master of the ordinance, master William Pelham capteine of the pioners, Edward Randoll esquier, sergeant Maior, master Thomas Burrough, master Cutbert Vaughan, master Williams, and master Cornewall corporals.

The lord Grey generall of the armie.

Sir Iames Croft.

The number of horssemen and footmen in the armie.

The chiefest in charge of this armie.

This saturdaie at night the armie incamping at Dunglas, the horssemen lodged in sundrie villages néere about. Sir Iames Croft laie that night at Coberspeth, in the lard of Whitlaies house. Sundaie the last of March, the armie remooued from

Dunglasse.

A skirmish at Dunbar.

from Dunglas, and marching by Dunbar, there issued out of the towne certeine horssemen and footmen, offering a skirmish: towards whome certeine of the English lances and pistoliers, with certeine harquebutters, made forwards: but they kept themselues within their strength. Yet some of the English horssemen approched them so néere, that in skirmish two of the enimies horssemen, and one footman were slaine. The Englishmen receiued little damage, sauing that Peter Mince, one of their horsmen was hurt there. This doone, the armie marched on to Linton brigs, where the footmen incamped that night. The horssemen laie at Hadingtón, and in diuerse other small townes: and sir Iames Croft laie at Clarkington, west of Hadington, at the lard of Cockburns house.

Two horssemen and one footman slaine.

Linton brigs.

Mondaie the first of Aprill, the campe remooued from Linton brigs vnto salt Preston, and there incamped. This euening sir Iames Croft, with diuers of the capteins in his companie, met with the earle of Arraine, the lord Iames prior of saint Andrews, the master of Maxwell, sir William Kirkaudie lard of Grange, and diuerse other of the Scotish nobilitie with thrée hundred horsse in their traine. After they were met and had saluted each other, they rode altogither vnto salt Preston, where at the end of the towne, my lord Greie lord lieutenant met them, and imbraced them, and so they lighted from their horsses, and entered into communication for the space of an houre, and after tooke leaue each of other, and so departed for that night.

Salt Preston.

The earle of Arraine accompanied with other of the Scotish nobilitie.

Tuesdaie the second of Aprill, my lord Greie, sir Iames Croft, my lord Scroope, sir George Howard, with diuerse of the capteins, rode to Musklebourgh church, and there taried the comming of the duke of Chateau le rault, for the space of full two houres: at length he came accompanied with his sonne, the earle of Arraine, the earles of Argile, Glencarne, Southerland, Menteith, and Rothus, the lord Iames prior of saint Andrews, the lord Ruithuen, aliàs Riuen, the lord Ogletrée, the lord Boid, the master of Maxwell, the lard of Ormeston, the master of Lindseie, the bishop of Gallowaie, the abbat of saint Colmes inch, the abbat of Culros, the lard of Pettirrow, the lard of Cunningham head, the lard of Grange, and diuerse others. They were two hundred horsse in traine.

The duke of Chateau le rault and his companie.

Vpon the dukes approch, they all lighted on foot, as well on the one part as the other: and after courteous embracings, and gentle salutations, they entred into the house of one William Atkinson, néere to Undreske church, and sat there in councell the space of two houres, and then departed for that night. The armie laie still in campe at salt Preston, from mondaie, till saturdaie, Palmesundaie euen. On wednesdaie, the third of Aprill, my lord Greie, sir Iames Croft, and my lord Scroope, sir George Howard, sir Henrie Persie, and diuerse other capteins and gentlemen, rode vnto Pinkeie, a house of the abbat of Dunferns, distant a mile and a halfe from the campe, where the earle of Arraine, and the lord Iames Steward, with diuerse other noble men of Scotland méeting them, did conduct them into the said house, where they had long conference togither, which ended, they went to dinner, and after dinner, they returned with my lord lieutenant to salt Preston, and viewed the English campe. Thursdaie the fourth of Aprill, fiue yoong gentlemen, appointed to passe into England for pledges, and bound thither by sea, through contrarie winds were forced to come on land at salt Pannes. Their names were as follow.

The English and Scotish gentlemen méet, embrace, and consult.

The Scotish pledges appointed to passe into England.

The lord Claud Hamilton fourth sonne vnto the duke of Chateau le rault, Robert Douglas halfe brother to the lord Iames Steward, Archebald Campbell lord of Loughennell, George Gream second sonne to the earle of Monteith, Iames Coningham, sonne to the earle of Glencarne: they were brought vp to salt Preston, and remained there that night. Saturdaie the sixt of Aprill, being Palmesundaie euen the campe raised from salt Preston, and marched forwards. Halfe a mile from Les-

A crag called Arthurs seat.

terike,

terike, beneath a crag, called Arthurs seat, the duke of Chateau le rault, the earle of Arraine, the earle of Argile, the lord Iames prior of saint Andrews, and the rest of the noble men of Scotland, accompanied with two hundred horssemen, or thereabouts, and fiue hundred footmen, staied for the comming of the English armie. Wherevpon the lord Greie, sir Iames Croft, the lord Scroope, sir George Howard, and sir Henrie Persie, repaired to them, and had conference there with the duke, and other of the Scotish lords that were in his companie. In the meane while the armie staid: but yet at length, the horssemen, the vantgard and battell, were commanded to march foorth, who accordinglie passing forward alongst by the place where the duke and Scotish lords stood, held vpon their waie, till they approched néere to Lesterike.

Conference betwéene the English and Scotish.

At their comming thither, Trombull, the queene regents trumpet, came to my lord lieutenant, and brought with him a safe conduct, giuen vnder hir hand and seale, for the safe repaire of sir Iames Croft, sir George Howard, and six others to accompanie them. Wherevpon they preparing themselues to go to hir (after they had talked with my lord lieutenant, and the duke Chateau le reault) they departed towards Edenburgh, where the said queene as then laie within the castell. There went with them maister Summerset, maister Pelham, and foure other gentlemen. Whilest they were in conference with the quéene, although an abstinence of all hostilitie by appointment taken betwixt my lord Greie and the said quéene ought to haue ceassed, the Frenchmen to the number of nine hundred, or a thousand shot, backed with fiue hundred corselets and pikes, and about fiftie horssemen, were come foorth of Leith, vnder the conduction of monsieur Doisell, and the counte Martigues, coronell of the French footmen. My lord Greie vnderstanding thereof, came vp to the hill, appointed an officer at armes called Rouge Crosse, to go vnto them; with commandement from him, that they should retire their forces forth of the field into the towne of Leith: for if it were not for the promise which he had made to the quéene Dowager, he would cause them to depart, not much to their ease.

Sir Iames Croft, and sir George Howard, went to talke with the quéene.

My lord Greis message sent to the Frenchmen.

The herald dooing his message, receiued answer, that they were vpon their maister and mistresse ground, and therefore meant not to remooue from it. Rouge Crosse returning with this answer, was sent againe from my lord lieutenant, to command them eftsoons to go their way backe to Leith: for if they did not, he would suerlie send them awaie with a mischiefe. But scarse had the herald doone this second message, when the Frenchmen stepping foorth, discharged a whole volee of their shot into the field against my lord Greie and his companie. Herevpon, the Englishmen and they fell in skirmish, which continued for the space of foure houres and more, so hot and earnestlie mainteined on both parts, that the like had not lightlie beene séene manie a day before. Yet at length, the Englishmen droue the French footmen ouer the hill, wan the crag from them, and put them from a chappell, where they had stood a great while, vsing it for a couert and safegard for them against the Englishmens shot.

A sharpe and a long skirmish betwéene both parts.

The Frenchmen repelled by the Englishmen.

Then the enimies that were in Leith shot off diuerse péeces of their great artillerie out of the towne against the Englishmen, who on the other part brought foorth two field péeces, and couered them with a troope of horssemen; and hauing planted them to some aduantage, discharged the same among the enimies: who perceiuing that, gaue place, and suddenlie the English demilances gaue a charge, brake in amongst them, and slue diuerse. To conclude, they were put from their ground, and forced to retire backe into Leith, being followed welnéere to the verie gates of that towne. There were slaine in this skirmish of the French, about a seuen score, and amongst them twelue men of name, besides some of them that remained prisoners. Of the Englishmen, there were also diuerse slaine, and manie hurt. But if the ground had bin knowen to the Englishmen, and what aduantage

T. Churchyard. The number of the English and French slaine.

was

was offered to them by that presumptuous comming of the enimies so far from their hold, it was thought their whole power might easilie haue béene cut off, and vtterlie distressed. After that this skirmish was ended, and the Frenchmen driuen into Leith, the armie incamped at Lesterike. The same daie the Scotish hostages were imbarked to passe into England. Towards euening, sir Iames Croft and sir George Howard, returned from the quéene regent, after they had spent a long time in talke with hir.

The Frenchmen driuen into Leith.

On sundaie the seuenth of Aprill, a new trench was cast beside the crag, and thereon two péeces of ordinance planted. The same daie, sir Iames Croft, sir George Howard, and sir Henrie Persie, went againe vpon assurance, to talke with the queene Dowager. Mondaie the eight of Aprill, the Frenchmen shot at the English campe verie sore out of S. Nicholas steeple, where there were two great péeces placed for to annoie them, although they did no great hurt. But the same night, the Englishmen cast a trench beyond the crag, and placed in the same trench certeine small peeces of artillerie, which went off the next daie against the enimies: and they likewise shot off againe at the Englishmen; and so likewise on wednesdaie the tenth of Aprill, on which daie, a great part of the carriages for the great ordinance, and diuerse bullets for the same, were landed, and much thereof remoued, and brought to the innermost trench. Thursdaie the eleuenth of Aprill, the great ordinance was landed, and two péeces thereof mounted into their carriages.

Saint Nicholas Steeple planted with two great hot péeces.

Ordinance anded.

Good fridaie to some bad fridaie.

The twelfe of Aprill being good fridaie, a bullet of a great péece of ordinance, being shot out of Leith earlie in the morning, did light in the campe, and slue three men. The same night, they were answered againe with foure or fiue canons, and demicanons. Saturdaie was spent in warding the trenches, and mounting the great artillerie. Sundaie the fourteenth of Aprill, being Easter daie, the Englishmen shot off in the morning all their great ordinance, and the Frenchmen answered them againe, and so they continued most part of that day, in shooting one at another. The footmen also skirmished so, that diuerse were hurt on both parts. The same day, the pile of Blacknesse was surrendred to maister Winter, vpon sight of the canon. There were within it eightéene Frenchmen, who were brought awaie prisoners, and the house deliuered to maister Iames Hamilton. The same daie, nine Frenchmen apparelled like women, came foorth of Leith, and counterfeiting some like demeanor to the apparell wherein they were disguised, trained one of the English skouts within their danger, whome they tooke, and chopped off his head, which they set vpon the top of one of their church stéeples.

Warre maketh no difference of time.

The pile of Blackenesse surrendred.

Nine Frenchmen in womens apparell.

Blacke mondaie.

The Frenchmen win the trench.

Mondaie the fifteenth of Aprill about noone, there issued out of Leith a fiftie horssemen, and about fiue hundred harquebusiers: who making to the new trenches, were vpon the Englishmen that warded in such wise vppon the sudden, before they could be brought into anie order; that so entring the trenches, they slue and wounded no small number: and possessing the trenches a while, stopped and cloied the touch holes of three peeces of the artillerie, tooke maister Maurice Barkeleie prisoner, and his ensigne. Brian Fitz Williams was sore wounded and a foule fright there was. The alarum being brought to the campe, sir Iames Croft and other repaired toward the trench with all expedition, and perceiuing the Frenchmen to be maisters of one of the trenches, he called to capteine Vaughan, commanding him with his band to enter the trench, and to relieue those that were hardlie beeset of the Frenchmen.

Maister Barkeleie taken prisoner.

The Frenchmen repelled and some of them slaine.

This was doone with great manhood shewed by the said Vaughan and others, who entring the trench, repelled the enimies, and slue sixteene of them that were in the trench. Capteine Summerset and capteine Read with their bands

followed them also, as they retired, and maister Arthur Greie, with certeine of his demilances, of whome he had the conduction, suddenlie came vpon them, and charging them with great courage, draue them into the towne, and made no small slaughter of them. In which charge master Arthur Greie was shot through the shoulder. The great artillerie in Leith was not idle, during this skirmish, discharging to the number of an hundred shot, greatlie to the annoiance of the English, and hinderance of the seruice, which else might by them haue beene atchiued. This night the Englishmen drew backe their ordinance, which the Frenchmen had cloied with nailes and wiers in the touch-holes, but the same were planted againe before daie. Moreouer, our pioners cast a new trench along by the old chappell.

Maister Arthur Greie hurt in the shoulder.

Tuesdaie the sixtéenth of Aprill, a supplie of two thousand and two hundred footmen came to the campe, ouer whome were capteins, sir Andrew Corbet, sir Rowland Stanleie, sir Thomas Hesketh, sir Arthur Manwering, sir Laurence Smith, master Francis Tunstall, maister Edward Littleton, capteine Caruell, Philip Sturleie, and Dauid Moris. They were garded with fiue hundred horssemen: sir Rafe Sadler, sir Francis Leake, sir John Forster, and sir Nicholas Strange hauing charge to sée them safelie conducted: who after they had brought them past all danger of enimies, left them in safetie by the waie, and were come a daie or two before them to the campe. Wednesdaie the seuentéenth of Aprill, it rained sore the more part of the daie; but yet the same night master Winter caused diuerse of the shipbotes, being verie well manned, to giue a great alarum at the side of the towne towards the water, discharging manie basses and harquebusiers of Croke into the towne: the alarum was verie hot for the space of an houre. During this businesse there was a right pitifull crie made by the women and children within the towne. The pioners being applied in worke to make trenches, on fridaie all daie at night they placed certeine péeces of the ordinance in the trenches beside the chappell.

A new supplie commeth to the armie, the capteines names.

An hot alarum of an houres continuance.

Ordinance planted in trenches.

Saturdaie the twentith of Aprill, manie péeces were shot off out of the trenches into the towne. There issued notwithstanding out at the gates an hundred shot, which placed themselues in the holes of the bankes, to hailse such of the Englishmen as came foorth to offer the skirmish. All this daie also the pioners, both Scots and English were occupied in making of a new trench néere to the towne. Sir Geruis Clifton and capteine Read with their bands garded them, and two hundred lances. The same daie the residue of the great ordinance with armour was brought on land. Sundaie the one and twentith of Aprill, the bishop of Valence named Monluc, accompanied with sir Henrie Persie, and thrée hundred light horssemen came to Lesterike: the lord lieutenant, sir Iames Croft, the lord Scroope, and sir Rafe Sadler met him at the further end of the ward that was set of purpose for his entring into the campe. After they had receiued him with salutations according vnto the manner, he was conducted by Rouge Crosse the officer of armes from the campe into Edenburgh, and so went vp to the castell to conferre with the quéene Dowager. He was no sooner entred into the castell, but that there issued foorth of Leith the number of two hundred Frenchmen about twelue of the clocke, and began a hot skirmish, which continued two houres, at the which diuerse were slaine on both parts.

The bishop of Valence and his companie.

A skirmish of two houres continuance.

The same night the lord lieutenant caused nine péeces of the great ordinance to be planted in the new trench: so that the next daie being mondaie, the same péeces were shot off verie earlie, directlie towards the stéeple of saint Anthonies church. And although those peeces laie a quarter of a mile off, the peeces of ordinance that laie in the same stéeple were dismounted by them; and likewise those that laie in the stéeple of saint Nicholas church, at the which diuerse péeces

More ordinance planted.

The enimies ordinance displaced.

péeces were leuied, and within six or seuen tire the péeces that laie in that stéeple were also displaced, and a gunner slaine that stood at one of them, the péece and the gunner comming tumbling downe both togither. In this church (as was reported) their store of vittels and munition was laid, so that batterie was made against the same all that daie, and a great peece of the church wall beaten downe, and the stéeple defaced. The bishop of Valence, after he had talked with the quéene Dowager, returned to commune with the lords of the congregation

A fort raised. Tuesdaie the thrée and twentith of Aprill, being saint Georges daie, the pioners Scotish and English were busilie applied in worke, about the casting of trenches

A skirmish. to make a fort; and still the artillerie went off against the towne. Wednesdaie the foure and twentith of Aprill about three of the clocke in the after noone, there issued out of Leith seauentéene horssemen, who offered the skirmish: and vnder the place called little London, where they were busie in fortifieng all that daie, thrée or foure hundred of their shot were placed readie to breake out, if occasion serued. At length certeine of the English lances gaue a charge vpon their horssemen, who therewith retiring, drew the Englishmen within danger of their shot. But although the Frenchmen that daie shewed themselues verie valiant in skirmishing euen in the face of the English artillerie: yet being now egerlie pursued by those lances, they were forced to retire without anie great hurt doone

The French repelled. to the Englishmen, although the skirmish continued néere hand two houres. In this last charge yoong maister Browne was hurt.

The new fort called Montpelham. Thursdaie the fiue and twentith of Aprill, the pioners laboured sore for the most part of the daie in finishing the new fort named Montpelham: to the gard whereof capteine Vaughan was appointed gouernor, with twelue hundred soldiors. This fort was raised on the south side of the towne, the plot whereof was cast square, with foure bulworks at euerie corner, and twelue battering peeces planted

Another skirmish. in places conuenient within the same. This thursdaie also, about fiue of the clocke in the after noone, there issued out of Leith on the east side seauentie or eightie horssemen, and two hundred harquebusiers, offering the skirmish, towards whome certeine of the English light horssemen roundlie made, and charging them, droue them backe to their footmen, who with their shot receiued the light horssemen

Iames Hamilton taken prisoner. so sharplie, that they were forced to retire. In which retire Iames Hamilton a Scotishman was taken prisoner, for the rescue of whome the horssemen made forward againe: but the enimies shot was so hot, that they were not able to recouer him; but yet they slue two of the French horssemen in sight.

During the time of this skirmish, there was great shooting off with the great ordinance on both sides, and much hurt doone as well to the English as French.

Prisoners taken and slaine. This daie capteine Perith, and capteine Haies, hauing charge of a troope of light horssemen vnder sir Henrie Persie, and the lord of Grange were taken prisoners before Dunbar; and to the number of twentie or thirtie others were likewise taken or slaine the same time. The same night also, two thousand footmen with the pioners were sent to the other side of the towne, beyond the canon milles, where the pioners cast a trench for the safe lodging of the armie, which remooued

The armie remoueth from Lesterike to the red Braies. the next day being fridaie, and the six and twentith of Aprill from Lesterike downe into the vallie by the said canon milles called the red Braies, néere to the riuer side on the south part of the towne of Leith. As the armie was thus remoouing from Lesterike towards the said place called the red Braies, the Frenchmen within Leith shot off manie of their great péeces of artillerie, but without dooing

A skirmish, and what was doone in the same. anie great hurt. As the armie incamping, certeine of the enimies horssemen and footmen skirmished with the English lances and light horssemen a long time; there were two Frenchmen slaine and their horsses also. In the time of this skirmish

mish two canons were conueied and planted in the new trench, which discharged diuerse shots at the enimies.

Saturdaie the seauen and twentith of Aprill, the great artillerie was planted aloft on the hill aboue the campe, within lesse than a curriers shot of the towne walles, and the pioners were set a worke to cast new trenches from the place where the same ordinance was lodged vnto Montpelham, drawing so néere vnto Leith, as the harquebus might reach them that watched and warded within the gréene bulworke. There issued out of Leith vnder the west bulworke certeine of the Frenchmen, the which were chased into the towne by the lard of Grange and others. The French kept the same daie a trench which they had made without the towne, continuallie shooting at the Englishmen in the campe: but the same night the Englishmen wan that trench from them, slue diuerse of them therein, togither with their scout. And this doone, they gaue a great alarum to the towne both by land and water, the shipbotes shooting off against the towne verie hotlie, and they within the towne likewise at the Englishmen. The same night was the great ordinance planted, and maister Markham hurt. On sundaie the eight and twentith of Aprill the said great ordinance went off, and shot continuallie the more part of that daie. The bishop of Valence departed the same daie towards Berwike: and this night sir George Howard that had béene sent backe to Berwike, to signifie to the duke of Norffolke the state of the siege, returned with sir Richard Lee, being conducted with fiue hundred horssemen.

The planting of the great artillerie.

A trench woon from the enimies.

Great ordinance planted and discharged.

Mondaie the nine and twentith of Aprill, the péeces of the great artillerie were occupied in shooting off verie hotlie, and the French likewise shot off theirs, and comming foorth of the towne skirmished with the Englishmen. This night the pioners made new trenches toward the south bulworke. Tuesdaie the last of Aprill was spent in shooting off the great artillerie into the towne. About fiue of the clocke in the after noone, a sudden fire was raised within the towne, which hugelie increased and continued the most part of that night. At the beginning when it first appeered, the English ordinance was shot off to the place where the fire was, which shot togither with helpe of the wind, and being verie great at that present, did maruellouslie augment the same fire: yet neuerthelesse the French at that present time offered a skirmish, and continued the same néere hand for the space of two houres, manned their walles, and made the best prouision they might for doubt, of some assault. It was indéed appointed, that certeine bands should make an alarum to the towne: in so much that capteine Vaughan with diuerse of the soldiors of Montpelham entred the ditch, and approching the walles, discouered the height of them. And notwithstanding that the French did what they could to annoie them in the diches with currier shot, yet did capteine Vaughan staie in the dich a pretie while, and retired with his men without receiuing anie great hurt.

A skirmish.

A fire in Leith, and augmented with shot of ordinance and windie weather.

Capteine Vaughan.

Wednesdaie the first of Maie, the Frenchmen set vp verie earlie in the morning their Maie poles in certeine bulworks, and foure téene ensignes: the which being discouered of them in the campe, they saluted them with a peale of great ordinance, and likewise the Frenchmen answered them againe, and so continued the most part of that daie. The same daie Iohn Brian lieutenant to capteine Capell, wan a trench from the French at the west side of the towne, and in despite of them kept it all that daie with the losse onelie of one man. Thursdaie the second of Maie, the pioners made the trenches for the artillerie to be planted in batterie. The night following they remooued and placed the same artillerie in the new trench: and the next morning being fridaie and the third of Maie, about foure of the clocke, the same batterie went off, and continued all that daie. In the after noone of the same daie certeine Frenchmen issued out of the west bulworke, and

Maie poles set vp in Leith on Maie daie.

A trench woon from the French.

skirmishing with the Englishmen on that side the water, returned without anie great hurt.

The night insuing the pioners made a new trench by the citadell wherein they might lodge some shot, and capteine Vaughan with diuerse of the bands in Montpelham gaue two false assaults to the towne, entred the diches, and viewed the flankers: wherevpon the French shot off the same flankers, and manning their walles, shot off two or three volees of their small artillerie, slaieng and hurting to the number of twentie of the Englishmen. Among other, little Norton lost his life that night, and so at length the residue returned. Saturdaie the fourth of Maie, there were three ensigns appointed to gard the new trenches, and towards night, when the ward should be releeued, and the watch set, the Frenchmen that were in the trench vnder the citadell, made a sallie vpon the sudden. Wherevpon the Englishmen that garded the said trench were constreined to abandon a great part thereof for a time: but yet the Englishmen eftsoons taking courage, laid to them afresh, repelled them againe, and draue them backe into their owne trenches, slue foure of them in sight, and hurt manie others. This was the lot of warre, to be ouerthrowne by force of the enimie, as the poet saith:

Capteine Vaughan vieweth the enimies flankers.

The French repelled by the English.

Qui Martem experti, per vim subiguntur ab hoste.

Whilest this was in dooing, the French had stuffed their bulworks and rampiers with curriers and harquebusiers of Croke, as thicke as was possible, which went off without ceassing at the Englishmen, for the space of an houre and more. The English artillerie planted in the trenches did answer them againe continuallie, and the great péeces did much hurt among them, in sight of them that watched in the same trenches. The same night the Englishmen conueied two culuerings ouer the water to scowre the mils: and before the breake of the daie they had burnt one of the same mils. Sundaie the fift of Maie earlie in the morning at the releeuing of the watch, and entring of the ward, foure souldiors that belonged to the great ordinance issued out, and set fier on the other mill, which burnt verie outragiouslie without ceassing, for the space of an houre or more. The French began to assemble towards the mill, in hope to haue quenched the fire, but they were deceiued: for suddenlie the Englishmen cut two holes through their trenches, and placing in the same the two demiculuerings, shot them off at the Frenchmen, so that they were driuen to forsake the mill, and in their retire some of them were slaine.

The mils burnt by the English and the French driuen from thense.

This daie also, as foure French gentlemen came foorth to discouer the English trenches, capteine Read commanded one of his souldiors to shoot at them, but through mishap his péece burst, and a shiuer thereof flue out, and brake the arme of his said capteine. Mondaie the sixt of Maie, the armie lieng quiet all the morning, in the afternoone the English ordinance on the further side the water began to shoot off against the enimies verie hotlie, so continuing till night. This daie the earle of Argile, and diuerse other noble men of Scotland, came to Edenburgh with two thousand horssemen and footmen, who shewed themselues in order of a muster, on the hill vnderneth the castell. Which being perceiued of the French within Leith, they shot off three great péeces of artillerie at them, but (as God would haue it) without hurt, for two of the bullets lighted short, and the third did fall in a garden within the towne of Edenburgh. The night insuing, the great ordinance in the Englishmens trenches and bulworks continued shooting on euerie side. And heerewith commandement was giuen by the lord lieutenant, and the councell, that the whole armie should be readie armed with their weapon and furniture according by midnight.

Capteine Reades arme broken.

The earle of Argile with his armie commeth to Edenburgh.

In the morning by two of the clocke the seuenth of Maie being tuesdaie,

diuerse

diuerse bands passed foorth towards the towne, and entring the ditches offered the scale: other capteins with their men approched the bulworks, and other there were appointed to enter beside the mils. Beside the English bands commanded thus to giue the assault, there were a thousand Scots ioined with them, whereof fiue hundred with capteine Vaughan, and such other capteins as were commanded to attempt the bulworke next to Montpelham, and other fiue hundred went with such of the English capteins as were commanded to assault the breach beyond the water. Moreouer, as well the lances as light horssemen were assigned to gard the fields; sir George Howard with the lances keeping betwixt the fort of Montpelham and the sea westward, and sir Henrie Persie with the light horssemen betwixt the campe and the sea eastward. The rest of the footmen that went not to the assault, were also appointed to gard the trenches and field, in such wise as was thought expedient. So that perfect direction was giuen in euerie behalfe by the lord lieutenant, and other of the councell. And vpon warning giuen by capteine Randall sergeant maior, such as had béene commanded to giue the assault in their seuerall appointed places, preased forward with courage inough, and boldlie aduentured to clime the wals, and enter at the breaches, but yet their attempt wanted the wished successe: for what through the Frenchmens policie in stopping the currant of the riuer that night, and other deuises for their owne safegard, and the annoiance of the assailants: and what by reason of the vnfitnesse of the ladders, being too short by two yards and more, the assailants were repelled. For during the whole time of the assault, which continued for the space of an houre and a halfe, the French shot off their flankers, and mainteined their shot from the wals so thicke, that it seemed a verie hell for the time.

The assault giuen to Leith the seauenth of Maie.

The horsmen appointed to gard the field.

The Englishmen repelled by the policies and deuises of the French.

They also hurled downe ouer the wals vpon the assailants heads, great plentie of stones, logs, and mightie péeces of timber, which did much hurt to the Englishmen and Scots, that forced themselues to clime vp. But yet neuerthelesse, manie there were that entred the towne in sundrie places, of the which some came backe againe, although others were beaten downe and slaine. To conclude, at length all that escaped with life, were forced to retire with the losse of seauen or eight score Englishmen, some haue said two hundred, which were slaine outright, beside those that were wounded, being in number at the least two or three hundred: and amongst other, there were diuerse capteins and gentlemen that were hurt, as sir Thomas Hesketh, master Sutton, master Newport, master Conweie, capteine Wood, Thomas Fitton, with others. Vpon the repulse thus giuen to our men by the French, they aduanced and set vp foure téene ensignes presentlie about the towne, and continued otherwise quiet all that daie. Wednesdaie the eight of Maie in the afternoone, sir George Howard, and sir Richard Lée departed towards Barwike with certeine companies of horsmen for their safe conduction. Thursdaie the ninth of Maie, the Frenchmen wrought verie earnestlie within the towne, to fortifie the necessarie places, and repare the breaches, euen in the face of the English ordinance, which went off diuerse times, and did them much hurt.

The number slaine and hurt at the assault.

Sir George Howard and sir Richard Lée.

The same daie also the French had manned to the sea wards a bote fraught with fiftie harquebusiers, meaning to conueie them ouer to Insketh: but the English ships discouering them, prepared certeine botes to encounter them, whereof they being aware, returned. Fridaie the tenth of Maie, master Inglebie, capteine Pickman, and capteine Browne, came to the campe from Barwike, with a supplie of foure hundred and fiftie souldiors. The same daie about ten of the clocke at night, there chanced a brall to fall out among the Scots that watched in the trenches néerest vnto the towne of Leith on the west side, insomuch that

A supplie from Barwike of foure hundred and fiftie soldiors.

one

one of them fell to and killed an other: which disorder being perceiued of the French within Leith, they issued out, and meant to haue vsed the vantage: but the Englishmen that watched néere vnto the Scots staied the fraie, and did not onelie bring them to quiet, but also put the Frenchmen to flight. On sundaie the twelfe of Maie, about midnight the Frenchmen, to the number of two hundred, sallied foorth of the towne, minding to giue a camisado to the Englishmen, who kept watch that night in the trenches at the west side of Montpelham; but they were descried, and certeine of them killed, and so had the repulse. Wednesdaie the fiftéenth of Maie, sir Francis Leake came to the campe with a supplie of fiue hundred men from Barwike.

Sir Francis Leake bringeth a supplie to the campe.

Thursdaie the sixteenth of Maie towards night, the Frenchmen to the number of one hundred footmen, and thirtie horssemen, came abroad and shewed themselues verie braue, skirmishing with the Englishmen at the west end of their towne. Tuesdaie the one and twentith of Maie, about seauen of the clocke at night, there issued foorth of Leith six horssemen, and one hundred footmen harquebusiers, marching toward Montpelham to offer skirmish. Wherevpon capteine Vaughan went foorth to them verie orderlie, and skirmished with them a prettie while: and in the meane time, off went the great ordinance on both sides. In the end the Frenchmen were driuen to retire into the towne, for the Englishmen shewed themselues verie egre, and valiantlie charged their enimies, put them to retire, and chased them in at their gates, to the which they followed them right hardilie.

A skirmish betwéene the English and French.

The Frenchmen chased.

The same night, maister Francis Summerset and other capteins were appointed to kéepe a fort built aboue the campe; and now finished, tooke name of him being capteine thereof, and was after called Summersets mount. The same daie a souldiour of capteine Druries band was hanged for going to Edenburgh, contrarie to a proclamation, inhibiting anie soldiour so to doo without speciall licence. Wednesdaie the two and twentith of Maie, sir Peter Carew came to the campe, being sent from the court. Thursdaie the foure and twentith of Maie at seuen of the clocke at night, the French sallied foorth to the number of two hundred footmen, and twentie horssemen, at the reléefe of the warders when the watch should be set, meaning (as it appeared) to haue woone the trenches from the Englishmen. Wherevpon a sore skirmish followed, diuerse slaine, and manie hurt on both parties: yet in the end the Frenchmen were driuen home by plaine force. This was at the west side of the towne, where they had fortified towards the sea.

Summerset mount.

Sir Peter Carew sent from the court.

A sore skirmish, wherein the French are discomfited.

The same daie the Frenchmen of Dunbar tooke an English hoie laden with double béere, béefe, oxen, and flitches of bacon. Saturdaie the eight of Iune, sir Iohn Neuill with three hundred men, capteine Bridges, and capteine Drurie, with other thrée hundred, set from Barwike towards the campe, where they arriued on mondaie the tenth of Iune, on which daie the queene Dowager departed this life. The thirtéenth of Iune, sir William Cicill, principall secretarie to the queenes maiestie, and doctor Wotton deane of Canturburie and Yorke came to Barwike, appointed commissioners on hir said maiesties behalfe, to treat of an accord with the conte de Randon, and the bishop of Valence, commissioners sent for that purpose from the French king, and his wife Marie queene of Scotland. The fouretéenth of Iune being fridaie, a certaine number of Frenchmen came foorth of Leith to gather cockles on the sands towards Montpelham: which the Englishmen perceiuing, set vpon them, slue threescore and ten, and tooke sixtéene of them prisoners.

An English hoie taken.

The quéene Dowager departeth this life.

The French gather cockles to their hinderance.

On sundaie the sixtéenth of Iune, the fore remembred commissioners came to Edenburgh: and as master secretarie and doctor Wotton passed the English forts and campe, they were saluted with a gallant peale of the harquebusiers that shot off their harquebusies verie liuelie. Mondaie the seuentéenth of Iune about eight of the clocke,

Sir William Cicill and doctor Wotton come to Edenburgh.

clocke, an abstinence or warre was concluded, warning being giuen by the discharging of two péeces of the great artillerie out of the castell; and then the Frenchmen shewed and aduanced themselues vpon their rampiers. Saturdaie the two and twentith of Iune, the abstinence was broken off, which till then had beene trulie kept and obserued. Thursdaie the fourth of Iulie, about thrée of the clocke in the after noone, the French came out of Leith, according to their accustomed maner to gather cockles. Whervpon the lord lieutenant being at that present in Montpelham, sent a drum vnto monsieur Doisell to signifie to him that his soldiours had gone further without their bounds than they might doo by the order taken by the commissioners of both parts. Doisell answered, that they were no souldiours, but poore people which went to gather cockles for their releefe and sustenance. The drum said, that if they kept not themselues within their appointed limits, my lord lieutenant meant to send them backe not greatlie to their ease: wherevnto Doisell replied, that if he so did, he would doo the best he could to aid them. Herevpon the English horssemen and footmen out of Montpelham gaue a charge vpon them, and slue of them to the number of fiftie, and tooke certeine of the residue prisoners. Fridaie the first of Iune, about six of the clocke in the afternoone, issued out of Leith fouretéene horssemen, and an hundred footmen, which offered the skirmish: but vpon the shooting off the great artillerie from Montpelham, they retired home againe into the towne.

Frenchmen effsoons beaten as they gathered cockles.

The night following about twelue a clocke, one Scattergood an Englishman that was a gunner, and had feined himselfe to flée from the English campe for man slaughter into Leith, and was receiued of the Frenchmen, beléeuing that he had meant no deceit, came out of the towne, after he had remained there about seauen daies: in which meane while he had vnderstood fullie the state of the towne, and now vpon his returne made relation therof as he knew. On saturdaie the sixt of Iune, the lord Greie lord lieutenant, master secretarie Cicill, and sir Rafe Sadler, betwixt three and foure of the clocke in the afternoone, gaue order that there should no peece be shot, nor shew of hostilitie made till seauen of the clocke the same night; and herewith sent sir Gerueis Clifton vnto all the souldiors that warded in the trenches and bulworks on the west side of Leith, to command them to obserue the like order. And sir Iohn Neuill was sent with like commandement vnto the souldiors that laie in Summersets mount. The peace now in the meane time being concluded, on the morrow being sundaie, and seauenth of Iune, sir Francis Leake, and sir Gerueis Clifton, accompanied with two French gentlemen, were sent to the towne of Leith, to signifie vnto monsieur Doisell, the bishop of Amiens, la Brosse, Martigues, and other the French lords and capteins, that they were come thither by commandement from the commissioners, to cause the peace alreadie concluded to be proclamed: which accordinglie was doone in maner as followeth.

Scattergood a gunners deuise deceiuing the Frenchmen.

Order taken for the restreining of all signes of hostilitie.

The peace concluded and word sent to the French that it should be proclamed.

THE FORME OF PROCLAMING THE FORESAID PEACE BETWEENE THE PARTIES AT HOSTILITIE.

THE most mightie princesse, Elizabeth by the grace of God, queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c: and the most christian king, Francis and Marie, by the same grace of God king and queene of France and Scotland: haue accorded vpon a reconciliation of a peace and amitie to be inuiolablie kept, betwixt them, their subiects, kingdomes and countries. And therefore, in their names it is strictlie commanded to all maner of persons borne vnder their obeisances,

obeisances, or being in their seruice, to forbeare all hostilitie either by sea or land, and to keepe good peace each with other from this time forwards, as they will answer therevnto at their vttermost perils.

Sir Francis Leake and sir Gerueis Clifton banketted by monsieur Doisell.

Immediatlie after this proclamation was ended, sir Francis Leake and sir Gerueis Clifton were brought to monsieur Doisels lodging, where was prepared for them a great banket of thirtie or fortie dishes: and yet not one either of flesh or fish, sauing one of the flesh of a powdred horsse, as a certeine person hath written that tasted thereof, as he himselfe auoucheth. ¶ Héere then we see the course of war, the end whereof of necessitie must be peace. For when both parts are either wearied, weakened, slaughtered, or so discomfited, as that they be constreined to surceasse, least they be slaine euerie mothers sonne: then peace is sought, and hard conditions receiued rather than it shall be refused. O that it were Gods will (saith Schardus writing of the accidents happening in the yeare 1570, which all men counted a fortunate and blessed peace, albeit famine, the Turkish warre, the pestilence, and most cruell ouerflowings of waters did then outragiouslie take on: bicause three verie greeuous warres, namelie the first of the Polanders against the Muscouits, the second of France within it selfe by ciuill dissention, and the third betweene the Sweueners and the Danes, were then finished. O that it were Gods will (saith he) that kings and princes would be admonished by examples in due time to consult of peace, and to make much thereof, rather than after manie calamities susteined and taken, to thinke how beneficiall and pretious it is. Then should they without séeking or sweating inioy those things which to obteine they vndertake great voiages, and yet nothing neere their purpose without much bloudshed, slaughter, and wastfulnesse; as sometime verie wiselie said Cyneas to Pyrrhus, disuading him from the Italish warre; and as one both learnedlie and fitlie writeth, saieng:

Schardius in rebus gestis sub imperatore Maximiliano secundo.

Hic est perpetuus sæclorum lusus & vsus,
Ludendi vt faciat consumpta pecunia finem:
Sic vbi vastatæ gentes lachrymantur & vrbes,
Aurea tum demun feruntur fœdera pacis.
Heu quanto satius foret hæc præuertere damna!
Atque animos hominum saluis coalescere rebus!]

While this historiographer is so large in the description of this siege of Leith.

Thus haue I béene more large in this matter concerning the siege of Leith, than may be thought peraduenture necessarie, sith the thing is yet fresh in memorie: but bicause there came to my hands certeine notes of one or two persons that were there present, and for helpe of their owne memories wrote the same, I haue thought it not impertinent to insert the effect of them, that the same may serue to further those that hereafter shall write the historie of this time more at large, sith my purpose is not to continue the same otherwise than I find things noted in the abridgements of Iohn Stow and Richard Grafton: except in some recitall of expeditions and iournies made, as this, and other into Scotland, and that same of the right honourable the earle of Warwike into Normandie, which I haue thought good to inlarge, according to such notes as haue come to my hand, beseeching the readers to accept the same in good part: and if anie thing be omitted, either in this place or anie other, that were as necessarie to be spoken of, as those points which I haue touched, or afterwards may touch, to impute the fault to the want of good instructions, and not to anie negligence or lacke of good will in me to aduance euerie mans worthie doings according to his merits.

The articles of the peace at the siege of Leith.

But now concerning the articles of the peace, being about thirtéene in all, the chéefest may séeme to rest héerein, that the French souldiours and men of warre should

should depart out of the realme of Scotland within a short time limited of twentie daies, as Ludouico Guiciardini hath noted; six score of them onlie excepted, as three score to abide in Insketh, and three score in the castell of Dunbar, they to be answered their wages at the hands of the estates of Scotland, and to be subiect vnto the lawes and ordinances of that realme. That the fortifications about Leith should be razed and demolished: and likewise the fort which had béene built and raised before the castell of Dunbar by the French, for a strength thereto. That the Frenchmen should not conueie into Scotland anie men of warre, or munitions without consent of the parlement assembled of three estates of that realme. That the king and quéene of France and Scotland should not from thensefoorth beare the arms of England, sith the same apperteined onelie to the queens maiestie of England and to no other person.

These and other articles were comprised and established in the conclusion of this peace, as well to the honour and suertie of the quéene maiestie of England, hir realmes, dominions, and subiects, as also for the wealth and preseruation of the realme of Scotland, the nobles and other subiects of that realme. After that this peace then was fullie established, agréed, and concluded, the Frenchmen were imbarked at Leith in English vessels, those onelie excepted that were appointed to remaine as pledges with the Englishmen till the ships came backe againe, and a few other that were permitted to passe through England into their countrie. Thus were the French forces remooued out of Scotland, a matter so much importing to the confirmation of peace betwixt vs and that realme, and also to the auoiding of further perils, that this iournie ended with so honorable and profitable a peace, concluded by the high industrie and prudent policie of our quéenes maiesties commissioners afore mentioned, may be accompted one of the most necessarie expeditions, and most beneficiall seruices that had béene made and put in practise in manie years before. For the quéenes maiestie (as some haue trulie written) had not onlie hir chiefe desire, by remooving of the French hir dangerous neighbors, that were about to nestle themselues so neare hir elbow: but also a perfect peace with the Scots was therby procured, like to continue manie yeares (if the said Scots shall not seeke their owne wo) being full vnable to aduantage themselues by warres against vs, as to the wiser and best sort of them I trust is not unknowne.

The end of this peace thus concluded.

See more herof in Scotland.

The commendation of the foresaid concluded peace.

T. Churchyard.

The quéenes meaning in remooving the French out of Scotland.

But to leaue the further consideration of the benefit that may grow herof to this realme, vnto their iudgements that haue riper heads to vnderstand the same: I will procéed, and herewith make an end of this matter, concerning the siege of Leith. After that the Frenchmen were departed, and the forts about Leith and Dunbar razed and demolished, according to the couenants of peace, the quéenes maiestie called backe hir armie without reteining anie péece within Scotland to hir owne vse. In which honorable and vpright dealing, she wan more fame and estimation, than if she had seized and kept in hir possession halfe the realme of Scotland: speciallie regarding the perplexed state of the people by war, which she redressed by the establishment of peace, a thing which she alwaies loued, as the contrarie she mortallie hated: as one hath noted of hir grace, saieng:

The quéenes armie reuoked out of Scotland.

Virgo pacis amans, quæ stat contraria bellis.

The quéenes maiestie by the aduise of hir most honorable councill, meaning to abolish all corrupt, base, and copper monies then currant in this realme of England, coined in the times and reignes of king Henrie the eight, and king Edward the sixt, to the great hinderance and decaie of the commonwealth of this realme, and therewith to restore vnto all hir subiects fine and pure sterling monies, both of gold and siluer, to the great honor and benefit of the whole realme: published a proclamation

Iohn Stow.

A fall of base monie and making of new coines.

proclamation on Michaelmasse euen before noone, that the teston coined for twelue pence, and in the reigne of king Edward embased by proclamation to six pence, should now foorthwith (that of the best sort marked with the portculeis) be currant for foure pence halfepenie: the second marked with the greihound for two pence farthing: the third and worst sort not marked as afore, not to be currant at all, nor receiued for anie value. The grote to be currant for two pence, the former péece of two pence for a penie, &c.

Anno Reg. 3.

It was not long after this, but that hir grace restoring to hir subiects fine sterling monie, called all the said base and corrupt coines into hir maiesties mint, allowing to them therefore after the rate before mentioned, so much of the said fine monies as they brought in of the said base monies. About the same time, hir grace also finding this realme greatlie vnfurnished of armour, munitions, and powder, for the defense thereof in time of necessitie, did so largelie and plentifullie prepare and cause to be brought into the same, such sufficient furniture of armour and weapons, as England hath iust cause to praise and giue thanks to God and hir maiestie; for that it is certeine, that the realme was neuer so amplie stored nor prouided of all maner of kinds of conuenient armor and weapons, as it is at this present. The one and twintith of March a notable Grammar schoole was founded by the maister, wardens, and assistants of the right worshipfull companie of the merchant tailors of London, in the parish of S. Laurence Pountneie in the same citie, the right worshipfull Emanuell Lucar, Robert Rose, William Merike, Iohn Sparke, and Robert Duckington then maister and wardens of that companie.

1560.

Additions to Lanquet.

The quéene furnished her land with armour and munition.

The merchant tailors free schoole.

1561

The tenth of Aprill was one William Geffreie whipped, from the Marshalsea in Southworke, to Bedlem without Bishops gate of London, for that he professed one Iohn Moore to be Christ our sauior: on his head was set a paper, wherein was written as followeth: William Geffreie a most blasphemous heretike, denieng Christ our sauior in heauen. The said Geffreie being staied at Bedlem gate, Iohn Moore was brought foorth, before whome William Gefferie was whipped, till he confessed Christ to be heauen. Then the said Iohn Moore being examined, and answering ouerthwartlie, was commanded to put of his cote, doublet, and shirt; which he séemed to doo verie willinglie, and after being tied to the cart, was whipped an arrowes shot from Bedlem, where at the last he also confessed Christ to be in heauen, and himselfe to be a sinfull man. Then was Iohn Moore sent againe into Bedlem, and Geffreie to the Marshalsea, where they had laine prisoners nigh a yeére and a halfe, the one for professing himselfe to be Christ, the other a disciple of the same Christ. On wednesday the 4 of Iune, betweene foure and fiue of the clocke in the afternoone, the stéeple of Paules in London being fired by lightning, brast forth (as it séemed to to the beholders) two or three yards beneath the foot of the crosse, and from thence burnt downe the spire to the stoneworke and bels, so terriblie, that within the space of foure houres the same stéeple with the roofes of the church, so much as was timber or otherwise combustible, were consumed, which was a lamentable sight and pitifull remembrance to the beholders therof. After this mischance, the queens maiestie being much gréeued for the losse of so beautifull a monument, directed hir highnesse letters to the maior of the citie of London, willing him to assemble the citizens to take some order for speciall aid and helpe for the reparing againe of the said monument. And she of hir most gratious disposition, to giue a comfort to others for the furtherance thereof, did presentlie giue and deliuer in gold one thousand markes, and a warrant for a thousand lode of timber, to be taken out of hir maiesties woods or elsewhere: and the citizens of London granted one beneuolence, and three fiftéens to be foorthwith paied. The clergie vnder the prouince of Canturburie granted the fortith part of the value of their benefices charged with first fruits, and not charged with first fruits the thirtith part. The clergie of the diocesse of London

William Geffreie whipped.

A false Christ whipped till he changed his song.

Paules stéeple on fire by lightening.

The quéene is gréeued with the losse of Paules stéeple and prouideth means to repare it.

The queenes beneuolence to exeite others.

London granted the thirtith part of their benefices in first fruits, and the twentith part out of first fruits. Now immediatlie by commandement of the queenes highnesse, hir priuie councell tooke order that six citizens of London, and two of the cleargie of the church of Paules, had charge and commandement to ouersée and set forward this worke, who made such expedition, that within one moneth next following the burning thereof, the whole church, that is to saie, all the foure great roofes of the same were couered with boords and lead, after the maner of a false roofe. And the greatnesse of the worke dispatched in so short time could scarselie be credited of anie, but of such as saw and knew the same. And the cause of this great hast was for feare of raine, which might haue perished the vawtes, to the destruction of the whole church, and the people that were therein. And before the said yéere was fullie ended, all the said iles of the said church were made and framed of new and maine timber, and couered with lead, and fullie finished. And the same yeare also, the great roofe of the west end was framed, and made of new and great timber in Yorkeshire, and brought to London by sea, and set vp and couered with lead, and fullie finished. And in like maner within the said yeare, the whole roofe and frame of the said church was made in Yorkeshire, and brought by sea to London, and there laid readie to be raised when the season of the yeare serued. This one thing resteth to be told, that by estimation of wise men, 10000 pounds more than is yet granted vnto it, will not perfect and finish the church and stéeple in such sort as it was before the burning thereof.

Ouerseers appointed to preferre the repairing of Paules.

All the iles of Paules made and framed of new timber.

Ten thousand pounds insufficient to repare Paules as it was at the first.

In this meane time also, by reason of the quéenes maiesties letters directed to the maior and his brethren, of the citie of London about the burning of Paules, there were certeine aldermen and commoners of the said citie named and called togither by the authoritie of the maior, to deuise some good order and spéedie remedie for the reliefe and comfort of the said citie, whensoeuer anie chance of fire hereafter should happen (as God forbid) within the said citie or liberties thereof. And the persons so called after sundrie méetings, and with good aduisement and deliberation, agréed and penned a certeine order for the spéedie remedie thereof, as well for the readie knowledge of the place, wheresoeuer the same fire should happen, and for the sudden extinguishment and suppressing of the same, as also for the safe kéeping of the goods of such persons in whose house anie fire should chance. Which orders and rules vndoubtedlie would be to the great comfort and safetie of the citie and citizens of the same, if they were published and made knowen in time, and executed accordinglie. But what should I saie? I can but lament, not onelie for this, but also for manie such painefull and profitable labors, which for good gouernment of this citie had béene taken. For as soone as the talking thereof is doone, and the bookes framed and deliuered, so soone is put in obliuion, and nothing at all thought vpon, vntill an houre after the mischiefe be past.

Good orders nothing worth if they be not put in execution.

This yeare was chosen lord maior of London a worthie citizen named William Harper, one of the companie of the merchant tailors. This man wishing in his life time to benefit his countrie, founded a free schoole in the towne of Bedford where he was borne, and now lieth buried, prouiding a competent stipend and liuing for a schole-maister, there to traine vp and and instruct children in vertue and learning for euer. The fiftéenth of Nouember, the quéenes maiestie published a proclamation, wherein she restored to the realme diuerse small péeces of siluer monie, as the peece of six-pence, foure pence, three pence, two pence, and a pennie, three halfe pence, and three farthings. She also forbad all forren coines to be currant within the same realme, as well gold as siluer, calling them to hir maiesties mints, except two sorts of crownes of gold, the one the French crowne, the other the Flemmish crowne. ¶ Thus did hir maiestie in all hir actions directed to common vtilitie shoot at a certeine perfection, purenesse, and soundnesse, as here in hir new stamps and coines of all sorts; so also

Fréeschoole in Bedford towne founded by William Harper maior of London elect.

New coines of small péeces as six pence, &c.

in Gods religion, setting the materiall churches of hir dominions frée from all popish trash: which one hath aptlie noted by waie of comparison, saieng:

Eiectis paleis purgatur vt area multo
Vsque laborantis serui sudore, reuulsis
Vt nitet ampla domus, quas struxit aranea telis:
Sic priùs idolis confractis, templa fricantur
Cuncta scòpis, quicquid fuit, abradentibus vncis
Dentibus obscænum, spurcum, verbóue repugnans
Sacro, relligióque erectis cultior ibat.
I am pedibus, Christúsque Dei cognoscitur agnus,
Offensas delens mundi, peccatáque tollens:
Vænalis populò non indulgentia papæ.]

Anno Reg. 4. Monstruous births in diuerse places of England.

1562

This yeare in England were manie monstruous births. In March a mare brought foorth a foale with one bodie and two heads, and as it were a long taile growing out betweene the two heads. Also a sow farowed a pig with foure legs like to the armes of a manchild with armes and fingers, &c. In Aprill a sow farrowed a pig with two bodies, eight féet, and but one head: manie calues and lambs were monstruous, some with collars of skin growing about their necks, like to the double ruffes of shirts and neckerchers then vsed. The foure and twentith of Maie, a manchild was borne at Chichester in Sussex, the head armes, and legs whereof were like to an anatomie, the breast and bellie monstruous big, from the nauill as it were a long string hanging: about the necke a great collar of flesh and skin growing like the ruffe of a shirt or neckercher, comming vp aboue the eares pleited and folded, &c.

France at diuision in it selfe by ciuill warres.

The realme of France being in great trouble about this season, by the means of ciuill dissention and warres that rose betwixt the house of Guise and other of that faction vpon the one side, and the prince of Conde and other that tooke part with him on the contrarie side: the quéenes maiestie informed how that the duke of Guise and his partakers hauing got into their possession the person of the yoong king, vnder pretext of his authoritie, sought the subuersion of manie noble men and good subiects of the crowne of France, namelie such as were knowne or suspected to be zealous for a reformation to be had in matters of religion: hir maiestie thervpon considering, that if their purpose might be brought to effect, it was to be doubted that they would not so rest, but séeke to set things in broile also within this hir realme of England, and other countries néere to them adioining; first as one that had euer wished quietnesse, rather than the troubles of warre sent ouer sir Henrie Sidneie at that present lord president of Wales (a man of such estimation as his word ought to haue deserued credit) to trie if he might doo anie good to bring the parties to some atonement. But such wilfull headinesse séemed to rest in some that were chiefe of the one faction, that their desire seemed altogither bent to enter into wars. Hir maiestie yet hoping the best, appointed to send another honourable ambassage, which by their wisedoms and good aduise might persuade the parties vnto concord, whereby all due authoritie honor, and dignitie might be restored to the king, and euerie other degree keepe their roomes and places as to them apperteined, but all in vaine. For this motion of a pacification to be had could take no place, neither might the will of the yoong king, or of his timorous mother, as it then seemed, be regarded, otherwise than as stood with the pleasure and appointment of those that were knowne to be the chiefe authors and furtherers of all those troubles.

The quéenes maiesties mistrust of inconuenience, and the same remedied.

Sir Henrie Sidneie sent ambassador into France.

An other ambassage in Iulie directed into France.

Whilest the quéenes maiestie therefore did thus trauill in respect of the suertie which hir grace bare to hir well beloued brother the said king, and to the commoditie and quietnesse of both the factions, an open iniurie was offered to hir maiestie: so as it might appeare what minds they bare towards hir, that had thus excluded and refused all offers and meanes to grow to some good and indifferent conclusion of peace. For whereas manie merchants, as well of London as of Excester, and other

Ships of London, Excester,

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the west parts of hir realme, were sojourning for cause of traffike, in diuerse ports and hauens of Britaine; and hauing dispatched their businesse, and got their lading aboord, their ships were readie to hoise vp sailes, and to return each one towards the place from whence hée came, they were suddenlie arrested, their goods seized vpon, and they themselues cast in prison: and some that in reuenge of such offered iniurie attempted to make resistance, were cruellie slaine, their ships conueied awaie, their goods confiscat, without other pretense, but onelie that it was said to them that they were Huguenots. Neither was this doone by priuat persons, but by open violence of the gouernors and magistrats of those places where the same disorder was executed: so that it appeared from whence they had their commission to vse such wrongfull dealing, and how farre the same would extend, if they might once haue time and occasion to accomplish their purposed intentions.

and Falmouth, spoiled by the French in Britaine, the thirtith of Iulie and ninetéenth of August.

Moreouer, when complaint of such iniuries was made vnto the lawfull magistrats there, they found no redres at all. For what might the poore merchants profit by their plaints, when the packets of the ambassadors letters, directed to hir maiestie, were taken from the bearer, and no punishment had against those that committed so vnciuill an outrage? A thing that offended hir maiestie so much more, for that as she tooke the matter, there wanted no good will, either in the king, or his mother, or in the king of Nauarre, the kings generall lieutenant, to sée such a presumptuous and vnrulie part punished of their people: but rather that there lacked in them authoritie to haue it redressed. Furthermoré, it greatlie gréeued hir, that the yong French king, hir déere brother was brought to such a streict, that he was nether able to defend the libertie of his people, nor the authoritie of his lawes, nor to deale vprightlie with other princes and potentats accordinglie, as by the bonds of leagues and of couenanted aliances had bene requisite. Neither did such disorder in gouernement of the kingdome of France touch anie so much and particularlie, as the queens maiestie of England.

Letters taken from the quéens ambassadors seruants.

The French troubles touch most the quéene of England.

She therefore lamenting that the king and quéene mother should be thus in the hands of them that procured all these troubles, and led vp and downe at their pleasures, and driuen to behold the spoil and sacking of diuerse his cities, and miserable slaughter of his subiects: and againe hir grace thinking it expedient to preuent that such as were knowne to beare no good will, either to hir or hir realme, should not get into their possessions such townes and hauens as laie against the sea coasts of hir said realme, whereby they stuffing the same with garrisons and numbers of men of warre, might easilie vpon occasions seeke to make inuasions into this hir said realme, to the great annoiance of hir and hir louing subiects: at the request of the French themselues, thought it expedient to put in armor a certeine number of hir subiects, to passe ouer into Normandie, vnto such hauens as néere approched vnto this hir realme of England, as well for the safegard of the same, as also for the reliefe and preseruation of the inhabitants there: and other that professed the gospell, liuing in continuall danger to be murthered and oppressed, and therefore craning hir aid to saue and deliuer them out of the bloudie hands of their cruell aduersaries, that sought their hastie destruction.

The chiefe causes that mooued the quéenes maiestie to send a power into France.

For the conduction therefore of such forces as she meant to send ouer at that present she ordeined the lord Ambrose Dudleie earle of Warwike to be hir principall lieutenant, capteine generall, chiefe leader and gouernor of hir said subiects, that should in such wise passe ouer into Normandie. Herevpon, the said erle the seuenteenth of October, in this fourth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, tooke shipping at Portesmouth in the hauen there, at one a clocke in the after noone, being aboord himselfe in the quéens ship, called the New barke, and setting forward, sailed all that after noone, and the night following, directlie towards Newhauen, but in the morning about eight a clocke, when his lordship was within twentie miles of the town of Newhauen, the

The earle of Warwike sent into Normandie with an armie.

wind suddenlie changed cleane contrarie to his course: so that being driuen to returne about the next midnight, he arriued in the downes, and there remained at anchor, till about eight of the clocke in the next morning being mondaie, and then was set on land by bote at Sandon Castell besides Deale, and the same daie at night came to Douer, and there laie till fridaie at thrée of the clocke at after noone; and then taking ship againe, sailed foorth: but finding the wind nothing prosperous for his course, after he had lien all that night and the daie following, tossing and tumbling on the seas, he was constreined to come backe againe, and arriued in the hauen of Douer, about ten of the clocke on saturdaie at night, and so remained there till tuesdaie next insuing at thrée of the clocke in the after noone, and then went to shipboord againe in the said ship called the New barke: and directing his course forwards, on thursdaie morning about eight of the clocke, his lordship landed at Newhauen, where he was most ioyfullie receiued with a great peale of artillerie.

The earle of Warwike landeth at Newhauen.

Light horssemen Scots.

The next daie, being fridaie, and the thirtith of October, there came to Newhauen from Diepe, fiftie light horssemen Scots, brought by one of maister Killigrues seruants. On saturdaie the last of October, the earle of Warwiks commission was proclamed in Latine, English, and French, by Blewmantell, purseuant at armes: which being ended, his lordship went into the church, and there sir Adrian Poinings knight marshall gaue him his oth, and then my lord gaue the said sir Adrian his oth. And after him were sworne Cutbert Vaughan controllér, Iohn Fisher knight porter, William Bromfield maister of the ordinance, William Robinson water bailife, and capteine Thomas Wood clearke of the councell. On mondaie the second of Nouember, the earle of Warwike, with the knight marshall, and the controller, rode of Newhauen to Hauteuille, and so towards Mondeuille, accompanied with all the horssemen English and Scotish, and a thousand footmen. The Scotishmen and Montgomeries band passed foorth, and skirmished with them of Mondeuille, and the Scots brought awaie with them a bootie of thrée hundred shéepe: but in the morning, they were returned backe againe by commandement of the earle of Warwike.

The oth receiued by the lord lieutenant, and other officers.

A skirmish betwéene the Scotishmen and them of Mondeuille.

Maister controllors souldiors went as far as Harflue, and there skirmished with them of that garrison, but without anie hurt to either part. My lord lieutenant riding all about the hils, viewed the countrie, and at night returned. On wednesdaie the fourth of Nouember, a barke of Newhauen, belonging to Francis Clearke, brought into the hauen of the same towne, foure Britons laden with wines, to the quantitie of two hundred tuns of good Gascoigne wines, which they ment to haue brought to the enimies: but being thus taken as a good prise, it was discharged in Newhauen, and stood the Englishmen and others of that towne in good stead. On fridaie the sixt of Nouember, about nine of the clocke in the morning, a great alarum rose in the said towne of Newhauen: for vpon the hils on the north side of the towne, the Reingraue, and the sonne of the viceadmerall of France, shewed themselues, accompanied with two thousand footmen, and fiue hundred horssemen. And herewith, the Reingraue sent a trumpettor to the towne, to aduertise the lord lieutenant, that he was on the hils there at hand; and that vnderstanding his lordship was come into the countrie, and entred into Newhauen, if it would please him to promise vpon his honor, and by the faith of a gentleman, that he might come, and returne in safétie, he would be glad to come and sée him. Wherevpon the lord lieutenant, taking with him certeine capteins and gentlemen, rode foorth of the towne, and sent before him sir Adrian Poinings the marshall, with Stephan Medcalfe hir maiesties trumpettor vnto the Reingraue, who talking with him, returned, and met with the lord lieutenant: who therewith passed forward, and méeting with the Reingraue, they imbraced each other, and conferred togither as they had occasion. And the Reingraue told the lord lieutenant (among other talke) that he was come

A prise of wines to the quantitie of two hundred tuns.

An alarum in the towne of Newhauen.

Stephen Medcalfe trumpettor.

The earle of Warwike and the Reingraue talke togither.

to

to be his neighbor, and so with such merie speech they communed togither: and after taking their leaue either of other, they returned vnto their homes.

The counte Montgomerie and monsieur Beauuois had some talke also with the Reingraue, casting out bitter and sharpe words in reproofe of the duke of Guise, and others that were of his faction. The Reingraue comming backe to his armie the same afternoone, forraied all the countrie, and droue awaie the most part of all the cattell that they might meet with: and comming to the church of Hauteuille, where an hundred and fiftie of Montgomeries band laie, they skirmished with them, and in the end Montgomeries souldiors were forced to retire, and abandon the place, leauing it to the enimies; and comming awaie, withdrew the same night into Newhauen. The Almans the same euening, diuiding their armie into two parts, the one halfe of them went and lodged at Mondeuille, and the other halfe at Harflue. The morrow after, the Frenchmen that had abandoned the church of Hauteuille the night before, went thither againe, tooke and kept it against the enimies, in like manner as they held it before.

The church of Hauteuille recouered.

The eleuenth of Nouember, a proclamation was made in the name of the lord lieutenant, by the officer at armes Blewmantell, as well for good orders to be kept by the souldiers against the French inhabitants of the towne, and reforming of certeine greeuances, whereof the French had made complaint: as also for their comming to church to heare common praier and preaching at due times, for the auoiding of vnlawfull games, whordome, wicked othes, and other blasphemies; and likewise concerning diuerse other good orders to be obserued, and disorders to be eschewed, as was thought necessarie to giue warning of, with condigne paines appointed for punishment of such as should transgresse in the same.

A proclamation for good orders to be kept by the souldiors.

On thursdaie the twelfe of Nouember, there went out of the towne of Newhauen towards Harflue, three bands of Frenchmen, conteining about six hundred footmen; and suddenlie they were beeset by the Almans and Frenchmen of the garrison of Harflue: so that the French protestants were driuen to take a village called Grauille, where they mainteined the skirmish for the space of two houres, till the lord lieutenant, hearing of the perill in which they stood, sent foorth with the controllor the number of a thousand footmen, and all the English and Scotish horssemen, and monsieur Beauuois with diuerse French horssemen: who coming before Harflue, fell in skirmish with the enimies, to whose succor there issued foorth of Harflue a great number of the Almans, both horssemen and footmen. But the Englishmen behaued themselues so valiantlie, that they beat them out of the field, and droue them in the end to the verie gates of their towne, with such lionlike courage, as was wonderfull: choosing rather to die in battell (if hap had so cut their cards) in an honest cause, than in their sicke beds: as moued by the poets reason not amisse for a souldior to remember and resolutelie to rest vpon, to wit:

A skirmish before Harflue.

Absumpti longis animam cruciatibus edunt
Languentes morbis: in bello pulchra paratur
Mors, homo momento pugnans extinguitur horæ,
Euolat in tenues lætus citò spiritus auras.

This skirmish was stoutlie mainteined and continued for the space of three long houres. Their great artillerie was shot off freshlie from the wals and bulworks. At length, when the night drew on, the retire was sounded, and the Englishmen came their waie backe to Newhauen with honor, hauing lost not past eight of their souldiors, that were slaine and six other hurt: whereas there was one of the enimies capteins slain in sight, with twentie souldiors, and another of their capteins, with diuerse others of their numbers greeuouslie wounded. Monsieur Beauuois shewed himselfe that daie verie forward and valiant, and so likewise did the Scotishmen. The thirteenth of Nouember, a pinnesse of the Frenchmen that belonged to Newhauen,

The Englishmen retire to Newhauen with honor.

Monsieur Beauuois.

hauen, being gone foorth the night before, brought into the hauen a ship laden with Rochell wines, fiue and twentie tuns, that was bound to passe vp to the enimies, and so esteemed a good prise. On the fourtéenth of Nouember, another ship fraught with twentie tuns of Gascoigne wines was brought in as a prise, likewise taken by a barke of Newhauen, that belonged to a Frenchman, called Iehan de Bois, an earnest aduersarie to the papists.

Prises taken and brought to Newhauen.

The seuenth of Nouember, a proclamation was made by Blewmantell, concerning orders taken and passed by the lord lieutenant, that no Englishman nor Frenchman should shoot off anie harquebuse within the towne; nor that anie Frenchman, except monsieur Beauuois, or monsieur Bricquemault, or their companies, should be out of their lodgings after nine of the clocke at night till the next morning on paine of death: except in cases of alarums. The twelfe of Nouember, about six of the clock at night, one of the mils without the gate was set on fire by some of the papists (as was thought) whereof rose a great alarum. The thirtéenth of Nouember, the Reingraue was seene on the north hils of the towne, with foure score horssemen: wherevpon the Scotish horssemen, and thrée bands of footmen issued out, marching vp towards the same hils, in hope to méet with their enimies, but they were retired towards Mondeuille, and so nothing was doone. It was reported for a certeine truth, that the duke Daumale was there at that present with the Reingraue.

A proclamation for harquebut shot.

An alarum vpon occasion of fire made by the papists.

On wednesdaie, the fiue and twentith of Nouember, one of capteine Cocksons souldiors was hanged in the market place: and an another that was brought thither likewise to be executed had his pardon, at the sute of certeine French gentlemen. And herewith was proclamation made, that where it had béene proclamed afore, that none should take anie thing forceablie from the French on paine of death, for breach whereof, such execution was presentlie doone: the lord lieutenant did by this proclamation eftsoons charge and command, that none vpon like paine should breake or spoile anie house or ship: or take anie timber, wood, or anie other thing from the French, without their good will, consent, and agreement. The same afternoone came into the hauen hoies and botes laden with wine, cider, perrie, wheate, béefe, bisquet, meale, and other prouision of vittels. Two French shallops of Newhauen had taken them besides Hunflue, and beaten backe a shallop of the enimies, slaieng ten or twelue Frenchmen that came foorth of Hunflue to haue succored the hoies. The fiue and twentith of Nouember, there landed at Newhauen six hundred souldiors Essexmen, vnder the leading of Auerie Darsie, Reginald Higate, and William Twedie, each of them hauing his appointed number of two hundred to his ensigne.

Execution.

A proclamation to restreine the outrage of souldiors.

Prises brought to Newhauen.

A supplie of souldiors out of Essex arriue at Newhauen.

Moreouer, where as well diuerse prentises, as other Englishmen were come ouer, since the placing of the garrison in that towne of Newhauen, not offering their seruice anie waie, other than by stragling abroad to séek pillage, whereby they fell oftentimes into the hands of the enimies, both to the dishonor of the countrie, and losse of their owne liues. For reformation hereof proclamation was made the last of Nouember, that all Englishmen within the said towne, aboue the age of sixteene yeares, and vnder thrée score, being not reteined in the queens maiesties paie, should at one of the clocke that present daie repaire to the bulworke called the bulworke of saint Addresses, there to present his name and person to the comptrollor, that order might be taken how to emploie them in some certeintie of seruice, vpon paine to euerie one failing hereof to suffer ten daies imprisonment, and also to be banished the towne.

A proclamation for the assembling of souldiors at saint Addresses.

The same daie the quéenes ship called the Hare, comming from Portsmouth, arriued at Newhauen; and in hir came sir Iohn Portinarie, whose ripe skill, déepe iudgement, and great experience in matters of fortification had bred in him such knowledge,

Sir Iohn Portinarie a Florentine, and an excellent engiaer.

knowledge, as he may worthilie be called a maister in that science. They were by the waie assailed by a French ship of foure score and ten tuns and better: but they that were aboord in the Hare, so manfullie acquited themselues, that they vanquished the enimies, tooke the same ship, and brought hir with them being laden with wines, which they meant to haue conueied to the aduersaries in some garrison. The same daie sir Iohn More landed at Newhauen, bringing ouer with him fiue hundred soldiors out of Denshire, for a supplie of the garrison there. He himselfe returned backe into England, but the soldiors were appointed to the leading of other capteins: so that Francis Summerset, brother to the earle of Worcester had three hundred of them; Oliuer Manners an hundred, and Edward Ormsbie the other hundred. On tuesdaie the eight of December monsieur de Beauuois, capteine Francis Summerset, and capteine Edward Horseie, with diuerse other capteins, officers and gentlemen, rode to the Reingraue, lieng at a faire house not farre from Mondeuille, where they dined with him, had great and hartie chéere, and after returned againe to Newhauen. The same daie the Reingraue sent for a present vnto my lord of Warwike, a great horse, verie faire, with saddle and bridle; estéemed to be well worth an hundred pounds.

Sir Iohn More bringeth a supplie of soldiors to Newhauen out of Deuonshire.

A present sent by the Reingraue to the earle of Warwike.

Moreouer, the same daie at night, the Double Rose with certeine other botes and French shallops, passed foorth of the hauen: Edward Dudleie, and capteine Iohn Ward being aboord in the said Double Rose, with diuerse other Englishmen and Frenchmen, to the number of a hundred good soldiors, who sailing downe the riuer landed beside Tankeruille, and laie close all that night to the wood. And in the morning about nine of the clocke monsieur Bimar, ensignebearer to the counte Montgomerie, with six or seauen Frenchmen vnarmed went to the castell gate, and there fell in talke with monsieur Dimenée, who was capteine of that fortresse, hauing with him about ten soldiers that were appointed to remaine with him vpon the gard of the same castell. Whilest they were thus in talke, the Englishmen and other Frenchmen comming foorth of the wood that was there at hand, reared vp their ladders, which they had brought with them for that purpose, at the breach which was made the summer before by the duke Daumale; and entring by the same, came downe into the base court. Which thing when the French soldiors that kept talke with them within at the castell gate perceiued, they began to laugh. The capteine of the castell therwith turning his face, and beholding as good as thrée score armed men within the castell at his backe, he suddenlie said: Ha, ie suis vostre, I am yours sirs, and so yéelded with his ten soldiors. And in this sort was the castell taken, and the capteine brought prisoner to Newhauen.

Edward Dudleie.

The castell of Tankeruille woone by the Englishmen.

On the twelfe of December, at ten of the clocke in the morning, the earle of Warwike, monsieur de Beauuois, and monsieur de Bricquemault, with all their horssemen and thrée thousand footmen, passed foorth of Newhauen vnto Harflue, out of which towne there issued seauen hundred Reisters of the retinue of the counte Reingraue, and thrée hundred footmen, who fell in skirmish with the French and Englishmen verie hotlie: but at length the Englishmen draue them to the verie gates of Harflue, and slue them euen at the same gates and vpon the walles of the towne; insomuch that they were constreined to shut their gates, and off went the ordinance from the gates and bulworks, discharging bullets amongst the English soldiors freelie. But yet there were not slaine past seuen of the English part, albeit diuerse were hurt and wounded, and amongst other was monsieur de Beauuois shot into the side of the necke through his gorget, and capteine Antwisell through the arme. Moreouer, whereas they carried foorth with them foure barrels of gunpowder to mainteine the skirmish, through negligence by setting fire to the same, there were to the number of twentie grieuouslie burned. Of the enimies were slaine that daie aboue thirtie, and hurt aboue fiftie. Manie of their horsses were also slaine in this skirmish,

A skirmish before Harflue: The Frenchmen beaten into Harflue.

Monsieur Beauuois and capteine Antwisell hurt.

which continued aboue thrée houres. As the Englishmen were returning backe, the Reingraue with two hundred horsses, and a certeine number of footmen, was laid fast by in an ambush, thinking to haue cut off part of their men: but he failed of his purpose. For the lord lieutenant marching with his men in battell araie, brought them home in safetie, without other impeachment. The seauentéenth of December, the counte Montgomerie, and sir Hugh Paulet arriued at Newhauen in one of the queenes ships called the Aid.

A proclamation for obseruing of orders.

The nineteenth of December a proclamation was made for orders to be obserued, concerning the imbarking of such soldiors as were licenced to depart by passeport or otherwise: and likewise prohibiting the taking into anie vessell anie drie fish, wine, sugar, or anie houshold stuffe without speciall licence of the lord lieutenant. Whilest things passed thus in Normandie at Newhauen and thereabouts, where the earle of Warwike and other valiant capteins were readie to make proofe of their high prowesse in time and place as occasion might serue, there ended his life at home that honorable baron, and right famous capteine in his daies William lord Greie of Wilton, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and at that present gouernor of Berwike, and warden of the east marches against Scotland. He deceased the fiue and twentith of December, in the yeére 1562, at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, then the house of Henrie Denie esquier that had married mistresse Honor Greie, the said lord Greies onelie daughter. ¶ The six and twentith of December the counte de Montgomerie tooke shipping at Newhauen rode, accompanied with foure hundred harquebutters Frenchmen, and sailed to Déepe, there to be gouernor of that towne. He went in an English barke belonging to Nicholas Malbie secretarie to the earle of Warwike lord lieutenant.

The death of the Lord Greie of Wilton.

1563.

The third of Ianuarie a shallop that was sent the same morning from Newhauen, laden with béere and other vittels to passe vnto Tankeruille, was assailed about Harflue, by a shallop of Hunflue, which droue the hoie to the shore; so as the Englishmen forsooke their hoie, and came running to Newhauen, to declare what had happened. Herevpon the lord lieutenant sent foorth foure French shallops by water, and the horssemen with six hundred footmen passed foorth by land, and vsed such diligence, that they came euen as the Frenchmen were hailing vp the hoie towards Harflue: and skirmishing with the Frenchmen (being foure score good harquebutters) for the space of a long houre, at length recouered the hoie, and tooke thrée of their shallops with their ordinance, which they brought to Newhauen, with the losse of one onelie man, an harquebutter of capteine Zouches band. The fourth of Ianuarie in the morning, the English scout, being thirtie good harquebutters, were set vpon by the enimies that droue them vnto the verie gates. They shot also with their harquebusses into the towne, and ouer the mount roiall among the English soldiors. They hurt at that present thrée of the scouts; but when they perceiued the Englishmen were in a readinesse to approch them, they departed, being in number thrée hundred horssemen and a thousand footmen, soldiors of Mondeuille and Harflue. The fift of Ianuarie were apprehended capteine Blondell, capteine Moucombell, monsieur Dimenee, and Vitanna with others, for some conspiracie or traitorous practise which they went about, and had maliciouslie contriued. The same daie capteine Edward Horseie with his two hundred soldiers, and capteine Francis Blunt with his hundred tooke shipping at Newhauen rode, and sailed to Déepe there to remaine with the counte Montgomerie, whose wife the countesse Montgomerie went also with them to hir husband the same time.

A hoie recouered which the French had taken.

Certeine apprehended for conspiracie.

On the saturdaie following, the twelfe daie after Christmasse, being the ninth of Ianuarie, a great tempest of wind and thunder happened in the towne of Leicester, which vncouered two and fortie baies of houses, and ouerthrew manie, renting and tearing them in péeces, in a strange and maruellous maner. The people that were assembled

A great tempest in Leicester.

assembled that daie in the market place to buie and sell their vsual chafer, wares, and commodities, were sore amazed and astonied with the hidiousnesse of that most outragious and violent tempest. On thursdaie the 14 of Ianuarie at one of the clocke in the morning, there issued forth of Newhauen threescore horssemen, and a thousand footmen, all English; and comming to Mondeuille, where the Reingraue laie, gaue to them within an alarum, but neither the Reisters, nor the Almane footmen, nor French that were within that towne would come foorth: and therefore after the Englishmen had tarried there the space of foure houres, they returned backe againe to Newhauen.

An alarum giuen to Mondeuille.

The fifteenth of Ianuarie, at one of the clocke in the afternoone, there issued foorth of Newhauen threescore horssemen, and fiftéene hundred footmen, which comming to Harflue, gaue a like alarum to that towne; but none of the garrison there would come foorth: wherevpon the Englishmen returned home againe to Newhauen. The sixteenth of Ianuarie, the castell of Tankeruille was surrendred to the Reingraue, after he had laine about it eight daies, with two thousand horssemen and footmen. It was now yéelded by composition (after it had béene kept by the space of thirtie eight daies) that those within should depart with bag and baggage, the gallie being sent from Newhauen to fetch them awaie. There were no more within it at that time when it was thus deliuered: but capteine Iohn Ward, capteine Edward Dudleie, and capteine Saule, his lieutenat Rileie, with seuentie English soldiors, and thirtie French. The 19 of Ianuarie, there landed at Newhauen, capteine Tremaine, with 50 horssemen verie well appointed to serue the quéenes majestie there. The foure and twentith of Ianuarie Francis Clerke Frenchman arriued at Newhauen, with two tall ships of his owne right well appointed for the wars, bringing with him three rich prises, valued at about fiftie thousand crownes, one of them was a mightie great hulke, laden with wood and allume. The 26 of Ianuarie, capteine Tremaine with all his horssemen, and capteine Clerke with his Scotish horsmen, and 600 footmen, went foorth of Newhauen towards Mondeuille, and by the waie in a little village, there was a French capteine came foorth of Mondeuille, named monsieur Emerie, hauing with him thirtie souldiers where falling in hand to spoile the same village, the pezzants about gathered themselues togither, and set vpon him and his souldiers. Now whilest they were thus in fight, the Scotish horssemen came suddenlie vpon them, tooke the said capteine sore wounded, slue twelue of his soldiers, and tooke foureteene other of them prisoners, whome with their capteine wounded (as he was) they brought home the same night vnto Newhauen.

An alarum giuen to Harflue.

The castell of Tankeruille deliuered to the Reingraue.

Tremaine.

Francis Clerke Frenchman.

Prises taken by him of about 50000 crownes value.

Capteine Emerie taken by the Scotish horsmen.

The three and twentith of Ianuarie, a proclamation was made for orders to be obserued by the souldiers, and other resiants within the towne of Newhauen, concerning politike gouernement thereof, as well for the better defense against the enimies without, as the quiet demeanor of the men of warre and inhabitants within. The fift of Februarie, two ships of Britons laden with Gascoigne wines, butter, bakon, lard, salt, and other vittels, were brought into Newhauen, by a shallop of Killebeuf, that was resiant with other Frenchmen in Newhauen, seruing against the papists, and had taken those two vessels, as they were going to vittell the enimies.

A proclamation for the obseruing of orders.

A prise brought to Newhauen.

The sixt of Februarie three faire mightie ships of warre, belonging to Francis Clerke, brought into Newhauen thrée rich prises, laden with sackes, bastards, sugar, orenges, graines, and other merchandizes. This Clerke had not béene foorth past six weeks at this time, and yet he had got aboue eightéene prises well worth by iust valuation the summe of fiftie thousand pounds. On saturdaie the sixt of Februarie, a souldier of capteine Appleyards band was executed in the market place; for that contrarie to order taken and published afore that time by proclamation, he had not onelie drawen his weapon against another souldier, but also maimed him, and plaied

Three other prises of sackes bastards, &c.

A souldier executed for fighting contrarie to the orders in that case giuen.

Three other pardoned.

other lewd parts in contempt of the lord lieutenants commandements. There was another also condemned to die, and two others adiudged to lose their hands: but the lord lieutenant of his mercifull clemencie granted to those three his pardon, for their passed offenses. On sundaie the seuenth of Februarie, was Hunflue summoned by an herald, sent from the French admerall, monsieur de Chatillon. On mondaie the eight of that moneth, the said admerall came before Hunflue, with six thousand horssemen. Reisters, and other of his owne retinues, beside footmen, and a thousand horssmen of the countries thereabout. And about six of the clocke at night there was a great peale of ordinance shot off at Newhauen for a welcome to the said admerall.

The admerall of France summoneth Hunflue.

The twelfe of Februarie, the French gallies of Newhauen passing foorth, and wafting about Hunflue to séeke aduentures, in hope of suertie, by reason the lord admerall of France laie therby at Touque, rode at an anchor; whilest some of them that were aboord in hir went on land, to gaine somwhat of the enimies. But they within Hunflue perceiuing this, made out their great gallies, with fiftie good mariners and souldiers, who comming vpon the gallies of Newhauen lieng at anchor, put hir in great danger of taking. For there were but fifteene men left aboord in hir at that present, wherof three of them were Englishmen, who perceiuing in what danger they stood, waied anchor with all spéed and drew towards the shore, to take in the rest of their companie; and getting them aboord vnto them, they manfullie stood to their defense, being in all but foure and twentie men. Neuerthelesse, they so behaued themselues, that continuing in fight aboue a long houre, at length they ouercame their enimies, slue seuen of them outright, wounded seuen and thirtie, tooke their gallie and brought hir to Newhauen, with thirtéene bels, diuerse copes, and church ornaments, shéepe, and other spoiles, which they had got abroad in the countrie, togither with three and fortie good prisoners, and the artillerie which was found aboord in the foresaid great gallie, wherewith she was verie well appointed and furnished.

The great gallie of Hunflue taken.

Of the French protestants there were but three slaine and six hurt, and one of the three Englishmen was also hurt. As it hath béene crediblie reported, the French protestants might thanke those three Englishmen that were with them in their gallies for that their good hap: for if they had not manfullie stood to it at the first, and bestowed such artillerie as they had aboord with them freshlie against the enimies, the French had yeelded. But by Gods good helpe, and their worthie courage, the victorie remained on their side. The foureteenth of Februarie there came from the lord admerall of France, lieng then at Touque, monsieur de Rohen, and monsieur de Grandemont, a knight of the order, monsieur Telegnie the admerals sonne in law, and diuerse other French gentlemen, to confer with the lord lieutenant, who receiued them right gladlie, and made them great cheere. They remained in Newhauen till the eightéenth of Februarie, and then departed and went to Caen, whither the said lord admerall was remoued, and had entred the towne, and laie within it, preparing with all spéed to besiege the castell.

The French beholden to the English.

Noble men sent from the admerall of France to the earle of Warwike.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton arriueth at Newhauen.

The same daie that the French lords departed from Newhauen towards Caen, monsieur Briquemault, and sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight arriued at Newhauen in one of the quéenes ships called the Aid. The admerall Chatillon being got into the towne of Caen, kept the castell besieged, within the which was inclosed the marquesse Dalbeuf. There were sent in to him from Newhauen the fiue and twentith of Februarie, seuen canons, two demie culuerings, and one minion. On the morrow following being fridaie, and six and twentith of Februarie, sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, monsieur Briquemault, and monsieur Beauuois, with a thousand souldiers French, and as manie English, to wit, capteine Zouch, capteine Twedie, capteine Higate, ech of them with two hundred: capteine Iohn Ward, capteine Parkinson

Caen castell besieged.

The marques Dalbeuf brother to the duke of Guise.

Aid sent to the siege of Caen.

kinson, capteine Saule, master Wheeler, and capteine Fisher with his band, each of them with his hundred, and capteine Pelham the labourers were imbarked in the rode at Newhauen, and sailed foorth towards Caen, to come to the siege which the admerall of France had laid to the castell there.

The same daie as the counte Montgomerie had imbarked at the hauen of Diepe in an English vessell, and was comming towards Newhauen, there came out from Festampe three shallops, by the appointment of the Reingraue (as was said) which made towards Montgomerie, whose meaning when he perceiued, he set vpon the strongest of the same shallops, so that there followed a sharpe conflict betwixt them, but in the end the victorie fell to Montgomerie, the shallop being taken, the capteine and maister slaine, and three English vittellers rescued, which the said shallops had taken. Montgomerie herewith arriuing at Newhauen, and bringing his prise with him was ioifullie receiued, and after he had talked a while with the lord lieutenant and the councell, he went aboord againe and sailed to Caen, there to confer with the admerall.

The counte Montgomerie taketh a French shallop.

Montgomerie goeth to Caen to speake with the admerall.

The first of March in the morning they began to batter the castell of Caen, in such wise that about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, they within began to parlée, but it tooke none effect; and then went off the artillerie againe till night, and in the morning the batterie eftsoones began. And before that two tires of the said artillerie had gone off, they within offered to parlee againe, and finallie agréed by composition to yéeld; and so on that tuesdaie by ten of the clocke, the castell was surrendred into the hands of the French admerall, and the marquesse Dalbeuf, and other that had the place in keeping, departed in safetie. On wednesdaie the third of March, the towne of Baieulx was also yeelded vnto the lord admerall of France, and on the morrow following Faleise, and afterwards S. Lo, with diuerse other townes and castels, yeelded likewise vnto him. The tenth of March the great gallie and the foists were sent awaie from Newhauen, with a canon and shot and powder vnto Hunflue, where they met with monsieur de Mouie, that came thither with a faire companie of horssemen and diuerse footmen French, and of Englishmen, capteine Tuttie with his two hundred, and capteine Fisher with his hundred.

The castell of Caen battered.

It is rendred to the admerall.

Baieulx, Faleise, and S. Lo, yéelded to the admerall.

The canon which came from Newhauen was immediatlie planted, and about ten of the clocke in the forenoone it was shot off, and after it had beene six times discharged, they within began to parlée, and in the end they agréed to yéeld vp the castell vnto monsieur de Mouie, with condition, that their souldiers and men of warre might depart onelie with their rapiers and daggers, leauing all the residue of their mooueables behind them. And according to this capitulation, capteine Lion with his hundred souldiers, and capteine Nicholas with his hundred, and fiftie other souldiers which were within departed, and left the castell vnto monsieur de Mouie, whereby his souldiers, as well English as others, gained greatlie by the spoile.

The canon laid to the castell of Hunflue.

It is yéelded.

The twelfe of March proclamation was made in name of the lord lieutenant, that no souldier should draw weapon to doo hurt therewith vnto anie of the French within the towne of Newhauen, or limits of the same, nor to molest them, nor to spoile nor take anie thing violentlie awaie from anie of them, nor to breake downe their houses, nor to carrie awaie their timber on paine of death. There was also a proclamation made in the name of the king and admerall, that no capteine, burgesse, souldier, mariner, or other of the French nation within the towne or without, should draw anie weapon, nor picke anie quarrell, nor vse anie iniurious words against anie man to mooue them to wrath, speciallie against the Englishmen on paine of death; nor that anie burgesse or inhabitant, of what qualitie or condition soeuer, except capteins, gentlemen, and souldiers, receiuing paie, should beare anie weapon on the like paine.

A proclamation vpon paine of death.

A proclamation in the French kings name.

The

Sir Adrian Poinings.

The fiue and twentith of March, sir Adrian Poinings knight, marshall of Newhauen departed from thence, and returning into England, remained there still.

The French appointed to depart out of Newhauen.

Whereas monsieur de Beauuois had by the admerall Chatillions commandement, charged by public proclamation, all strangers, forreners, and French souldiers to depart the towne, by the 23 of March last past, and that all other hauing their wiues and families should depart with them, within foure daies after the same proclamation, to giue aid for the conseruation and keeping of the townes of Hunflue, Caen, Baieulx, Faleise, S. Lo, and other places, latelie brought into the obedience of the king, vnder the authoritie of the prince of Conde, vnder paine for making default, to be taken as good prisoners of warre to those that should apprehend them.

Proclamation for the lawfull taking of prisoners.

Proclamation was also therevpon made in the lord lieutenants name, the six and twentith of March, being fridaie, that it should be lawfull to the quéenes maiesties subiects and friends, to apprehend and take as their good and lawfull prisoners, all such as contrarie to the former proclamation, should remaine in the towne of Newhauen, after fiue of the clocke after noone of the daie then next following being saturdaie; those persons onelie excepted, whose names had beene presented and inrolled in bils remaining with the lord lieutenants secretarie.

Prouided, that no person seizing vpon the bodie of anie such offendor, should by vertue or colour therof spoile anie of their houses, meddle with their goods or mooueables, without order and meane of iustice vpon paine of death.

Another proclamation in the behalfe of strangers.

On the sundaie yet being the eight and twentith of March, another proclamation was made, to giue respit to the said strangers, forreners, and French souldiers, vntill foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the same daie. And further there was another proclamation published this sundaie, that none should seize vpon anie of those strangers, forreners, or French souldiers, by colour of the two former proclamations, vntill the lord lieutenants pleasure should more fullie be knowen therein.

Another proclamation for the lawfull apprehending of prisoners.

The thirtith of March being tuesdaie, proclamation was eftsoones made, that whereas all forreners, being not anie of the burgesses, or proper inhabitants of the said towne of Newhauen, nor of the garrison or armie of the Englishmen in the same towne, had beene warned by seuerall proclamations to depart the towne; and yet the same proclamations notwithstanding, a great number made their abode still in the towne, in contempt of those proclamations: the lord lieutenant by this proclamation gaue full power and authoritie to the said prouost marshall of the garrison of the Englishmen in that towne, to apprehend and take as good and lawfull prisoners, all such forreners, as well souldiers, and mariners, as other without exception, which should be found in the towne at anie time after fiue of the clocke in the afternoone on saturdaie then next comming: monsieur Beauuois and his familie; and all ministers then being within the towne, being neuerthelesse cléerelie excepted and diuerse prouisions also included in this selfesame proclamation, for the mitigating of extremities, by wrong interpreting thereof, in behalfe of them that were to depart, as also that the gaine that should come by euerie particular prisoner so arrested by the prouost marshall, should returne to anie of the quéenes maiesties subiects, by whose meane and procurement the same prisoner was detected, and caused to be apprehended.

Exceptions against the foresaid proclamation.

The Reingraue with his horssemen.

On mondaie the fift of Aprill, the Reingraue with foure hundred horssemen, and about fiue hundred footmen, came downe the hil, betwixt saint Addresses and Englefield, where sir Hugh Paulet knight met with them, by appointment of the lord lieutenant accompanied with fortie horssemen, and a thousand English footmen: and after they had talked togither by the space of an houre, they departed the one from the other; maister Paulet returning to Newhauen, and the Reingraue to Mondeuille, the place where he vsuallie remained. On Easter euen, two souldiers

that had serued vnder capteine Parkinson were hanged in the market place of Newhauen, for running awaie to the Reingraue and vnto Diepe. Another also that serued vnder capteine Turner was condemned for the like offense, but pardoned throgh the great clemencie of the lord lieutenant. Execution on Easter euen.

The eight and twentith of April, proclamation was made, that all the papists, and the wiues and children of all them that were departed foorth of Newhauen, and made their abode at that present in Monstreuilliers, Harflue, or elsewhere abroad in the countrie, and likewise all other, whome the last proclamation for their auoiding out of the towne in anie wise touched, should depart on saturdaie then next insuing, on paine to haue their bodies arrested as prisoners, and their goods to be confiscate. Other articles were conteined in the same proclamation, as well for the forreners that should come foorth of the countrie to the market, as for the behauiour and demeanor of the French inhabitants of the towne, with promise of reward to such as should discouer and apprehend anie espiall, either dwelling in the towne, or comming and going to or from it. The first of Maie, Garter principall king of armes arriued at Newhauen, bringing with him the garter to the lord lieutenant, chosen on S. Georges daie last past to be one of the confréers of that most honorable order. The fourth of Maie proclamation was made, that all the French burgesses and others should bring and deliuer all their armour and weapon into the towne hall of Newhauen, which commandement was incontinentlie obeied and accomplished. A proclamation to be packing out of Newhauen. Garter king of armes bringeth the garter to the lord lieutenant.

The seauenth of Maie, proclamation was made for the auoiding of all such, whome the former proclamations had in anie wise touched, for their departure foorth of the towne, that they should depart by tuesdaie next (the ministers of the church excepted) and that none should enter into the towne, of what condition or estate soeuer he should be, without licence of the lord lieutenant, except he were a burgesse of the towne, and of the number of those that had their names inrolled, as by the rols lastlie made it might appeare, on paine to be apprehended as good and lawfull prisoners. The twelfe of Maie it was prohibited by proclamation to all burgesses, inhabitants, and others, not to go vnto Harflue, or Montreuilliers, or elsewhere out of sight of the towne of Newhauen, on paine to be taken as lawfull prisoners. The fifteenth of Maie, a marriner of the great gallie suffered in the market place of Newhauen, for robbing and pilfering of ships there in the hauen, and three other that were condemned for the like offense had their pardons. A proclamation for auoiding. Ministers excepted. Places forbidden by proclamation to be resorted vnto. Execution for pilfering.

The sixtenth of Maie was proclamation made, that all Frenchmen, being within the towne of Newhauen, otherwise called Haure de Grace, as well men, women, as children, should depart the towne, betwixt that present time and six of the clocke at night on the next daie being mondaie, except surgians, apothecaries, bakers, butchers, smiths, masons, locksmiths, carpenters, and other such artificers, vpon paine to be attached as good and lawfull prisoners, and their goods to be confiscat. By the tenor of these seuerall proclamations it maie appeare, that the lord lieutenant proceeded nothing rigorouslie against the French, in remouing them foorth of the towne; although it maie be, that some which had to deale therein, dealt hardlie inough with them. But in such cases there must of necessitie be some diligent heedfulnesse vsed, for otherwise in such packing away, some might peraduenture carie with them too much, and others too litle. But howsoeuer this mater was handled, true it is, that it was thought expedient to auoid the French out of the towne. For after the duke of Guise was slaine before Orleance, and that the parties were agréed, as by edict of the pacification published in March last past it maie appeare, the whole deuises as well of them of the one religion as the other tended to this end, how to recouer the towne of Newhauen out of the Englishmens hands, either by practise or open force. And such intelligence was vsed betwixt the French A proclamation for the auoiding of the French out of Newhauen. The lord lieutenants procéeding to be gathered by his proclamations. The Englishmen for their owne suerties were forced to double their watch nightly.

French within that towne, and the enimies without to bring this to passe, that the English could assure themselues no more of the one than of the other, and so were driuen for their owne safeties, to rid the towne of so doubtfull partakers.

The seuen and twentith of Maie, proclamation was made, that all maner of furniture and apparell, apperteining to ships within the garrisone, hauen, or rode of the towne of Newhauen, should be brought in: or a note to be giuen therof in writing to the lord lieutenant and councell there, before twelue of the clocke the next day, Saturdaie the two and twentith of Maie, about one of the clocke in the morning, the Reingraue with fiue hundred horsmen, and twentie two ensignes of footmen, came downe to the village called Lheure, neere vnto the new fort, which by order of the lord lieutenant was latelie before begun to be built, sir Iohn Portinarie being chiefe deuiser of the fortifications about the same. The enimies meaning was, to haue taken the same fort by a sudden assault: but the English scouts looking well to their charge, gaue intelligence to the lord lieutenant thereof, who incontinentlie going to the bulworke roiall, set out by the posterne capteine Iohn Ward with his hundred souldiers, and capteine Parkinson with his hundred, to passe to the fort, there to be an aid and defense to them that laie in the same.

The Reingraue with his forces.

About three of the clocke in the morning, the Reingraue suddenlie with his bands of horssemen and footmen gaue them in the fort an hot alarum; and immediatlie the earle of Warwike gaue in charge to these capteins, Read, Appleyard, Tuttie, Zouch, Antwisell, Ward, Morton, and Parkinson, hauing with them a thousand footmen, and twentie horsmen, to set vpon the enimies in the village of Lheure, neere adioining to the said new fort, where the valiant English souldiers shewed well the woonted valure of their woorthie ancestors, giuing such an hardie onset vpon their aduersaries, that greater manhood had not lightlie appeared in any incounter, than was vsed by those martiall capteins, and their warlike bands at that present, to the high honor of their countrie: insomuch that they beat backe their enimies, slue and tooke of them to the number of foure hundred, beside thirtie faire horsses, and an ensigne, which one Eastwike lieutenant to capteine Antwisell got.

An alarum giuen to the new fort by the Reingraue

The hardie onset of the Englishmen made vpon their aduersaries.

Amongst the numbers of them that were slaine, there were found aboue thirtie handsome gentlemen and verie well appointed. To conclude, the Englishmen behaued themselues so manfullie on each side, that by plaine force of armes they droue the enimies quite out of the village, and after set it on fire, bicause the enimies should not come to incampe therein, as their purpose was to haue doone at that present. The six and twentith of Maie, the Frenchmen in number about three thousand horssemen and footmen came downe towards the windmils, neere to the bulworke called saint Addresses, against whom the English horsemen and footmen issued foorth of the towne, giuing them a right hot skirmish, which continued for the space of two houres, insomuch that there were slaine of the French to the number of 200: beside an hundred and aboue that were hurt. On the English side that daie were lost about a dozzen or thirteene persons, and amongst others, was capteine Tremaine slaine, and manie hurt. To conclude, the Englishmen like hardie and worthie souldiers wan and kept the field, so as the Frenchmen in the end were driuen to retire, and besides other losses which they receiued, they had aboue fiftie of their horsses killed and hurt.

The Almans put to flight.

Another skirmish.

The Frenchmen driuen to retire.

In this skirmish, being one of the notablest that had beene lightlie seene manie a daie before, capteine Horseie shewed woorthie proofe of his most valiant courage, winning to himselfe such commendation, as the same will not be forgotten, whilest anie shall remaine aliue that beheld his manfull dealings: being such at that present as a deserue to be registred in the booke of fame, and to continue with posteritie, for euer. On saturdaie the fift of Iune at seuen of the cloke at night,

Capteine Horscis valiancie.

the Reinsgraue hauing laid in the village of Lheure an ambush of six hundred horssemen, and fiftéene hundred footmen, there came downe also betwéene the abbeie and the village called Englefield towards the towne, the number of a thousand footmen, which began a verie hot skirmish, first at the new fort, comming euen hard to the ditches, where the Englishmen manfullie incountered them. Herewith also the Reinsgraue appointed other to come downe, and approch the bulworks of saint Addresses, saint Francis, and saint Michaell, and to (conclude) round about the towne: so that there were of them to the number of six thousand that were imploied in this skirmish, which was mainteined right fercelie for the space of two hours, with verie sharpe and cruell fight: in the end the enimies were forced to giue place, with the losse of fiue hundred of their men, Almans, Frenchmen, Gascoignes, and Spaniards. Another skirmish. The number which the French lost in this skirmish.

The Englishmen verelie in this seruice shewed, that they were nothing degenerat from the ancient race of their noble progenitors. Besides those that were slaine on the French part, amongst whom was one of their capteins of good account amongst them, they tooke also Bassompeere an Almane, coronell ouer ten ensignes of footmen. The presence of the lord lieutenant was not wanting that daie, both to incourage his worthie souldiers, and also to sée them applied with weapon and munition, so as they should not be vnprouided of anie thing that was néedfull for seruice. Of Englishmen there was hurt capteine Gilbert, and capteine Pelham, and about fiftéene other hurt and slaine. The seuenth of Iune capteine Edward Dudleie arriued at Newhauen, with an hundred souldiers. The morrow after, the first canon shot light within the towne of Newhauen, néere to the bulworke of saint Addresses, striking into the house where capteine Wheeler was lodged, which shot being brought to my lord of Warwike by Blewmantell pursuant at armes, his honor beholding it, reioised thereat, and said, by Gods grace he would answer them againe. Bassompeere. Capteine Gilbert and capteine Pelham hurt. Edward Dudleie.

The ninth of Iune arriued at Newhauen three capteins with their bands, of an hundred a péece, being of the garrison of Berwike: to wit, capteine Tremaine, capteine Cornewall, and capteine Carew. Edward Randoll also landed there the same daie, appointed to be knight marshall. For ye must vnderstand, that sir Adrian Poinings, being knight marshall vpon his returne into England, was otherwise emploied, and went not backe againe: and then was sir Thomas Finch of Kent appointed to go ouer to supplie the roome of knight marshall: who making his prouision readie, sent ouer his brother Erasmus Finch to haue charge of his band; and his kinsman Thomas Finch to be his prouost marshall, whilest staieng till he had euerie thing in a readinesse to passe ouer himselfe. At last, he imbarked in one of the quéenes maiesties ships called the Greichound, hauing there aboord with him, beside thréescore and six of his owne retinue, fourtéene other gentlemen, two of them being brethren to the lord Wentwoorth, Iames Wentwoorth, and Iohn Wentwoorth, with diuerse others, who in the whole (accounting the mariners) amounted vnto the number of 200 persons and vpward. And as they were on the furthest coast toward Newhauen, they were by contrarie wind and foule weather driuen backe toward the coast of England; and plieng towards Rie, they forced the capteine of the ship, a verie cunning seaman named William Malaine, and also the maister and mariners, to thrust into the hauen before the tide, and so they all perished seuen of the meaner sort onlie excepted, whereof three died shortlie after they came to land. A new supplie of Berwike souldiers. Capteine Randoll appointed knight marshall. Sir Thomas Finch. Sir Thomas Finch drowned

The dead bodie of sir Thomas Finch amongst others was cast on shore, and being knowne, was conueied home to his house, and there buried in his parish church. After this mischance, and losse of that woorthie gentleman, the said Edward Randoll was appointed knight marshall, who ordeined a right sufficient Edward Randoll prouos marshall.

A supplie of souldiers arriue at Newhauen.

personage, capteine Iohn Shute, to be his prouost marshall. The fifteenth of Iune, capteine Richard Sanders, and capteine William Saule, with their bands of an hundred souldiors a péece, and capteine Drurie, with two hundred, arriued at Newhauen: and the morrow after arriued capteine Roberts with another hundred of souldiors. And on the séuenteenth of Iune, being thursdaie, sir Francis Knolles, vicechamberleine of the quéenes maiesties house landed there, béeing sent ouer by hir maiestie and hir councell, to view the state of the towne.

Sir Francis Knolles arriuall.

Execution of souldiors for drawing vpon their capteins.

A proclamation forbidding resort of souldiors to Newhauen without licence.

On fridaie the eightéenth of Iune, a sergeant of capteine Blunts band, and a souldior of capteine Darcies band, were executed in the market place of Newhauen, for drawing their weapons against their capteins, and forsaking their appointed places of warding, and such other lewd parts which they had committed. The fiue and twentith of Iune, proclamation was made, that no souldior of the new fort should resort to the towne of Newhauen, without licence of his capteine, or some of his principall officers, on paine of death: or that anie man should presume to passe the limits of the said new fort, except vpon occasion of seruice, in companie of his capteine or lieutenant, on like paine. And this order was taken because diuerse stragling abroad, had béene taken prisoners, and slaine by the enimies, to their owne reproch, and hinderance of the princes seruice. The eight and twentith of Iune, the Frenchmen came downe to the village of Lheure, and there verie néere to the fort began to skirmish with the Englishmen. There were of them ten ensignes of footmen, and two hundred horssemen. This skirmish lasted thrée houres, and yet there were not past foure slaine. The night following, they placed fiue canons betwixt the towne and the brickehils, and likewise they placed other péeces of their artillerie at the foresaid village of Lheure, so that they shot both into the towne and fort.

A long skirmish without anie great hurt.

Canons placed to beate the towne.

The first of Iulie about midnight, they issued foorth of their trenches, and skirmished with the English scouts, droue them vnder the bulworke of saint Addresses, and there perceiuing that the Englishmen had a priuie sallie out, after a long skirmish they retired. They had meant to haue set the mils belonging to the towne on fire, but they had such plaie made them, that about thrée of the clocke in the morning, they became to be quiet, and left the Englishmen in rest, hauing doone to them little or no hurt at all. The great ordinance on both sides was not idle, whilest this skirmish was in hand. The second and third of Iulie, there landed nine hundred souldiors that came foorth of Northfolke and Suffolke, yellow clokes and blew clockes verie well appointed, hauing to their capteins Ferdinando Liggens, Philip Sturleie, Iohn Highfield, and Edward Driuer. Also there came the same time fiftie carpenters, sixtéene sawyers, and eight smiths in hir works. Moreouer, on the third daie of Iulie, about ten of the clocke at night, the French gaue a great alarum to the towne, beat in the scouts: but incontinentlie issued foorth fiue hundred souldiors out at the sallieng place, vnder the gréene bulworke, and beat the Frenchmen backe into their trenches, and kept them waking all that night.

Six hundred out of Northfolke, and thrée hundred out of Suffolke.

The same time, capteine Sanders was hurt with a shot in the leg, whereof he shortlie after died: other losse at that time the Englishmen receiued not. The fift of Iulie, a proclamation was made for soldiors to resort in time of alarums, vnto that part and quarter, which was assigned to their capteins, and not to absent themselues from their ensignes, whether it were at alarums, watch, ward, or other seruice. The sixt of Iulie, about thrée of the clocke in the morning, the enimies planted thrée canons, and thrée culuerings, discharging that morning to the number of foure score and ten shots: but perceiuing they did little hurt, they staied their shooting, sauing that now and then they shot into the bulworke, and ouer it into the towne: they also leuelled a péece, and shot it off

Capteine Sanders hurt and dieth.

Ordinance planted and discharged in great numbers.

towards the new gallie, slue therein two men, and hurt three or foure other. The same daie, a canon and a culuering were sent foorth of the towne to the new fort. The twelfe of Iulie, about foure of the clocke in the morning, the French laid batterie to the bulworke of saint Addresses, continuing the same all that daie. They also dismounted the same daie the ordinance in the stéeple of Newhauen, and beat downe the great bell, cleane defacing the stéeple. They discharged that daie against the towne (as was gathered by due estimation) to the number of twelue hundred canon shot.

The ordinance in the stéeple dismounted.

The same euening was William Robinson esquier, waterbailife of the towne of Newhauen slaine with a shot; and also William Bromfield maister of the ordinance hurt with the same, and being conueied ouer into England, he shortlie after died of that hurt. The fourteenth of Iulie, sir Hugh Paulet knight landed at Newhauen, bringing with him eight hundred souldiors out of Wiltshire and Glocestershire. The same daie came the Frenchmen downe to the number of three thousand, euen hard to the gates of the towne, beating the Englishmen out of their trenches: but yet in the end, they were forced to retire, and of Englishmen there were not past twentie slaine, and about an hundred hurt. But the Frenchmen (as was estéemed) lost aboue foure hundred horssemen and footemen, albeit they tooke from the Englishmen at that present a culuering, which was set foorth to annoie them. But their force at that time was such, as they preuailed, and so retired with that peece, though they well paied for it. The same daie also in the after noone, the little galeasse called the Fox, went out of the hauen, fraught with fiftie men, to flanke alongst the shore, and to beate the Frenchmen with hir shot; but as she was shooting off at them, a linnen stocke fell into a barrell of powder and set it on fire togither with the vessell, so that she suddenlie sanke, and all that were aboord in hir were lost, sauing fiftéene that saued themselues by swimming.

William Robinson killed. William Bromfield hurt.

A new supplie of Wiltshire and Glocestershire men.

The galeasse burnt by casualtie.

The one and twentith of Iulie, the conestable of France, accompanied with the marshals Montmorancie and Burdillon, and manie other lords and knights of the order, came to the abbeie of Grauille, where the marshall Brissacke was lodged, who had the generall charge in the armie, before the comming of the said conestable. They dined togither there in the said Brissacks lodging, and after dinner they sat in councell togither how to procéed in the siege. Fridaie the three and twentith of Iulie, the conestable came into the trench that was cast ouer against the bulworke of saint Addresse, alongst by the sea side, and sent his trumpet to summon the towne. The lord lieutenant appointed sir Hugh Paulet to go foorth, and make the answer in his name: which was in effect, that the quéens maiestie of England had appointed him and others to kéepe that towne; and therefore they meant not to deliuer it to anie other person, without hir graces especiall commandement. In the meane time, there were diuerse of the English capteins and gentlemen, which accompanied the said sir Hugh, offered the wine which they had brought out of the towne with them in flagons of siluer and guilt, vnto such capteins and gentlemen as accompanied the trumpet by commandement of the conestable, to surueie the state of the trenches, and Palisad, as the French writers themselues confesse. Amongst others, there was capteine Monines the lieutenant of one of the ensignes coronels of monsieur Dandelot, with whom capteine Leighton, being of acquaintance, had some talke.

The conestable of France cometh to the siege.

The conestable summoneth the towne.

Sir Hugh Paulets answer to the conestable.

Capteine Monines. Capteine Leighton.

The Englishmen and Frenchmen were no sooner departed, they to their trenches, and the Englishmen into the towne, but that the enimies hauing planted that morning eight canons in batterie against the castell, and the bulworke of the hauen, caused the same to be shot off, continuing the same till wednesdaie at noone, being the eight and twentith of Iulie. There were six other canons

The castell battered.

also planted by them in the meane space, which likewise made batterie to the castell, and to the townegate. In this meane time also, Cutbert Vaughan comptrollor, departed out of this life, a skilfull man of warre, and no lesse circumspect than hardie, both to preserue those which he had vnder his conduction, and to incourage them to doo manfullie, when time thereto serued. Saturdaie, the foure and twentith of Iulie, the batterie still continuing as before, certeine peeces were bent also to beat and trauerse the hauen. The Englishmen therefore setting fire on two windmils that stood there, abandoned a trench which they kept: and the Palisad, capteine Poiet, lieutenant of an other of the ensignes coronels of the French footmen vnder monsieur Dandelot, entred with his band, and tooke possession of a tower that stood at the end of the said Palisad. The French yet had hot abiding there, notwithstanding all the diligence and policie which they could vse to lodge them in safetie. Among others, capteine Richlieu maister of the campe, was hurt in the shoulder with an harquebuse shot.

Cutbert Vaughan departeth this life his woorthie praise.

Windmils set on fire.

Richlieu maister of the campe hurt.

The marshall Montmorencie caused a platformie to be raised, ioining to the Palisad, where about euening the same daie he planted foure péeces of artillerie. On sundaie the fiue and twentith of Iulie, monsieur de Estrée, great maister of the artillerie, accompanied with the seneshall of Agenois, vsed all diligence that might be to place the artillerie for batterie: wherevnto also monsieur de Caillac applied himselfe by the conestables commandement, who had compounded a matter in variance betwixt him and monsieur de Estrée. This sundaie and mondaie following, they were verie busie to bring their purpose in that behalfe to passe, and likewise to aduance their trench vnto the side of the breach. The marshall de Burdelon abode in the trench there all sundaie, and lost two of his gentlemen. The marshall Montmorencie, accompanied with diuerse lords and knights of the order, remained all mondaie in the trenches, to prepare things readie for the batterie, not without some danger of his person. For the stones that were beaten with the bullets comming out of the towne flew verie fast about his eares, of the which there was one that lent him a blow on the shoulder, an other of them philipped him on the fingers, and lighting also in other parts of his bodie, if his armor had not defended him the better, he had not escaped without further harme. The same daie, the prince of Conde and the duke of Montpensier came to the campe, and alighting at the conestables lodging, went from thence to the trenches, to relieue the marshall Montmorencie, and to supplie his roome, whilest he might in the meane time go to sup with his father, and so take his rest. Monsieur Destrée, and the other that had charge about the planting and ordering of the artillerie, vsed such diligence, and were so earnestlie called vpon and incouraged by the prince of Conde, continuallie remaining in the trenches, that on tuesdaie in the morning, the artillerie began to batter the bulworke of saint Addresses, and other places.

Monsieur de Estrée.

Monsieur de Callac.

The marshall Montmorencie.

The prince of Conde and the duke of Montpensier.

The bulworke of saint Addresses battered.

This was doone not without great danger of the pioners and men of war that garded them, for as the French desperatlie made their approch, so they were made by English gunners to tast the bitter fruit that the cañon and culuerings yéelded. But such was the multitude of the Frenchmen that were now assembled togither, in hope to recouer that towne, which being possessed by the English, cut off all traffike from Rouen and Paris, and so consequentlie from the chéefe parts of the whole realme of France, that with their generall aid, and drawing the water downe to the sea, the marishes were made passable and firme ground, which to men of great experience was thought a thing vnpossible. The castell, the walles, and other defenses of the towne were battered, breaches made, and the trench which before the comming of the conestable, was but brought to the point ouer against the bulworke of saint Addresses, was now within foure daies aduanced néere hand the

Thus we sée things in opinion vnpossible, by industrie possible.

space

space of two miles; vpon the causeie or breach which was all of stone, without anie earth to couer them: so that they were driuen to make the best shift they could with woolsacks, sandbags, baskets and fagots. Yet all this had neuer come to passe, nor could haue beene wrought without infinit slaughter, and far more losse of French bloud, that necessarilie should haue beene spilt, if the great mortalitie of pestilence which entred the towne about the beginning of the summer, through a malicious infection, had not so greatlie increased, that it slue and tooke awaie dailie great numbers of men, beside those that being sicke thereof, escaped with life; but were yet so feeble and weake, that they were not able to helpe themselues, nor to doo anie seruice auailable at all.

The great infection of pestilence in Newhauen.

There died so manie dailie through the vehemencie of the infection, that the streets laie euen full of dead corpses, not able to be remooued or buried, by reason of the multitude that perished. Herewith they were greeuouslie annoied for wan' of fresh vittels; but cheeflie of fresh waters, which the enimie by long siege had cut off. And now the shot of the canon, lieng within six and twentie pases of the towne, was so terrible, as the like had not lightlie beene heard of: and sundrie breaches therewith were alreadie made; namelie two verie great and easie for the enimies to enter. All these dangers and miseries notwithstanding, the worthie earle of Warwike with his capteins and soldiors in couragious order stood at those seuerall breaches, readie to defend the same, if the enimies had presumed to haue giuen the assault, nothing afraid of death nor bloudie wounds; before which he preferred the seruice of his prince. And albeit the aduenture was great, yet by his owne example he incoraged other to cast awaie all dread of danger, and to shew themselues bold, which to a soldior in battell is a whetstone to set him on edge. And surelie in this point he was warriorlike minded, if a man may allow the poets words in the like sense:

Additions to Lanquet.

The high valiancie of the earle of Warwike.

Res magnæ non absque graui discrimine fiunt,
In dubijs prodest generosa audacia rebus.

Which when the conestable perceiued, he caused a trumpet to sound the blast of imparlée, that talke might be had for the concluding of a composition betwixt both the parties. This offer, considering that sore contagious mortalitie wherwith the towne was most greeuouslie infected, hauing so greatlie infeebled the English forces within the same, was thought not vnmeet to be receiued. Herevpon, after a sallie made by the Englishmen, and a faire skirmish betwixt them and the Frenchmen that laie afore the fort de Lheure, on the tuesdaie the seauen and twentith of Iulie maister William Pelham capteine of the fort, with another gentleman and a trumpetter, went foorth by appointment, and was receiued first by monsieur de Losses, who brought him to the marshall Montmorencie, and after by his appointment went with him by the Reingraues campe to the conestable; and till his returne a truce was accorded on that side of the fort. After that maister Pelham had talked a space with the conestable, the matter was put ouer till the next daie, and so he returned.

Capteine Pelham went foorth to talke with the commissioners.

The morrow after being wednesdaie, and the eight and twentith of Iulie, the conestable about seuen of the clocke came to the end of the trenches next to the towne, where sir Maurice Denis treasuror of the towne, sir Hugh Paulet capteine Horseie, capteine Pelham, capteine Iohn Shute prouost marshall, and Nicholas Malbie secretarie to my lord lieutenant came foorth, and passed ouer the hauen to commune with him. And during the parlee betwixt them, a truce was accorded and assented to by both parts: the which neuerthelesse was broken two seuerall times through the vnrulie insolencie of certeine harquebutters. And though by the good diligence of the capteins they were incontinentlie quieted and staied: yet the valiant earle of Warwike, standing at a breach in his hose and dublet in sight of his enimies, was by a lewd soldior of the French (contrarie to the law of armes) shot through

The commissioners appointed to talke with the conestable.

Additions to Lanquet. The earle of Warwike hurt.

through the thigh with an harquebuse. The conestable and the English commissioners appointed, had long conference togither; and before they concluded, the marshals Montmorencie and Burdellion (and at length the marshall Brissac also) came to the place where they were thus in parlee: but the conestable tooke vpon him to haue onelie authoritie to accept or refuse such conditions as should be offered, or agreed vnto by the English commissioners in this treatie. And so at length they passed certeine articles in forme as followeth.

The conestable tooke vpon him to be chiefe in authoritie on the French part.

THE ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

TOUCHING THE SURRENDER OF NEWHAUEN.

FIRST, that the earle of Warwike should render againe the towne of Newhauen into the hands of the said conestable of France, with all the artillerie and munitions of war then being in that towne, and belonging to the French king and his subiects.

2 Item, that he should leaue the ships that were in the said towne at that present, belonging either to the king or his subiects, with all their furniture: and generallie, all such merchandize and other things, being likewise at that present within that towne, as either belonged to the king or his subiects.

3 Item, for the more suertie of the premisses, the said earle should presentlie deliuer into the hands of the said conestable, the great tower of the said hauen, so that the soldiors which were placed therein enter not into the towne: and that the said earle of Warwike should cause the gates there towards the towne to be warded, till it were in the possession of the said conestable, without planting anie ensigns on the said tower, according to the said agréement; and also that the said earle should deliuer foure such hostages as the said conestable should name.

4 Item, that the next daie, by eight of the clocke in the morning, the said earle should withdraw his soldiors which are in the fort, to deliuer it immediatlie into the hands of the said conestable, or such as should be by him appointed to receiue the same at the said houre.

5 Item, that all prisoners which haue béene taken before the said hauen, should be deliuered on either side, without paieng anie ransome.

6 Item, that the conestable should for his part suffer the said earle of Warwike, and all those that are in garrison in the said Newhauen to depart with all things whatsoeuer that belonged to the queene of England and hir subiects.

7 Item, that for the departure as well of the said earle, as the remoouing of his soldiers, and other things before rehearsed, the said conestable agréed to giue them six whole daies, beginning the morrow then next following; to wit, the nine and twentith of Iulie: during which six daies, they might frankelie and fréelie take and carrie awaie all the said things. And if wind or foule weather should hinder, that their passage could not be made within the said terme, in this case the said conestable should grant them such further time of delaie, as might be thought reasonable.

8 Item, the said conestable did likewise permit, that all the ships and English vessels, and all other that should be appointed for the portage and conueieng awaie of the said things, should safelie and fréelie passe into and fro the said hauen, without anie staie or impeachment, either by the French armie or anie other. The said foure hostages were appointed to be maister Oliuer Maners, brother to the earle of Rutland, capteine Pelham, capteine Horseie, and capteine Leighton. In witnesse wherof,

wherof, the said lords, the conestable of France, and the earle of Warwike signed these articles the eight and twentith of Iulie, 1563.

Thus the earle of Warwike, as he had (during the whole time of his abode there in that towne of Newhauen) shewed himselfe a right hardie, and valiant capteine; so now in the end he prooued himselfe to be both prudent and politike. For by accepting of these honorable conditions to go with all armor, munition, ships, goods, bag and baggage, in anie wise apperteining or belonging either to the quéenes maiestie, or to anie of hir graces subiects, he saued the liues of a great number, which otherwise scaping the scourge of infectiue plague, must néeds haue fallen vnder the edge of the sword. The conestable, during the time of the parlée, sent his yoongest sonne monsieur de Thoree to the king and queene mother, to aduertise them of the treatie of this peace. And after it was once concluded and signed by the erle of Warwike, he sent his eldest sonne the marshall Montmorencie, to present the same vnto them at Criquetot, halfe waie betwéene Newhauen and Fescampe, who were right ioifull of the news: and the next daie they came to the campe, shewing great signes of their conceiued gladnesse, for the récouering of that towne thus out of the Englishmens hands.

Additions to Lanquet. The earle of Warwike commended.

The French king commeth to the campe before Newhauen.

On saturdaie the most part of the Englishmen tooke ship and departed homewards; for glad might he thinke himselfe that could get soonest out of that vnwholesome and most vnsauorie aire. Manie sicke persons yet were left behind, impotent and not able to helpe themselues. The miserie whereof Edward Randoll esquire high marshall of the towne (who was appointed to tarrie and sée the vttermost of the composition accomplished) perceiuing, mooued with naturall pitie of his countrimen relinquished without comfort, caused the said sicke persons to be caried aboord, not sparing his owne shoulders, at that time féeble and full of the plague, himselfe and his men still bearing and helping the poore creatures on shipboord. A rare fact worthie reward, and no doubt in remembrance with God, the true recorder of mercifull déserts. Thus was the towne of Newhauen reduced againe into the hands of the French, more vndoubtedlie through the extreme mortalitie that so outragiouslie afflicted the soldiors and men of warre within the same, than by the enimies inforcements, although the same was great, and aduanced to the vttermost of the aduersaries power.

John Stow. Maister Edward Randoll full of pitie and commiseration.

Besides the meaner sort of those that died of the pestilence during the siege, these I doo find noted as chiefe: Cuthert Vaughan comptroller of the towne, Francis Summerset coosine to the earle of Worcester, Auerie Darcie brother to the lord Darcie, Iohn Zouch, brother to the lord Zouch, Edward Ormesbie, Thomas Drurie aliàs Poignard, Richard Croker, Iohn Cockson, Thomas Kemish, Iohn Proud, William Saule, Wilfreid Antwisell. Besides these being capteins in chiefe dieng there in that towne, or else sickening there and dieng vpon their returne into England, there were diuerse other gentlemen, and such as had charge, which likewise ended their liues by force of that cruell and most grécuous pestilent infection. There were diuerse also that were slaine, as well by canon shot, as otherwise in the field in skirmish, as both the Tremains brethren of one birth, Nicholas and Andrew, capteine Richard Sanders, with master Robinson, and master Bromfield, of which two before ye haue heard: also one Leighton a gentleman, and diuerse more whose names I know not, worthie neuerthelesse to be remembred and placed in ranke with such worthie men, as in their countries cause haue lost their liues, and are therefore by writers registred to liue by fame for euer.

Chiefe personages that died of the plague at Newhauen.

Diuerse of name by canon shot, &c. slaine.

But now to passe to other matters at home. As ye haue heard, the plague of pestilence being in the towne of Newhauen, thorough the number of souldiors that returned into England the infection therof spread into diuerse parts of this realme: but especiallie the citie of London was so infected, that in the same whole yeare,

John Stow. Pestilence transported from Newhauen to London.

that

that is to saie, from the first of Ianuarie 1562, vntill the last of December, in 1563, there died in the citie and liberties thereof (conteining one hundred and eight parishes) of all diseases twentie thousand, three hundred, three score and twelue: and of the plague being part of the number aforesaid, seuentéene thousand foure hundred, and foure persons. And in the outparishes adioining to the same citie, being eleuen parishes, died of all diseases in the whole yeare, three thousand two hundred, foure score and eight persons: and of them, of the plague two thousand, seuen hundred, thirtie and two. So that the whole number of all that died of all diseases, as well within the citie and liberties, as in the outparishes, was twentie three thousand six hundred and threescore: and of them there died of the plague, twentie thousand one hundred thirtie and six.

One hundred and eight parishes in London, besides eleuen in the suburbs.

Tempest at London by lightning, and thunder.

The eight of Iulie in the morning, happned a great tempest of lightning and thunder, where thorough a woman and three kine were slaine, in the Couent garden neere to Charingcrosse. At the the same time in Essex a man was torne all to péeces as he was carieng haie, his barne was borne downe, and his haie burned: both stones and trées were rent in manie places.

King Philips proclamation at Bruxels.

The councell of king Philip at Bruxels commanded proclamation to be made in Antwerpe and other places, that no English ship with anie cloths, should come into anie places of the low countries: their colour was (as they said) the danger of the plague, which was at that time in London, and other places of England. Neuerthelesse they would gladlie haue gotten our woolles, but the quéenes maiestie thorough sute of our merchant aduenturers caused the wooll fleet to be discharged, and our cloth fléet was sent to Emden in east Friseland, about Easter next following, in the yeare of our Lord 1564. Forsomuch as the plague of pestilence was so hot in the citie of London, there was no tearme kept at Michaelmasse. To be short, the poore citizens of London were this yeare plagued with a thréefold plague, pestilence, scarcitie of monie, and dearth of vittels, the miserie whereof were too long here to write: no doubt the poore remember it, the rich by flight into the countries made shift for themselues, &c.

Thréefold plague to the poore citizens of London.

An earthquake in diuerse places of England.

An earthquake was in the moneth of September in diuerse places of this realme, especiallie in Lincolne and Northamptonshires. After the election of the maior of London by the councells letters, the quéens maiesties pleasure was signified vnto sir Thomas Lodge then maior, that forsomuch as the plague was so great in the citie, the new maior elected shuld kéepe no feast at the Guildhall, for doubt that thorough bringing together such a multitude, the infection might increase. For that wéeke their died within the citie and out parishes, more than two thousand: wherefore sir Iohn Whight, the new maior, tooke his oth at the vttermost gate of the tower of London.

No maiors feast kept at the Guildhall.

Anno Reg. 6.

Lightning and thunder in December.

From the first daie of December, till the twelfe, was such continuall lightning and thunder, especiallie the same twelfe daie at night, that the like had not béene séene nor heard by anie man then liuing.

A monstrous fish driuen to shore.

In the moneth of December was driuen on the shore at Grimsbie in Lincolnshire a monstruous fish, in length ninetéene yards, his taile fiftéene foot broad, and six yards betwéene his eies, twelue men stood vpright in his mouth to get the oile. For that the plague was not fullie ceased in London, Hilarie tearme was kept at Hertford castell beside Ware. This yeare the thirtéenth of Aprill, an honorable and ioifull peace was concluded, betwixt the quéenes maiestie and the French king; their realmes dominions and subiects: and the same peace was proclamed with sound of trumpet, before hir maiestie in hir castell of Windsor, then being present the French ambassadors. And shortlie after, the quéenes grace sent the right honorable sir Henrie Careie lord of Hunnesdon, now lord chamberleine, (of whose honorable and noble descent it is thus written

1564

Terme kept at Hertford. *Rich. Grafton.*

A peace betwéene England and France.

The noble descent of the lord Hunnesdon.

——cuius fuerat matertera pulchra,
Reginæ genitrix Henrici nobilis vxor)

accompanied

accompanied with the lord Strange, beside diuerse knights and gentlemen, vnto the French king, with the noble order of the garter, who finding him at the citie of Lions, being in those parties in progresse, he there presented vnto him the said noble order; and Garter king at armes inuested him therewith, obseruing the ceremonies in that behalfe due and requisit. The plague (thanks be to God) being cleane ceassed in London, both Easter and Midsummer tearmes were kept at Westminster. ¶ And here by the waie to note the infection of this plague to haue béene dispersed into other countries besides England, it is read in Schardius in epitome rerum gestarum sub Ferdinando primo imperatore, that the pestilence did so rage in Germanie, and poisoned such peopled places, namelie Norimberge, Francford, Madgburge, Danske, Hamburgh, and their borders, that by estimation (saith he) there died of that contagion to the number of three hundred thousand. A grieuous scourge of God (saith mine author) howbeit verie few thereby so terrified, that they reformed their wicked liues. Which plague in Germanie I therefore doo here repeat, bicause by all likelihoods it is to be gathered, that as it raged in the same yeare both there and here; so the cause maie be all one that bred so venemous an effect.]

The plague in Germanie whereof three hundred thousand died.

There was on the vigill of S. Peter a watch in the citie of London, which did onelie stand in the highest streets of Cheape, Cornehill, and so foorth to Algate: which watch was to the commons of the same citie as chargeable, as when in times past it had béene commendablie doone. The fift of August, the quéenes maiestie in hir progresse came to the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and was of all the students (being inuested according to their degrées taken in the schooles) honorablie and ioifullie receiued in the Kings college where she did lie during hir continuance in Cambridge. The daies of hir abode were passed in scholasticall exercises of philosophie, physicke, and diuinitie: the nights in comedies, and tragedies, set foorth partlie by the whole vniuersitie, and partlie by the students of the Kings college, to recreat and delight hir maiestie, who both heard them attentiuelie, and beheld them chéerefullie.

Watch on S. Peters night.

Abraham Hartwell in regina literata.

The quéenes progresse thorough Cambridge.

At the breaking vp of the diuinitie act, being wednesdaie the ninth of August (on the which daie she rode thorough the towne, and viewed the colleges, those goodlie and ancient monuments of kings of England hir noble predecessors) she made within saint Maries church a notable oration in Latine, in the presence of the whole learned vniuersitie, to the students great comfort. ¶ A copie whereof I haue set downe, as I receiued it in writing at the hands of one that then was present, and noted the same as hir maiestie vttered it. Whose words vnto me in a letter, wherewith the same oration was sent, I doo here set downe Bona fide. This hir maiesties extemporall oration (saith he) lieng among my papers these twentie yeares and more, I thought good now to send to you, that if anie occasion be fitlie offered in the discourse of hir hignesse reigne, you maie (if you please) insert it. In truth, I my selfe neuer elsewhere read it, which hath made me euen religiouslie to preserue it. Master Abraham Hartwell in his Regina literata, dwelling vpon this onelie argument of hir comming and dooings at Cambridge, glanceth in a distich or twaine at the effect hereof. But this is the thing it selfe, as I my selfe (as most vnworthie) being both an eare and also an eie witnesse, can testifie.

A. F.

Tho. Newton.

SERENISSIMÆ REGINÆ ELISABETHÆ ORATIO,

PUBLICE CANTABRIGIÆ HABITA, CORAM VNIVERSO ACADEMIA CŒTU, ANNO 1564; ET REGNI SUI SEXTO.

ETSI fœminilis iste meus pudor (subditi fidelissimi & academia charissima) in tanta doctorum turba illaboratum hunc sermonem et orationem me narrare apud

vos impediat: tamen nobilium meorum intercessus & erga academiam beneuolentia me aliquid proferre inuitat. Duobus ad hanc rem stimulis moueor. Primus est, bonarum literarum propagatio: alter est, vestra omnium expectatio. Quod ad propagationem spectat, vnum illud apud Demosthenem memini: Superiorum verba apud inferiores librorum locum habent, & principum dicta legum authoritatem apud subditos retinent. Hoc igitur vos omnes in memoria tenere velim: quòd semita nulla præstantior est, siue ad bona fortunæ acquirenda, siue ad principum gratiam conciliandam, quàm vt gnauiter (vt cæpistis) studijs vestris exhibeatis operam: quod vt faciatis, vos omnes oro obsecróque. De secundo stimulo, vestra nimirùm expectatione, hoc vnum dico, me nihil lubenter prætermissuram esse, quòd vestræ de me animæ beneuolæ concipiunt cogitationes.

Duo stimuli quibus mouebatur regia maiestas vt in Academicorum cœtu nonnihil eloqueretur.

Iam ad academiam venio. Tempore antemeridiano vidi ego ædificia vestra sumptuosa, à meis maioribus, clarissimis principibus literarum causa extructa. Et inter videndum, dolor artus meos occupauit, atque ea mentis suspiria, quæ Alexandrum quondam tenuisse feruntur. Qui cum legisset multa à principibus posita monumenta, conuersus ad familiarem seu potiùs ad consiliarium, multùm doluit se nihil tale fecisse. Hæc tamen vulgaris sententia me aliquantùm recreauit, quæ etsi non auferre, tamen minuere potest dolorem. Quæ quidem sententia hæc est: Romam non vno ædificatam fuisse die: tamen non est ita senilis mea ætas, nec tam diu fuit, ex quo regnare cæpi, quin ante redditionem debiti naturæ (si non nimis citò Atropos lineam vitæ meæ amputauerit) aliquod opus faciam: & quandiu vita hos regis artus, nunquam à proposito deflectam.

Regia maiestas pollicetur se aliquod monumentum in academia relicturam.

Et si contingat (quàm citò futurum sit, nescio) me mori oportere, priusquam hoc ipsum quod policeor complere possim: aliquod tamen egregium opus post mortem relinquam, quo & memoria mea in posterum celebris fiat, & alios excitem exemplo meo, & vos omnes alacriores faciam ad studia vestra. Sed iam videtis quantum intersit inter doctrinam lectam, & disciplinam animo non retentam. Quorum alterius sunt complures satis sufficientes testes: alterius autem, vos omnes nimis quidem inconsyderatè testes hoc tempore effeci, quæ meo barbaro orationis genere tam diu doctas vestras aures detinuerim. Dixi.

Si non ante saltem post mortem profitetur se prestituram quod pollicetur.

Outcrier and Belman for the daie.

The next daie, shé went forward on hir progresse to Finchinbrooke by Huntingdon. The thirtith daie of August was enacted by a common councell of the citie of London that all such citizens as from thence foorth should be constreined to sell their houshold stuffe, leases of houses, or such like, should first cause the same to be cried through the citie by a man with a bell, and then to be sold by the common outcrier appointed for that purpose, and he to reteine one farthing vpon the shilling for his paines. The twentith of September arose great flouds in the riuer of Thames, where through the marshes néere adioining were ouerflowed, and manie cattell drowned.

Great flouds in the Thames.

Ex I.S. pa. 1123

Creation of a baron namelie sir Robert Dudleie baron of Denbigh.

¶ The creation of sir Robert Sutton alias Dudleie knight of the garter, and master of the horsse, to the queenes maiestie, who was created baron of Denbigh, and after earle of Leicester on Michaelmasse daie at saint Iames, with the gift of the manour of Killingworth, and other things to him and his heires, to the yéerlie value of foure and twentie pounds and better. First, the said lord attended on the queenes highnesse, to the chappell, and from the chappell to seruice and when he was returned to the chamber of presence, the said lord with other departed to the lord chamberleins chamber, and shifted them: the said lord Robert in his surcot with the hood, his mantle borne before him by the lord Hunsdon, and led by the lord Clinton lord admerall by the right hand, and the lord Strange on the left hand, in their parlement robes, Garter bearing the patent, and before him the officers of armes, and so procéeded into the chamber of presence, where the quéenes highnesse sat vnder

The statelie attendance at this creation.

vnder the cloth of estate with the noblemen on ech side of hir, the ambassador of France was also present with another stranger an Italian.

And when the said lord with the other came in the quéenes sight, they made their obeisance three times, the said lord kneeled downe: after the which Garter presented the letters patent to the lord chamberleine, and he presented the same to the quéenes highnesse, who gaue it to sir William Cecill secretarie, who read the same with a lowd voice, and at the words of Creauimus, the lord of Hunsdon presented the mantle to the quéens maiestie, who put on the same, wherby he was created baron of Denbigh for him and his heires. Then the patent was read out to the end, after the which he deliuered it to the quéene againe, and hir highnesse gaue it to the said lord, who gaue hir maiestie most humble thanks, and he rose vp and departed to the chamber they came from, the trumpets sounding before him.

The execution of the ceremonies and orders at this creation.

Then he shifted him of those robes, and put on the robes of estate of an earle, and being led by the earle of Sussex on the right hand, and the earle of Huntingdon on his left hand, the earle of Warwike bearing his sword the pomell vpwards, and the girdle about the same, all in their robes of estate, the lord Clinton lord admerall in his parlement robes, bearing his cap with the coronall, Garter before him bearing his patent, and the other officers of armes before him, they proceeded as afore into the chamber of presence, where, after they had made their obeisance, the said earle kneeled downe, and Garter deliuered his patent to the lord chamberleine, who gaue the same to the quéenes maiestie, and hir highnesse gaue the same to sir William Cecill secretarie to read, who read the same. And at the words Cincturam gladij the earle of Warwike presented the sword to the quéenes highnesse, who girt the same about the necke of the new earle, putting the point vnder his left arme, and after hir maiestie put on his cap with his coronall. Then his patent was read out to the end, and then the said secretarie deliuered it againe to the quéene, and hir highnesse gaue it to the said new erle of Leicester, who gaue hir humble thanks for it.

Creation of an earle, and namelie the earle of Leicester.

The quéene hir selfe girteth the sword and girdle about the earles necke.

And then he arose and went into the councell chamber to dinner, the trumpets sounding before, and at dinner he sat in his kirtle, and there accompanied him the foresaid ambassador of France, and the said Italian, with diuerse other erles and lords. And after the second course, Garter with the other officers of armes, proclamed the quéenes maiesties stile, and after, the stile of the said earle, for the which they had fiftéene pounds, to wit, for his baronie fiue pounds, and for his earledome ten pounds, and Garter had his gowne of blacke veluet garded with three yards of the same, laid on with lace, lined through with blacke taffata, and garded on the inner side with the same, and on the sléeues eight and thirtie paire of aglets of gold. The earles stile was as followeth: Du tresnoble & puissant seigneur Robert conte de Leicestre, baron de Denbigh, cheualier du tresnoble ordre de la iarretierre, & grand esquier de la royne nostre souuereigne. On whose scutchion, conteining sundrie cotes, inuironed with the cognizances of both orders, as well S. Michaels as S. Georges, with other ornaments, were made these verses, now common to be read:

The officers fées fiftéene pounds at this creation.

In clypeum gentilitium comitis Leicestrie.

Quot clypeos atauûm clypeo coniungis in vno,
Tot tibi virtutes atauûm sunt pectore iuncta:
Somerij pietas, vis imperterrita Greij,
Intemerata fides Hastingi, nobile pectus
Ferrarij, Quinci probitas, bonitásque Boghani,
Martia Talbotti virtus, fidissima dextra
Beauchampi, Herculei mens inconcussa Guidonis,
Barklæi vigor, & generosa modestia Lisli.]

The second of October in the afternoone, and on the morrow in the forenoone, was a solemne obsequie at Paules church in London, for Ferdinando late emperor departed. ¶ Of this emperor it is said, that lieng sicke, and so sicke that Zichard *Ex Scheridn.*

a preacher of his court then present could not hold him vp: howbeit comming at last to himselfe and somewhat in recouerie, he said to the standers by; You thought that I would neuer come againe, naie mine houre is not so soone; I doo certeinlie know that I shall not die before Whitsuntide. Now when he had liued till that daie, and eight daies after, as hauing the verie time of his departure told him by secret reuelation, (and satisfied at full touching the request that Dauid made to God about the length of his life, saieng:

Ferdinand foretelleth the verie vttermost daie of his owne death.

Da mihi nosse meæ quæ sint stata tempora vitæ,
Et quando vltima sint fata futura mihi)

Lord let me know mine end and the number of my daies, that I may be certified how long I haue to liue.

he said to them that were about him: It is the holie ghosts pleasure that I should not die before saint Iames tide, that as he was a pilgrime among vs, so I with him should passe my pilgrimage out of this my natiue countrie. After which words spoken, his disease grew to greater force and sharpnesse, insomuch that at last, euen at the verie time prefixed, namelie S. Iames daie, he departed this life, after he had liued sixtie yeares, nine moneths, and od daies. He gouerned the empire aboue the space of seauen yeares, and had to wife Anne queene of Hungarie and Boheme, by whom he had fiftéene children, some male, namelie, Maximilian, Ferdinand, Iohn and Charles: also elenen females; to wit, Elisabeth married to Sigismund king of Poland, Anne, Marie, Mawdline, Catharine, Elenor, Margarite, Barbare, Ursule, Helen, and Ione. He is commended for his carefulnesse, his watchfulnesse, his bountifulnesse, his gentlenesse, his vprightnesse, his discréetnesse, his peaceablenesse, and other qualities, wherin he had a kind of singularitie. And thus much of him by waie of praise, as I found it readie to my hand.]

The goodlie issue male and female that God gaue Ferdinand.

The seauenth of October at night, from eight a clocke till after nine of the clocke, all the north parts of the element séemed to be couered with flames of fire, procéeding from the northeast and northwest, toward the middest of the firmament, where after it had staied nigh one houre, it descended west: and all the same night (being the next after the change of the moone) seemed nigh as light as it had béene faire daie. The twentith of Nouember in the morning, through negligence of a maiden with a candell, the snuffe falling in an hundred pounds weight of gun-powder, three houses in Bucklersburie were sore shaken, and the maid died two daies after. The one and twentith of December began a frost, which continued so extremlie, that on Newyeares euen, people went ouer and alongst the Thames on the ise from London bridge to Westminster. Some plaied at the football as boldlie there, as if it had beene on the drie land: diuerse of the court being then at Westminster, shot dailie at pricks set vpon the Thames: and the people both men and women went on the Thames in greater numbers, than in anie stréet of the citie of London. On the third daie of Ianuarie at night it began to thaw, and on the fift daie was noise to be séene betwéene London bridge and Lambeth, which sudden thaw caused great floods and high waters, that bare downe bridges and houses, and drowned manie people in England: especiallie in Yorkshire, Owes bridge was borne awaie with others.

Fierie impressions.

An. Reg. 7.

Houses shattered with gunpowder.

The Thames frozen ouer.

Owes bridge borne downe.

The third daie of Februarie, Henrie Stuart lord Darleie, about the age of nineteéne yeares, eldest sonne to Matthew earle of Lineux (who went into Scotland at Whitsuntide before) hauing obteined licence of the quéenes maiestie tooke his iourneie towards Scotland, accompanied with fiue of his fathers men, where when he came, he was honorablie receiued, and lodged in the kings lodgings, and in the summer following, he maried Marie quéen of Scotland. About this time, for the quéenes maiestie were chosen and sent commissioners to Bruges, the lord Montacute knight of the honorable order of the garter, doctor Wotton one of hir maiesties honourable councell, doctor Haddon one of the masters of requests to hir highnesse, with others: master doctor Aubreie was for the merchant aduenturers of England:

Henrie Stuart married the quéene of Scots.

Commissioners chosen to go to Bruges.

England: they came to Bruges in Lent, Anno 1565, and continued there till Michaelmasse following, and then was the diet prolonged till March in the yeare 1566, and the commissioners returned into England.

The two and twentith of Aprill, the ladie Margarite countesse of Lineux, was commanded to keepe hir chamber at the Whitehall, where she remained till the two and twentith of Iune, and then conueied by sir Francis Knolles and the gard to the tower of London by water. On s. Peters euen at night, was the like standing watch in London, as had beene on the same night twelue moneths past. The sixteenth of Iulie, about nine of the clocke at night began a tempest of lightning and thunder, with showers of haile, which continued till three of the clocke in the next morning, so terrible, that at Chelmesford in Essex 500 acres of corne was destroied, the glasse windowes on the east side of the towne, and of the west and south sides of the church were beaten downe, with the tiles of their houses also, besides diuerse barnes, chimneis, and the battlements of the church, which was ouerthrowne. The like harme was doone in manie other places, as at Leeds, Cranebroke, Douer, &c. 1565

Lady Lineux sent to the tower.

Standing watch at midsummer in London.

Tempest at Chelmesford of lightning, thunder and raine.

Christopher prince and margraue of Baden, with Cicilie his wife sister to the king of Swethland, after a long and dangerous iournie, wherein they had trauelled almost eleuen months sailing from Stockholme, crossing the seas ouer into Lifeland, from whence by land they came about by Poland, Prussie, Pomerland, Meckelburgh, Friseland, and so to Antwerpe in Brabant, then to Calis, at the last in September landed at Douer, and the eleuenth daie of the same they came to London, and were lodged at the earle of Bedfords place neere to Iuie bridge, where within four daies after, that is to saie, the fifteenth of September she trauelled in childbed, and was deliuered of a man child: which child the last of September was christened in the queenes maiesties chappell of White hall at Westminster, the queenes maiestie in hir owne person being godmother, the archbishop of Canturburie, and the duke of Norffolke godfathers. At the christening the queene gaue the child to name Edwardus Fortunatus: for that God had so gratiouslie assisted his mother, in so long and dangerous a iournie, and brought hir safe to land in that place, which she most desired, and that in so short time before hir deliuerance.

The margrau or marques of Baden and his wife great wi child come to London.

She is deliuere of a child.

The queene giueth the name.

The eleuenth of Nouember, the right honorable Ambrose earle of Warwike maried Anne eldest daughter to the earle of Bedford. For the honor and celebration of which noble mariage, a goodlie chalenge was made and obserued at Westminster at the tilt, each one six courses: at the tournie twelue strokes with the sword, three pushes with the punchion staffe: and twelue blowes with the sword at barriers, or twentie if anie were so disposed. At ten of the clocke at night the same daie a valiant seruiceable man called Robert Thomas, maister gunner of England, desirous also to honour the feast and mariage daie (in consideration the said earle of Warwike was generall of the ordinance within hir maiesties realmes and dominions) made three great traines of chambers, which terriblie yeelded foorth the nature of their voice, to the great astonishment of diuerse, who at the firing of the second was vnhappilie slaine by a peece of one of the chambers, to the great sorow and lamentation of manie.

Mariage of the earle of Warwike.

Robert Thomas maister gunner slaine by casualtie.

The foure and twentith of December in the morning, there rose a great storme and tempest of wind, by whose rage the Thames and seas ouerwhelmed manie persons, and the great gates at the west end of S. Paules church in London (betweene the which standeth the brasen piller) where through the force of the wind, then in the westerne part of the world, blowne open. In Ianuarie monsieur Rambulet a knight of the order of France was sent ouer into England, by the French king Charles the ninth of that name, with the order: who at Windsore was stalled in the behalfe of the said French king, with the knighthood of the most honorable order

An. Reg. 8.

Paules gate blowen open.

Order of saint Michaell. 1566

of the garter. And the foure and twentith of Ianuarie, in the chappell of hir maiesties palace of Whitehall, the said monsieur Rambulet inuested Thomas duke of Norffolke, and Robert earle of Leicester, with the said order of S. Michaell.

The marques of Baden returneth into his owne countrie.

The marquesse of Baden and the ladie Cicilie his wife, sister to the king of Swethen, who came into this land in the moneth of September last past (as before is declared) being then by the quéenes especiall appointment at their arriuall honorablie receiued by the lord Cobham, an honorable baron of this realme, and the ladie his wife one of the quéenes maiesties priuie chamber, now in the moneth of Aprill 1566 departed the realme againe, the marquesse a few daies before his wife, being both conducted by a like personage the lord of Aburgauennie to Douer.

Ground for the Bursse in Cornehill first purchased.

Certeine houses in Cornehill, being first purchased by the citizens of London, were in the moneth of Februarie cried by a bellman, and afterward sold to such persons as should take them downe, and carie them from thence: which was so doone in the moneths of Aprill and Maie next following. And then the ground being made plaine at the charges also of the citie, possession thereof was by certeine aldermen in the name of the whole citizens, giuen to the right worshipfull sir Thomas Gresham knight, agent to the quéenes highnesse, there to build a place for merchants to assemble in, at his owne proper charges: who on the seuenth daie of Iune laid the first stone of the foundation (being bricke) and foorthwith the workemen followed vp the same with such diligence, that by the moneth of Nouember, in An. 1567, the same was couered with slate.

The first stone of the Bursse laid.

The commissioners before named, appointed for the matters of Flander, keeping their diet at Bruges, agreed to refer the whole matter to the princes on both sides: and if they could not agrée, then the merchants to haue fortie daies to repare home with their merchandize, and in the meane time all things to stand as they were then. Our commissioners departed from Bruges about the six and twentith of Iune.

The quéenes progresse to Oxford.

The one and thirtith of August, the quéenes maiestie in hir progresse came to the vniuersitie of Oxford, and was of all the students, which had looked for hir comming thither two yeares, so honorablie and ioifullie receiued, as either their loialnesse towards the quéenes maiestie, or the expectation of their frèends did require. Concerning orders in disputations and other academicall exercises, they agréed much with those which the vniuersitie of Cambridge had vsed two yeares before. Comedies also and tragedies were plaied in Christs church, where the queenes highnesse lodged. Among the which the comedie intituled Palemon and Arcit, made by maister Edwards of the quéenes chappell, had such tragicall successe, as was lamentable. For at that time by the fall of a wall and a paire of staires, and great presse of the multitude three men were slaine.

Misfortune at Oxford at the plaieng of a tragedie.

The fift of September after disputations, the quéene at the humble sute of certeine hir nobilitie, and the K. of Spaines ambassador, made a brèefe oration in Latine to the vniuersitie; but so wise and pithie, as England may reioise that it hath so learned a prince, and the vniuersitie may triumph that they haue so noble a patronesse. The sixt of September after dinner, hir grace comming from Christs church ouer Carfox, and so to S. Maries, the scholers standing in order according to their degrees euen to the east gate, certeine doctors of the vniuersitie did ride before in their scarlet gownes and hoods, and maisters of art in blacke gownes and hoods. The maior also with certeine of his brethren did ride before hir in scarlet to the end of Magdalen bridge, where their liberties ended: but the doctors and maisters went forward still to Shootouer a mile and more out of Oxford, bicause their liberties extended so far: and there after orations made, hir highnes with thanks to the whole vniuersitie bad them farewell, and rode to Ricote.

The quèene maketh an oration to the vniuersitie.

Souldiers transported into Ireland to vanquish Shane Oneil.

The valiant capteine Edward Randoll esquier, lieutenant of the ordinance, and coronell of a thousand footmen, in September last past was with his band imbarked at

at Bristow, and within few daies after landed at Knockfergus in the north parts of Ireland; and from thence by water to a place called Derrie, by which passeth the riuer Longfoile. There the said coronell in short space fortified, to the great annoiance of Shane Oneil, and by great foresight and experience garded himselfe and his charge, till the said Oneil (to hinder and disturbe his aboad there) the twelfe of Nouember arriued with a great armie of Kerne Galowglasses and horssemen, with whome the said capteine Randoll incountered, and him there so discomfited, as after that conflict he durst neuer approch the quéenes power. And to his perpetuall fame, the said capteine by reason of his bold and hardie onset, that daie lost his life.

Yoong prince of Scots christened.

Charles James the sixt of that name, son to Henrie Stuart lord of Darnleie and Marie king and quéene of Scots was borne in Edenburgh castell, the ninetéenth of Iune last past: and the eighteenth of December this yeare solemnlie christened at Sterling, whose godfathers at the christening were Charles K. of France, and Philibert duke of Sauoie, and the quéenes maiestie of England was the godmother, who gaue a font of gold curiouslie wrought and inameled, waieng three hundred and thrée and thirtie ounces, amounting in value to the summe of 1043 pounds, ninetéene shillings. An. Reg.

K. of Scots murthered. 1567

The tenth of Februarie in the morning, Henrie Stuart lord of Darnleie before named K. of Scots, by Scots in Scotland was shamefullie murthered, the reuenge whereof remaineth in the mightie hand of God. The two and twentith of Februarie, the ladie Margaret Dowglas countesse of Lineux, mother to the said king of Scots, was discharged out of the tower of London. Within the space of ten moneths last past died seuen aldermen of London, the first Edward Bankes deceassed the ninth of Iulie, An. 1566: Richard Chamberleine late shiriffe, sir Martin Bowes, sir Richard Mallorie, sir William Hewet, and sir Thomas White late maiors, then Richard Lambert one of the shiriffes for that yeare, the fourth of Aprill 1567. The like mortalitie to haue happened among them about a ten or eleuen yeares before, you shall read in the historie of queene Marie, in the fourth yeare of hir reigne.

The countesse of Lineux deliuered out of the tower.

Seuen aldermen deceassed in London.

The two and twentith of Aprill by great misfortune of fire in the towne of Ossestrie in Wales, twelue miles from Shrewsburie, to the number of two hundred houses, to wit, seuen score within the wals, and three score without in the suburbs, besides cloth, corne, cattell, &c: were consumed, which fire began at two of the clocke in the after noone, and ended at foure, to the great maruell of manie, that so great a spoile in so short a time should happen. Two long stréets with great riches in that towne was burnt in the yeare 1542: and likewise or worse in the yeare 1564.

The towne of Ossestrie burnt thrise in thirtie yeares.

The foure and twentith of Aprill the sergeants feast was kept at Greis inne néere vnto Holborne, and there were at that time made seuen new sergeants of the law.

Sergeants feast.

The seuenteenth of Maie in the towne of Milnall in Suffolke eight miles from Newmarket, thirtie seuen houses besides barnes, stables, and such like were consumed with fire in the space of two houres.

Minal in Suffolke burnt.

Shane Oneil, who had most traitorouslie rebelled against the quéenes maiestie in Ireland, and had doone manie great outrages in the parts of Vlster, was this yeare with his great losse manfullie repelled from the siege of Dundalke by the garrison thereof; and afterward through the great valiancie and foresight of sir Henrie Sidneie knight of the order, and lord deputie of Ireland, he was so discomfited in sundrie conflicts, with the losse of thrée thousand fiue hundred of his men, that now foreséeing his declination to be iminent, he determined to put a collar about his necke, and disguising himselfe, to repaire to the lord deputie, and penitentlie to require his pardon to haue his life. But Neil Mackeuer his secretarie, who had incited him to this rebellion, persuaded him first to trie and treat the friendship of certeine wild Scots, that then laie incamped in Clan Iboie, vnder the conducting of Alexander Oge, and Mac Gilliam Buske, whose father and vncle Shane Oneil had latelie

Shane Oneil discomfited. *Statuta regni Hiberniæ. Edm. Cappian.*

latelie killed in an ouerthrow giuen to the Scots. Neuerthelesse he well liking this persuasion, went to the said campe the second of Iune, where after a dissembled interteinement, and quaffing of wine, Gilliam Buske burning with desire of reuenge for his fathers and vncles death, and ministring quarrelling talke, issued out of the tent, and made a fraie vpon Oneils men, and then gathering togither his Scots in a throng, suddenlie entred the tent againe, who there with their slaughter swords hewed in péeces Shane Oneil, his secretarie, and all his companie, except a verie few which escaped by flight.

Shane Oneil mangled and hackt in péeces.

Standing watch at midsummer mainteined in London.

On saint Iohns euen at night was the like standing watch in London, as had beene on saint Péters euen in the yeare last before mentioned. This yeare the emperour Maximilian the second of that name, being elected into the most honourable order of the garter, the right honourable Thomas earle of Sussex, &c. knight of the same most noble order, was appointed by the quéenes maiestie to go vnto the said emperour, with the said order of the garter, according to his said election. Who being honorablie accompanied with the lord North, sir Thomas Mildmaie knight, Henrie Cobham esquier, one of the pensioners, and others, departed from London the fiue and twentith of Iune 1567, vnto Douer, and there imbarked, landed at Calis, and his traine at Dunkirke, and so passed through the low countries to Antwerpe in Brabant, where he was honourablie receiued by the English merchants and others, and being there went to visit madame de Parma, regent of the said countries, then resident within the same towne.

The emperor Maximilian inuested into the order of the garter.

The earle of Sussex visiteth madame de Parma.

From thence he passed vnto Colen, where as his lordship and traine mounted the riuer Rhene, and by sundrie continuall daies iourneies passed by the citie of Ments or Magunce, vnto Oppenham, and there taking his waie by land passed through the countrie by the cities of Wormes and Spires till he came to Ulmes, standing on the riuer of Danow, where hée arriued the one and twentith of Iulie: and the three and twentith his lordship rode in post to Auspurge, called in Latine Augusta Vindelicorum, nine Dutch miles from Ulmes. From thence he departed the fiue and twentith of Iulie, and met with his traine at Donwert, being come thither vpon flotes downe by the said riuer of Danow. From thence he kept vpon his iourneie by Ingolstat, Reinspurge, in Latine Ratisbona, by Passaw and other townes, till hée came to Linz, where his lordship staied the first, second and third of August, by reason of the high waters.

The iournies of the earle of Sussex during his abode beyond the seas.

And departing from thence on the fourth of August, he passed by Stoan and Cremz, by the said riuer of Danow, and so arriued at the citie of Vienna the fift of August in this foresaid yeare 1567, where hée was receiued of the lord Smeckouites, hauing twelue horsses readie with their footclothes for his lordship, and the most respected of his traine, and so brought him to the presence of the emperour, at that present within his castell there in that citie, by whom he was right honourablie receiued, and afterwards conducted to his assigned lodging, where as all prouision was prepared and made at the emperours charges. Here his lordship continued till the fouretéenth of Ianuarie. In which meane time the emperour verie often (as time serued) had the said earle foorth with him, vnto such pastimes of hunting the hart, boare, and such like, as the plentifulnesse of that countrie yéeldeth. Moreouer, during the time of his lordships abode there at Vienna, Charles archduke of Austria and Carinth arriued in that citie, whom my lord went to salute.

The emperor interteineth the earle of Sussex.

Charles duke of Austria and the earle of Sussex salute each other.

After this, vpon the quéenes maiesties letters brought out of England by maister Henrie Brooke, aliàs Cobham, one of hir gentlemen pensioners, the said earle of Sussex vpon sundaie the fourth of Ianuarie in the after noone, presented and deliuered vnto the emperours maiestie in his chamber of presence, the habiliments and ornaments of the most noble order of the garter, sir Gilbert Dethike knight

1568

aliàs

aliàs Garter, principall king of arms, and officer for the said order, and William Dethike then Rougecrosse, also officer of armes, giuing their attendance in their cotes of armes. And the emperour at his inuesture of the said habiliments, gaue vnto the said Garter his short gowne and vnder garment, furred throughout with luzerns, and then proceeded thence into a great chamber, adorned in forme of a chappell, where as all the other ceremonies belonging vnto the said noble order were obserued and accomplished. And the same night the said earle supped with the emperours maiestie, both being in their robes of the said order.

The earle of Sussex departeth from Vienna, &c.

Now shortlie after, his lordship with certeine of his companie taking leaue of the emperour, departed from Vienna the fourteenth of Ianuarie aforesaid vnto Newstat, and so through the countrie of Stire vnto Gratz the chiefe citie of Carinth, where he tooke also leaue of the said archduke Charles: and from thence returning, passed those parts of the Alpes vnto Saltzburgh, where he met with the other part of his traine, and so by continuing iourneies came againe into England to the queenes maiestie towards the latter end of March. After a drie summer folowed an extreme sharpe winter, namelie the latter part therof, with such great scarsitie of fodder and haie, that in diuerse places the same was sold by weight, as in Yorkeshire, and in the Peake of Darbishire, where a stone of haie was sold for fiue pence. There followed also a great death of cattell, namelie of horsse and sheepe.

Iohn Stow. An. Reg. 10. A sharpe winter following a drie summer.

This yeare in the moneth of Ianuarie, the queens maiestie sent into the narrow seas three of hir ships, and one barke named the Anthelop, the Swallow, the Aid, and the Phenix, the which were manned with fiue hundred men. And hir highnesse appointed the charge of the said ships and men to hir trustie seruant William Holstocke of London esquier, comptrollor of hir highnesse ships, who had commandement to staie the subiects of king Philip. And according to his dutie he vsed such diligence, as one hauing care vnto his charge, in garding as well the French as the English coasts, did the eleuenth daie of March next following meet with eleuen saile of Flemmish hoies open vpon Bullongne, which came from Rome, and had in them foure hundred and od tuns of Gascoigne and French wines, which they intended to haue caried into Flanders: but the said Holstocke staid all the said eleuen hoies, and sent them to London, where they made their discharge, and the Flemmings disappointed of those wines.

Rich. Grafton. The queenes ships sent forth into the narrow seas.

Eleuen saile of Flemish hoies laden with wines surprised by admerall Holstocke.

Moreouer the eight and twentith daie of the foresaid moneth of March, the said William Holstocke seruing in the Anthelop (at that present admerall) and in his companie being William Winter the yonger (at that time his viceadmerall) seruing in the Aid, and Iohn Basing capteine of the Swallow, and Thomas Gouarlie capteine of the Phenix met in the narrow seas with fouretéene saile of great hulkes, which were come out of Portugall, and bound to Flanders: their chiefe lading being Portugall salt, and yet had good store of Spanish roials of plate, and also of good spices. The which fourteene hulkes did mainteine their fight for the space of two houres. And after that they did perceiue that they could not preuaile, hauing tasted of the ordinance of the queens ships to their great hurt, as well in slaughter of their men, as also in spoile of their ships, the said Holstock and his companie tooke eight of the said hulks, wherof six were sent into the riuer of Thames. And the admerall and viceadmerall in the said hulks being two great ships (which the said Holstocke himselfe did take) were caried vnto Harwich, and there discharged.

Six Spanish hulks laden with diuerse things taken by the English.

The eightéenth of March, through vehement rage and tempest of winds, manie vessels on the Thames with two tiltbotes before Grauesend, were sunke and drowned. The six and twentith of June, deceased Thomas Yoong archbishop of Yorke, at the manour of Sheffield, and was honourablie buried at Yorke. The eleuenth

Iohn Stow. Great winds.

Archbishop of Yorke decesed.

Monstrous fishes.

eleuenth of October were taken in Suffolke at Downam bridge, neere vnto Ipswich seuentéene monstrous fishes, some of them conteining seuen and twentie foot in length, the other foure and twentie, or one and twentie foot at the least. At the costs and charges of the citizens of London, a new conduit was built at Walbrooke corner neere to Dowgate, which was finished in the moneth of October, the water whereof is conueied out of the Thames.

New conduit at Walbrooke.

An. Reg. 11. 1569

The seuen and twentith of Ianuarie, Philip Mestrell a Frenchman, and two Englishmen were drawne from Newgate to Tiburne, and there hanged, the Frenchman quartered, who had coined gold counterfeit; the Englishmen the one had clipped siluer, the other cast testons of tin. The eight and twentith of March, the pensioners well appointed in armor on horsbacke, mustered before the queenes maiestie in Hide parke beside Westminster. A great lotterie being holden at London in Poules church yard at the west doore, was begun to be drawne the eleuenth of Ianuarie, and continued daie and night till the sixt of Maie, wherein the said drawing was fullie ended. Sir Thomas Ro lord maior of London, caused to be inclosed with a wall of bricke nigh one acre of ground, néere vnto Bedlem without Bishops gate, to be a place of buriall for the dead of such parishes in London as lacked conuenient ground within their said parishes.

A Frenchman and two Englishmen executed.

Muster of pensioners.

A lotterie at London.

Buriall for the dead prepared by sir Thomas Ro called the New churchyard. *A. F.*

¶ On the southside whereof, ouer a folding gate this inscription is grauen in stone in great letters: Thomas Ro miles, cùm prætor esset Londinensis, hunc locum Reipublicæ, in vsum publicæ sepulturæ communem, suo sumptu dedicauit: Anno Domini 1569. Which writing I haue here recorded, for that in viewing the same, I saw some of the letters defaced and vtterlie made awaie: which in time might likewise befall to the residue, and so the memorie of the gentleman there fixed to so good an end vanish and die. He also of a godlie motion builded a conuenient roome in Pauls churchyard, on the southside of the crosse, to receiue a certeine number of hearers at the sermon time: as may appeare by some remembrances of his name there fixed. Howbeit, this gentleman thus well disposed, and like inough to haue proceeded in more such godlie actions, was called out of this life the next yeare immediatlie following, forgoing all the pompe of this life, with no lesse good will, than he was forward by death to passe to eternall rest. His bodie was buried in Hackneie church, in the southside of the chancell, where (besides a monument of himselfe and his wife) this epitaph remaineth to be read in faire great letters, as followeth:

The inscription or writing ouer the south gate of the new churchyard.

The death of sir Thomas Ro knight and lord maior of London.

An. 1570. Septemb. 2.

The epitaph of sir Thomas Ro, wherein his issue male and female is conteined.

Sir Thomas Ro lieth buried heare,
Of London knight and alderman,
Who late was maior and rule did beare,
To right the cause of euerie man:
A merchant venturer was he,
Of merchant tailors companie:
A citizen by birth also,
And eke his wife dame Marie Ro.
In wedlocke one and thirtie yeare,
They did continue man and wife,
Eleuen children she did beare,
But fiue of them haue left this life:
And six aliue doo yet remaine,
Foure of them sons and daughters twaine
His soule with God we hope is blest,
And dooth remaine in Abrams brest.]

A standing watch on S. Iohns euen at Midsummer, and sir Iohn White alderman rode

rode the circuit, as the lord maior should haue doone. The seuen and twentith of August, Andrew Gregorenich Sauin, ambassador from Muscouie, landed at the tower wharfe, and was there receiued by the lord maior of London, the aldermen and shiriffes in scarlet, with the merchants aduenturers in cotes of blacke veluet, all on horssebacke, who conueied him riding through the citie to the Muscouie house in Seding lane, there to be lodged. The plague of pestilence somewhat raging in the citie of London, Michaelmas terme was first adiourned vnto the third of Nouember, and after to Hilarie terme next following. The eleuenth of October, Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke was brought from Burnam beside Windsore by land to Westminster, and from thence by water to the tower of London prisoner, sir Henrie Neuill being his keeper. This yeare the lord maior of London went by water to Westminster, and there tooke his oth, as hath beene accustomed, but kept no feast at the Guildhall, least through comming togither of so great a multitude, infection of the pestilence might haue increased. That weeke from the one and twentith vnto the eight and twentith of October, there died in the citie and out parishes of all diseases one hundred fiftie and two, of the which, one and fiftie were accounted to die of the plague.

Ambassadors from Muscouie land at tower wharfe.

Terme adiourned.

Duke of Norffolke sent to the tower.

No maiors feast at Guildhall.

On thursdaie the ninth of Nouember, Thomas Persie earle of Northumberland receiued the queens maiesties letters to repaire to the court. And the same night, other conspirators perceiuing him to be wauering and vnconstant of promise made to them, caused a seruant of his, called Beckwith (after he was laid in his bed) to bustle in, and to knocke at his chamber doore, willing him in hast to arise, and shift for himselfe, for that his enimies (whome he termed to be sir Oswold Vlstrop, and maister Vaughan) were about the parke, and had beeset him with great numbers of men. Wherevpon he arose, and conueied himselfe awaie to his keepers house. In the same instant they caused the bels of the towne to be roong backeward, and so raised as manie as they could to their purpose. The next night the earle departed thense to Branspith, where he met with Charles earle of Westmerland, and the other confederats. Then by sundrie proclamations, they abusing manie of the queens subiects, commanded them in hir highnesse name, to repaire to them in warlike maner, for the defense and suertie of hir maiesties person; sometimes affirming their doings to be with the aduise and consent of the nobilitie of this realme, who in deed were wholie bent (as manifestlie appeared) to spend their liues in dutifull obedience, against them and all other traitors, sometimes pretending for conscience sake to seeke to reforme religion: sometimes declaring that they were driuen to take this matter in hand, least otherwise forren princes might take it vpon them, to the great perill of this realme.

The earle of Northumberland and Westmerland rebelled.

The earles abuse the queene and hir subiects.

Vpon mondaie the thirteenth of Nouember, they went to Durham with their banners displaied. And to get the more credit among the fauorers of the old Romish religion, they had a crosse with a banner of the fiue wounds borne before them, sometime by old Norton, sometime by others. As soone as they entred Durham, they went to the minster, where they tare the bible, communion bookes, and other such as were there. The same night they went againe to Branspith. The fourteenth daie of the same moneth, they went to Darington, and there had masse, which the earles and the rest heard with such lewd deuotion as they had. Then they sent their horssemen, to gather togither such number of men as they could. The fifteenth daie the earles parted; he of Northumberland to Richmond, then to Northallerton, and so to Borowbridge; and he of Westmerland to Ripon, and after to Borowbridge, where they both met againe. On the eighteenth daie they went to Wetherbie, and there taried three or foure daies, and vpon Clifford moore, nigh vnto Bramham moore, they mistrusted themselues, at which time they about two thousand horssemen, and fiue thousand footmen, which was the greatest

Rebels rent the bible, communion books and behaue themselues like Spanish hores.

An. Reg. 12. The number of rebels 2000 horssemen, and 3000 footmen.

number that euer they were. From which they intended to haue marched toward Yorke, but their minds being suddenlie altered, they returned.

Bernards castell besieged and defended.

The three and twentith of Nouember, they besieged Bernards castell, which castell was valiantlie defended by sir George Bowes, and Robert Bowes his brother, the space of eleuen daies, and then deliuered with composition to depart with armor, munition, bag and baggage. In which time the quéens maiestie caused the said earles of Northumberland and Westmerland to be proclaimed traitors, with all their adherents and fauourers, the foure and twentith of Nouember. The lord Scroope warden of the West Marches, calling vnto him the earle of Cumberland and other gentlemen of the countrie, kept the citie of Carleill. The earle of Sussex the quéens lieutenant generall in the north, published there the like proclamations (in effect) as had beene published by hir maiestie against the said rebels, and also sent out to all such gentlemen as he knew to be hir maistes louing subiects vnder his rule, who came vnto him with such numbers of their friends, as he was able in fiue daies to make aboue fiue thousand horssemen and footmen. And so being accompanied with the erle of Rutland his lieutenant, the lord Hunsdon generall of the horssemen, sir Rafe Sadler treasuror, the lord William Euers, that was after appointed to lead the reareward, and diuerse other, that with their tenants and seruants were come to him, remaining as then within the citie of Yorke: he set forward from thense the fift of December being sundaie, and marched with his power which he had thus got togither towards the enimies.

The earles proclamed traitors.

The earle of Sussex went against the rebels.

The earle of Rutland and the lord Hunsdon, with others against the rebels.

Sir George Bowes hauing surrendred Bernards castell (as before ye haue heard) met the earle of Sussex thus marching forward with his armie at Sisaie, from whence they kept forward to Northallerton: and resting two nights there, they marched on to Croftbridge, then to Akle, and so to Durham, and after to Newcastell. And the twentith of December they came to Hexam, from whence the rebels were gone the night before to Naworth, where they councelled with Edward Dacres concerning their owne weaknesse, and also how they were not onelie pursued by the earle of Sussex and others with him, hauing a power with them of seuen thousand men, being almost at their héeles; but also by the earle of Warwike, and the lord Clinton, high admerall of England with a far greater armie of twelue thousand men, raised by the queens maiesties commissioners out of the south and middle parts of the relme. In which armie beside the earle of Warwike, and the lord admerall, chéefe gouernors in the same, there was also Walter Deuereux vicount Hereford high marshall of the field, with the lord Willoughbie of Perham, maister Charles Howard, now lord Howard of Effingham, generall of the horssemen vnder the earle of Warwike, yoong Henrie Knols eldest sonne to sir Francis Knols, his lieutenant, Edward Horseie capteine of the ile of Wight, with fiue hundred harquebusiers out of the same Ile, and capteine Leighton with other fiue hundred harquebusiers Londoners, and manie worthie gentlemen and valiant capteins.

The rebels and Edward Dacres consult about their weakenesse.

The earle of Warwike and the lord admerall Clinton, sent against the rebels.

The comming forward of these forces caused the rebels so much to quaile in courage, that they durst not abide to trie the matter with dint of sword. For whereas the earles of Warwike, and the lord admerall, being aduanced forward to Darington, ment the next daie to haue sent Robert Glouer then Porteculeis, and now Summerset herald (who in his iourneie attended on the lord admerall, as Noreie king of armes did vpon the earle of Warwike) vnto the rebels, vpon such message as for the time and state of things was thought conuenient: the same night aduertisements came from the earle of Sussex vnto the earle of Warwike, and to the lord admerall, that the two earles of Northumberland and Westmerland were fled, as the truth was they were indéed, first from Durham, whither the said Glouer should haue béene sent vnto them; and now vpon the earle of Sussex his comming vnto Exham, they shranke quite awaie, and fled into Scotland, without bidding their companie farewell.

The rebels dare not stand to the triall of battell.

The earles of Northumberland and Westmerland flie into Scotland.

farewell. The earle of Warwike and his power marched on to Durham. But the earle of Sussex pursuing those other rebels that had not meane to flée out of the realme, apprehended no small number of them at his pleasure, without finding anie resistance among them at all.

1570

The fourth and fift of Ianuarie did suffer at Durham to the number of three score and six, conestables and others, amongst whome the alderman of the towne and a priest called parson Plomtrée were the most notable. Then sir George Bowes being made marshall, finding manie to be fautors in the foresaid rebellion, did sée them executed in diuerse places of the countrie. The one and twentith of Ianuarie a prentise of London was hanged on a gibet at the north end of Finch lane in London (to the example of others) for that he the thirteenth of December had stricken his maister with a knife whereof he died.

Rebelles executed at Durham.

A prentise hanged in London for killing his maister.

About the later end of Ianuarie, Leonard Dacres of Harleseie began to rebell, and procured the people of the north parts to assist him: so that he raised to the number of three thousand men. Of whose attempts when the lord Hunsdon lord warden of the east marches, and gouernor of Berwike heard, he prepared to go against him: and hauing with him sir Iohn Forster lord warden of the middle marches, they set forward towards the place where they thought they should find him. They had with them 300 chosen soldiors of the garrison of Berwike, and twelue hundred borderers and other of the garrisons there about the borders: so that they were in all fiftéene hundred footmen and horssemen. They marching therewith foorth approched néere to a towne and castell called Naworth, which was in the kéeping of the said Leonard Dacres. And vpon a moore, through the middle whereof a little riuer called Chelt hath his course, the said Leonard Dacres the two and twentith of Februarie was readie with his power in order of battell, ranged and set in arraie after the forme of a triangle, compassed and inuironed about with horssemen. And now vpon the lord Hunsdons approch, the said Dacres with great and stout courage gaue an hardie onset vpon the said lord Hunsdon and his companie neere vnto the foresaid riuer.

Rich. Grafton. Lord Leonard Dacres rebelleth.

The Lord Dacres readie with his power to set vpon the lord of Hunsdon.

The fight was sharpe and cruell, and the euent verie doubtfull for a while: the rebels were so stiffelie bent to doo their vttermost indeuor in defense of their wicked quarrell. There were among them manie desperat women that gaue the aduenture of their liues, and fought right stoutlie. Manie therfore were slaine on both sides, to the number at the least of three hundred persons. But such was the forward valiancie of the lord Hunsdon, that his people incoraged by his example (whome they might see so noblie acquit himselfe, in aduenturing so farre as anie other of the whole troope) behaued themselues in such manfull wise, that the victorie in the end fell to him and his companie: and the said Leonard Dacres was forced to flee from his séelie slaine and miserable people, taking his waie into Scotland, so fast as his horsse might beare him. Capteine Reade and the other capteins and soldiors of Berwike bare themselues right valiantlie, and shewed proofe of their skill and hardie manhood in this skirmish. After the which these holds and castels were taken and deliuered vnto the said lord Hunsdon: Naworth which was committed vnto the kéeping of maister Scroope, Kestwood, Greistocke and Rockleie, which were deliuered to the kéeping of diuerse of the duke of Norffolks officers.

Stout women among the rebels.

Leonard Dacres put to flight taketh his waie into Scotland.

On good fridaie the seauen and twentith of March Simon Digbie of Askue, Iohn Fulthorpe of Isilbecke in the countie of Yorke esquiers, Robert Peneman of Stokesleie, Thomas Bishop the yoonger of Poklinton in the same countie of Yorke, gentlemen, were drawne from the castell of Yorke to the place of execution called Knaues mire, halfe a mile without the citie of Yorke, and there hanged, headed, and quartered; their foure heads were set on foure principall gates of the citie, with foure of their quarters; the other in diuerse places of the countrie. Osclope Clesbe

Iohn Stowe. Rebelles executed at Yorke.

Knaues mire.

was

The earle of Penbroke deceased.

D. Powel in hist. Camb. pag. 399.

was with them drawne to the gallows, and returned againe to the castell. William earle of Penbroke baron of Cardiffe, knight of the garter, one of the priuie councell, and lord steward of the quéenes maiesties household, deceased the eightéenth of Aprill, and was buried in saint Paules church at London. ¶ This noble man liued in great credit and estimation with king Henrie the eight, king Edward the sixt, quéene Marie and quéené Elisabeth, and was by euerie of the said princes imploied in matters of great importance: and for his good and faithfull seruice greatlie honored, as appéereth in an epitaph fixed vpon his toome in the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, which I thought good here to laie downe.

PERPETUÆ PIETATI SACRUM.

GVLIELMO Herberto Penbrochiæ comiti, equiti aurato prænobilis ordinis Anglici: Hen. viij. R. A cubiculis: Edoard. vi. R. equitum magistro: Walliæ præsidi. Tumultu occidentali cum Russello & Graio baronibus paribus auspicijs summæ rerum præposito: Mariæ R. contra perduelles, ac expeditione ad Augustam Veromanduorum bis, totius exercitus duci: bis summo in agro Caletum limitum præfecto: Elisab. R. officiorum seu Magno Regiæ magistro. Pariter & Dominæ Annæ ex vetusta Parrorum gente oriunda, Sorori Catharinæ R. Henr. viij. R. vi. matrimonio coniunctæ, ac Marchionis Northamptonij: Prudentiss. fæminæ, pietatis, religionis probitatis omnisque auitæ virtutis retinentiss. fidiss. Comitis coniugi: Henr. F. ac comes, Pp. charis. sibi ac suis marens. P.

Obijs { ætatis / salutis } Ann. { 63. / 1569. } Secunda coniuge superstite, Georgio Salopiæ comite genita, insigni præter antiquum probitatis decus, virtute fæminæ.]
Liberis relictis ex prima.
Henrico Pemb. Comite.
Edoardo equite Aurato.
Domina Anna Baroni Talbot nupta.

The earle of Sussex, in reuenge of the euill demeanor of the Scots inhabiting néere to the English marches, as well in receiuing and succouring diuerse of the English rebels, as other naughtie practises, assembled such forces as he thought expedient in the night that followed the seauen and twentith of Aprill, and hauing with him the lord Hunnesdon gouernour of Berwike and lord warden of the east marches, sir William Drurie marshall of the said armie and towne of Berwike, came to Warke, being twelue miles distant from the said towne of Berwike: and then the next daie being the eightéenth of the same moneth, they entered into Tiuidall in Scotland, where marching in warlike order, they burned, ouerthrew, wasted and spoiled all the castels, townes and villages, as they passed, till they came to a tower called the Mosse tower, standing in a marish, and belonging to the lard of Buclewgh, which likewise was rased, ouerthrowne and burned: and so marching forward, wasted the whole countrie before them, vntill they came to a great towne called Crauling.

The earle of Sussex inuadeth Scotland.

The Mosse tower.

Sir Iohn Forster with his companie enter into Tiuidall.

The same daie sir Iohn Forster warden of the middle marches, with all the garrisons and forces of the same, entered likewise into Tiuidall at Espesgate, distant sixteene miles from Warke, where in like order they burned and spoiled the countrie before them, till they came to a castell in the possession of the lard of Ferntherst, being parcell of hir sons lands, which likewise was ouerthrowne, rased, and burned, with all other castels, piles, townes, and villages, all alongst the said countrie, till they came to Crauling, ioining there with the lord lieutenants power.

This

This towne was likewise burned and spoiled. Thus they passed the riuer of Tiuet, rasing, burning and spoiling the castell, piles, stone houses, townes, and villages alongst that riuer, vntill they came to Iedworth, where they lodged for that night, and were of the magistrats of that towne courteouslie receiued, who had made indifferent good prouision for the armie, both of vittels for men, and of haie and prouender for horsses. Wherevpon proclamation was publikelie made in the name of the lord lieutenant, that no Englishman (vpon paine of death) should disturbe or wrongfullie take awaie anie thing from anie of the inhabitants of the same towne, without disbursing readie monie therefore. Which thing did so much content the Scots, that the next daie the lard of Sesford, warden of the middle marches of Scotland, with all the principals of his alies and kindred, came in to the lord lieutenant, submitting themselues to him, and were receiued into assurance: for that neither he nor anie of them had at anie time receiued the English rebels, neither aided nor assisted them, neither yet made anie inuasion into England. And whereas some of their men, and tenants, without their knowledge had trespassed in such behalfe, they were contented to abide and stand vnto the erle of Sussex his order, for their said men and tenants. And herevpon neither they nor anie of theirs receiued anie hurt: but by his lordships commandement were preserued from susteining anie damage either in bodie or goods: so glad he was of their submission, and no lesse glad to giue them occasion to be carefull in performance of obedience. Vnto which compassion God (no doubt) had inclined the noble mans hart, according to the poet words in this sense verie true:

They come to Iedworth and are interteined.

The lard of Sesford with the principals of his alies submit themselues.

———mollia pectora reddit
Ad pietatis opus, flammis vt cera liquescens
In varias formas fictoris ducitur arte.

The nineteenth daie, the armie was diuided into two seuerall parts, whereof one passing ouer the riuer of Tiuet, burned the castell of Ferniherst, vtterlie spoiling the same, and all other castels and townes that belonged to the lards of Ferniherst, Hunthill, and Bedroll, aud so passed to Minto, where both the armies méeting, ioined togither againe, being not past a foure miles from Howike, whither they marched directlie, intending to lodge there that night, bicause the bailiffes of the towne had offered to receiue the whole armie, and to make prouision for the soldiours of all things necessarie, they paieng readie monie for the same, and the inhabitants to be assured not to be hurt in bodie or goods, as was promised. But the Scots breaking the couenant before the comming thither of the armie, had vncouered their houses, carried the thatch into the streets, and there set it on fire: and this doone they fled their waies with most part of their goods. So that when the armie approched, there was such a thicke smoke, that no man might scarselie enter the towne: and so for that night the soldiours suffered great lacke of vittels, lodging, and prouision, as well for themselues as their horsses. But the fire which the Scots had of a malicious purpose and subtiltie thus begun, was by the diligent industrie of the Englishmen so increased: that both the thatch and timber of the whole towne was consumed to ashes, a stone house perteining to the lard of Drumlanerike onlie excepted, wherein the lord lieutenant laie that night. And bicause the said Drumlanerike was a friend assured, the said house was spared, with all the goods and corne therein, whereof there was great plentie.

The castell of Ferniherst burned.

At Minto both the armies met.

The Scots of Howike their breach of couenant.

Why the lord of Drumlanerikes goods were saued from the fire.

The twentith of Aprill, the armie marched toward a faire proper house, belonging to the lard of Buclewgh, which was blowne vp with powder and vtterlie ruinated. Here the armie was againe diuided as before by the said lord lieutenant his appointment, and marching by north the riuer of Tiuet towards England, they burnt and spoiled all such castels, piles, townes and villages, as were belonging to the said lards of Ferniherst and Buclewgh their kinsmen, alies, and adherents, and

An house of the lard of Buclewghs blowne vp with powder.

Nothing but wast and spoile by fire and sword.

and came that night againe to Iedworth, and there lodged. The one and twentith of Aprill, the armie diuiding it selfe againe, the one part vnder the leading of the marshall sir William Drurie, passed to the riuer of Bowbent, and there Tiuidale and Riddesdale men meeting him, all on both sides that riuer was burnt and spoiled. The other part of the armie marching by the riuer of Caile wasted and burnt in like maner there all that was found on both sides that riuer, belonging wholie to the lard of Buclewgh, his kinsmen, alies and adherents.

The lord lieutenants purpose to besiege Hume castell.

This doone, they returned againe néere to Kelseie, where the lord lieutenant lodged for that night, meaning to haue besieged Hume castell. For the accomplishment whereof, the same night the lord of Hunnesdon and his companie went to Warke, to bring from thence the daie next following the great artillerie. But bicause the cariage horsses were returned to Barwike, this could not be brought to passe, and so the lord lieutenant with the whole armie returning into England the two and twentithof Aprill, came that night to Barwike. In this iourneie there were rased, ouerthrowne and spoiled, aboue fiftie castels and piles, and more than three hundred townes and villages: so that there were verie few in Tiuidale and those parties there abouts, which had either receiued the English rebels, or by inuasion indamaged the English borders, and good subiects inhabiting vpon the same, that had left to them either castell, pile or house, for themselues, their freends, or tenants, beside the great losse of goods which were wasted, taken awaie or consumed by this armie vnder the lord lieutenant.

What castels and piles were ouerthrowne and spoiled in this voiage.

The lord Scroope with his power.

Now in the meane while that he with his power thus afflicted the aduersaries on that side, the lord Scroope warden of the west marches the eightéenth of Aprill entered Scotland on that side, with such forces as he had assembled. And the first night they incamped at Eglesham, and in the morning at the dislodging of the campe, that towne was burnt; and passing forward through the countrie, they burnt and spoiled diuerse other townes, almost till they came to Dunfrise, and had diuerse conflicts with the enimies, gaue them sundrie ouerthrowes, tooke manie of them prisoners. And hauing accomplished his purpose, to his high praise and commendation, his lordship returned in safetie with his people into England; hauing burnt in that iourneie these places following: Hoddon, Trailebrow, old Cockpoole, Sherington, Blakeshaw, Banke end, Rowell, Logher wood, Bride kirke, and others. During these inuasions thus made into Scotland in that season, the marches of England were so stronglie garded in all places by the lord Euers, sir George Bowes, and others; that the Scots durst not so much as once offer to make anie inuasion: so that in absence of the armies, there was not so much as an house burnt, or a cow driuen out of the English borders.

The marches of England garded against the enimie.

The six and twentith of Aprill, the earle of Sussex lord lieutenant, accompanied with the foresaid lord of Hunnesdon, master Drurie, and diuers other capteins and souldiours, to the number of thrée thousand or thereabouts, set from Barwike about fiue of the clocke in the afternoone towards Warke, where they arriued about nine of the clocke in the night: and continuing there till the next morning, in the meane time he put things in order necessarie for the assiegging of Hume castell, the winning whereof his lordship seemed to haue vowed. About the breake of the daie he sent foorth master Drurie, with certeine horsmen and shot before, to inuiron that castell, and to choose there such a plot of ground, where he might incampe best in safetie from the shot of the same. Which the said master Drurie accordinglie performed, and there remained till the comming of the said lord lieutenant with the armie: who setting forward the footbands cariage, and ordinance, made hast to follow. But yet yer he could passe the riuer of Twéed, and set ouer all the men, ordinance and carriage, it was almost ten of the clocke. Héere at this riuer, the lord lieutenant caused all the horssemen to staie and to take ouer the footmen.

The marshall sent before to Hume castell.

Thisdoone, with good circumspection he appointed the demilances and other horssemen to remaine behind in the rereward, and put the footmen in the battell, for the more safegard of them selues, the ordinance and cariages. Then his lordship himselfe with his owne standard, and the lord of Hunnesdons guidon, marched forward towards Hume castell, commanding the rest of the armie with the ordinance to follow after, and so about one of the clocke in the after noone, he came before the castell: out of the which the enimies shot at his standard verie hotlie; but (God be praised) without doing hurt either to man or horsse, and incamped vnder a rocke or crag (which the marshall had possessed) with his band of horssemen and certeine footmen, as in a place most apt from danger of shot out of the castell. Héerewith a companie of curriours and caliuers were put forward, and appointed to take another rocke néerer to the castell, which shot at them in the said castell; and the defendants within it answered them againe verie roundlie, although without anie great hurt on either part.

The order taken by the earle of Sussex for the safetie of the armie.

Hume castell besieged.

In the meane time the lord lieutenant himselfe, accompanied onelie with the marshall master Drurie, rode sundrie times round about the castell to view and surucie the same: at whome they within shot verie sore, both with their great artillerie and small shot; yet missing them, as God would, though verie narrowlie. About six of the clocke in the euening came the whole battell ordinance and cariages, with ensignes spread, shewing themselues verie brauelie; at whome also the castell shot lustilie: but as God would haue it, without hurting either man or boie. They lodged vnder another rocke neere adioining vnto the lord lieutenant vpon the west side, where there were appointed more small shot to go to the trench, which shadowed themselues vnder the old wals of the houses, which the Scots had burnt before the comming of the Englishmen, and occupied them so within the said castell, that one of them could not so soone looke out at a loope, but three or foure were readie to salute him: and kéeping them in such sort, that they durst not well shew their heads; the capteine of the pioners the same night by commandement of the lord lieutenant, raised a mount vpon the northeast side of the castell, whereupon the péeces of artillerie might be planted in batterie.

The earle of Sussex vieweth the castell of Hume.

A Mount raised at the lord lieutenants commandement.

This worke was so well applied, and with so great diligence aduanced, that by fiue of the clocke in the next morning it was finished. The eight and twentith of Aprill, the marshall maister Drurie verie earlie rode about the castell, to surucie and view euerie thing: which doone, the great ordinance was brought to the appointed place, and bent against the castell, to wit, three canons, and two falcons. Héerewith also the lord lieutenant caused summons to be giuen vnto them within to yéeld. And about seauen of the clocke the same morning, the whole tire began to go off, and a great showt was made by the armie, to the great terrour of the defendants, and of all the countrie neere adioining. The foresaid péeces continued shooting till two of the clocke in the afternoone, discharging within that space a three score shots. During the time of this batterie, there was no great store of shot discharged by the great peeces within the castell, bicause their master gunner within, after he had first shot off a péece and doone no hurt therewith, as he was about to shoot againe, the master gunner of the two English falcons hauing espied him, tooke his leuell so right, that discharging therewith one of the falcons, he displaced the enimies péece, and stroke the gunners leg off, whereby their great ordinance within ceased, which was an happie turne for the Englishmen.

Batterie made against Hume castell.

The master gunner within the castell hurt.

About two of the clocke they within sent foorth a trumpet vnto the lord lieutenant, requiring a respit that they might talke with the marshall master Drurie, and to send a messenger to the lord Hume their master, to know his further pleasure: for that being put in trust by him with the kéeping of that fortresse, they could not giue it vp without his consent. And then vpon the returne of the messenger, they trusted to giue his lordship contented answer. The marshall mas-

The Scots sue for a respit of war.

ter Drurie talked with them twise, and the lord lieutenant was contented to grant vnto William Trotter, and Gilbert Greie the lord Humes wiues brother (being principall capteins appointed to the keeping of the said castell) three houres respit: with condition, that they should not vse therein anie subtiltie, or for the delaieng of time: swearing by his honour, that if they so did, he would not depart the field till he had woone it by force: and further, that there should not one of them escape with life.

The capteins within Hume castell.

The lord lieutenant sweareth.

They being brought in doubt of their owne safeties hereby, sent one in post togither with a seruant of master Druries the marshall, to the lord Hume. And presentlie heerevpon they shewed themselues vpon the walles and rampiers of the said castell: but immediatlie the lord lieutenant sent to them a commandement, strictlie inhibiting them, that not one of them should once on paine of death looke ouer the wals or rampires, to the end to view the breach of the batterie, forsomuch as in the time of parlée it was against the law of armes so to doo. But now the messenger that was thus sent to the lord Hume, comming to him, declared, in what case his house and people stood, who being (as was supposed) not so farre off, but that he might heare how lustilie the English canons did canuasse and batter his Humish castell walles, did now agrée to méet the marshall master Drurie two miles distant from the said castell, and there to commune further with him in that matter.

The lord lieutenants commandement on paine of death.

Vpon the comming backe of the messenger with this answer, the lord lieutenant thought good to send the said master Drurie vnto the place appointed: who comming thither met with the said lord Hume. And after they had debated the matter togither, at length the lord Hume was contented that the castell should be surrendered into the hands of the lord lieutenant; with condition, that his people therein might depart with life; which the lord lieutenant was contented to grant, so that there were no English men among them. Heerevpon about eight of the clocke in the euening, the gates were opened, and the keies deliuered to the marshall, who presented them to the lord lieutenant: and then the lord Hunnesdon, the said marshall, and diuerse other gentlemen entered into the castell, and by and by tooke possession thereof in the queene of Englands name, pulled downe their banner of defiance, and in place thereof set vp the English banners, against all those in Scotland that would saie the contrarie.

The castell of Hume deliuered to the marshall.

The Scots that were within it, being in number an hundred three score and eight persons, were put out in their common wearing apparell, without armour, weapon, or anie baggage. They comming to the lord lieutenant that was then at the place of the batterie on horssebacke, presented themselues to him: who according to his word and promise of honour, caused them to be safelie conducted through the watch and scouts, to such place as they required. Amongst them there were two Englishmen, the one of them named Hilliard the earle of Northumberlands man, the other was a vagarant person, or a roge (as we may call him) named William God saue hir alias Lions, which both were caried to Barwike, and there executed the thirteenth of Maie next insuing. In all this siege there were but foure persons slaine on both parts, two Scots, and two Englishmen: but there were manie hurt as well on the one part as the other. The castell of Hume being thus woone, the lord lieutenant the morow after placed therein to keepe the house to the queenes maiesties vse, capteine Wood, and capteine Pikman, with two hundred souldiours. This doone, his lordship returned towards England and came to Barwike. During this siege there were diuerse townes and villages, situate within three or foure miles of the campe, set on fire by the Englishmen, and vtterlie spoiled. The lord lieutenant vpon his returne to Barwike, staied there for a time verie euill at ease, hauing in trauell about the siege taken such cold, as therewith he was brought into an extreame ague.

Two Englishmen staied and after executed.

Capteine Wod and capteine Pikman.

The lord lieutenant sicke of an ague.

The

The fourth of Maie, his lordship sent maister William Drurie the marshall of Barwike, accompanied with diuerse gentlemen and capteins, hauing with them about two thousand souldiours, to take Fast castell: the which vpon the first summons was deliuered into his hands, who receiuing the keies being presented to him, entered the hold, and tooke possession thereof, in the queenes maiesties name: and expelling the Scots, being about the number of halfe a score (who according to couenant were suffered to depart with their liues saued) he put ten, or (as some haue) foureteene Englishmen into that castell, which were thought able and number sufficient enough to keepe it against all the power of Scotland, the situation thereof is so strong. *John Stow.* Englishmen put into the castell to keepe it.

In this meane time the troubles increasing among the Scots, by reason of the murther committed in the person of the earle of Murreie the late gouernour, the duke of Chatellerault, and other his partakers gathered a power of three thousand men, and comming to Lithquo, midwaie betwixt Sterling and Edenburgh, remained there for a time, and afterwards came to Edenburgh, in purpose to make warre against the lords of the kings part, who hauing sent to the earle of Lennox, then remaining in England, earnestlie requested him to repaire into Scotland. Wherevpon he by the queenes maiesties licence, tooke his iourneie thitherwards, and came to Barwike, where he was also visited with sickenesse, and so remained certeine daies in that towne. And vnderstanding that the said duke of Chatellerraults power was such, that the lords of the kings side were not able to come togither, nor he to go to them without the queene of Englands aid, he humblie sued vnto hir maiestie by letters to haue some power by hir appointment to conduct him into Scotland, and there to aid him and the other lords of that side against their aduersaries the duke and his complices. Heerevpon by hir maiesties commandement, the earle of Sussex, as yet not fullie recouered of his sicknesse, ordeined master William Drurie the marshall of Barwike, with such forces as were thought conuenient to go with the said earle of Lennox, for the execution of such exploits in seruice as seemed most expedient. And about the same time, to wit the sixt of Maie, the lord Scroope lord warden of the west marches, made a rode into Scotland, incamping the first night on the hither side of the water Annan, and the next daie marched towards the water of Milke, burning and spoiling all on that side of Annandale, namelie the lard Iohnsons lands, finding small resistance, sauing that the forreie was a little troubled with a fortie or fiftie Scots horssemen, and so hauing doone his pleasure, he quietlie returned, without receiuing other impeachment: notwithstanding the lord Herries was in Dunfrise, hauing gathered a great power in purpose to hinder his enterprise. The earle of Chatellerault his complices purpose war against the kings part. Master William Drurie goeth with the earle of Lennox against the earle of Chatellerault, &c.

But now to returne to the earle of Sussex, who hauing instituted sir William Drurie generall of those bands that should passe with the earle of Lennox into Scotland: because each gentleman, souldior, and seuerall bands should dutifullie obeie the said sir William their new ordeined generall in all points of warlike order, the said earle made an oration in such pithie forme and manner, as throughlie expressed the whole substance of the seruice, the vnsuertie of the season, the strange and malicious dealing of diuerse aduersaries: which points he so cunninglie handled, as the excellencie of a perfect orator appeared fullie in his speach. At whose eloquence the herers rather seemed astonied than vnsatisfied in anie point or parcell of those matters: for he opened the verie bowels of rebellion, the practises of enimies, and suborning of traitors: and therefore persuaded euerie honest mind to haue a dutifull consideration of his prince and countrie, in the defense and libertie whereof, both life, lands, and goods, are alwaies to be offered. The lord lieutenants oration implieng obedience of the souldiors to their new generall.

After which oration in respect of futher aduancement as the custome is (for seruice past, and incouragement to procéed in the like worthie dooings) he made these knights: Sir William Drurie, sir Thomas Manners, sir George Careie, and sir Knights made by the earle of Sussex.

Robert Constable, and placing the said sir William Drurie the appointed generall in full authoritie, he committed them to God, and the good conduct of their chéefeteine. Now hauing heard the lord lieutenant thus speake, and séeing the meanes that he vsed to incourage them against the enimie; how could they one with another but vow in mind, euen with the hazzard of their hearts, to performe to their power no lesse than he in speech implied? How could they (I saie) but venture life and lim, hauing so often séene the perillous enterprises which he himselfe vndertooke against forren hostilitie, as to his owne danger so to the high praise of his heroicall prowesse: and not without desert, as one verie well noteth, saieng:

Comes Sussexius Camerarius.

——satrapas præclarus, fortis & audax,
Elisabetha tui speciosi corporis acer
Et fidus custos, discrimen adire paratus
Quodlibet, inuicto Mauortis pectore campo.]

The same daie being the eleuenth of Maie, diuerse foot bands with shot and armed pikes were set forward into Scotland, with certeine péeces of artillerie, powder, and munition in good quantitie. First capteine Brickwell with his ensignes departed the towne, and then the companies of capteine Read, capteine Caruell, capteine Game, capteine Lambert, and capteine Erington. These old bands of Barwike conteined fiue hundred souldiours.

After them followed the companie of sir Robert Constable, their sergeant maior of thrée hundred shot, and the companie of sir Thomas Maners of two hundred shot. Lastlie marched foorth capteine Iohn Constable, and capteine Barwike with two hundred armed men. These twelue hundred footmen with fiue ensignes marched that night to Coldingham. Also for the better assurance of couenants and promises made on the behalfe of such lords of Scotland, as had made sute for this aid to be sent into their countrie for their assistance against them of the contrarie faction, there were certeine hostages sent into England by the same lords as it was thought expedient, for doubt of double dealing. The twelfe of Maie, they marched forward, and the same daie sir William Drurie, the earle of Lennox, and the other new made knights, with the horssemen, departed from Barwike, and at the Péece néere to Dunglas they ouertooke the footmen, and the same night all the horssemen and footmen came and incamped togither at Dunbar, being in all not past sixtéene hundred men. They had foure field peeces with them, and good store of powder. The next day being the thirteenth of Maie, and Whitsun euen, they made such spéed in their march, that they came vnto Edenburgh, where they found the earles of Morton, Mar, Glencarne, the lords Rithwen, Lindseie, Simple, Glames, Methuen, Ogiltre, and Catcart, with diuerse other gentlemen.

Hostages deliuered by the Scotish lords on the kings side.

The horsmen and footmen incampe at Dunbar.

Scotish lords of the kings side.

Héere also they vnderstood that the duke of Chatellerault and his partakers were departed from Lithquo, whither they were retired backe againe from Edenburgh, on knowledge had that the Englishmen were comming forwards towards them. The fouretéenth and fiftéenth day they laie still in Edenburgh, and the morrow after being the sixtéenth of that moneth, they marched forwards to Lithquo, and lodged in that towne that night, where they receiued aduertisements that the said duke of Chatellerault had broken vp his campe, after he had vpon his departure from the said towne of Lithquo attempted the winning of the castell of Glasco, and missing his purpose there, was driuen to retire with dishonour. The next morning being wednesdaie, the armie marched forwards, and the footmen laie that night at a place called Faukirke, a six miles from Lithquo: but the generall with the horssemen rode six miles further vnto Sterling, where they saw the yoong king. The next daie being the eightéenth of Maie, sir Robert Constable, Sargent Maior, with the rest of the capteins of the twelue hundred English

The duke of Chatellerault breaketh vp his campe.

The yoong king at Sterling.

5 footmen

footmen, and two hundred Scots footmen, the which were most part shot, marched a long iourneie, and came to lodge that night at Glasco, and the generall sir William Drurie came to them with the horssemen, and the most part of the noble men of Scotland that were on the kings side, which entred the towne and lodged in the same, with manie horssemen and footmen.

The duke of Chatellerault (as ye haue heard) had beene there, and besieged the castell that belonged to the king, but hearing of the Englishmens comming two daies before their approching thither, he raised his siege, and departed thence, with the losse of nine and twentie of his men. The nineteenth of Maie, sir William Drurie generall of the English power, being determined aforehand on a iourneie towards Dunbreton, sent foorth that morning before certeine vantcurrours on horssebacke, to staie all such as they found vpon the waie. This doone, he tooke with him certeine gentlemen, and some shot, and rode foorth towards Dunbreton, to view the straits and situation of that castell, within the which were at that present the lord Fleming that tooke vpon him as capteine thereof, the archbishop of saint Andrewes, and other their adherents, fréends to the duke of Chatellerault, and enimies to the lords that were about the king.

The generall goeth to view Dunbreton.

After sir William Drurie had viewed the castell, and taken the plot of the situation thereof, he sent his trumpettor to know who were within it, and to whose vse they kept it. They within the castell required to know what he was that sent to know the same. It was answered that it was the quéene of Englands generall of hir forces there in Scotland that made the demand. Wherevnto answer was returned, that they knew well he was not so ignorant as he séemed (as in deed he was not) but that he did well know that this castell was, and of long time had béene kept by the lord Fleming: and that accordinglie by him, his fréends and seruants it was now mainteined. Which answer being reported to the generall, he sent againe his trumpettor, to know if the lord Fleming would come foorth and parlée vpon assurance of honour to returne safelie. Wherevnto the lord Fleming consented, although not meaning so to doo: but by a subtill practise (as was thought) intended to wind him within danger. For there were some harquebusiers secretlie couched in couert, within whose reach when the generall was come himselfe alone on horssebacke, most dishonestlie (his trumpettor not yet being returned) they shot at him with great despite, meaning to haue killed him, without anie regard to the law of armes, or feare of God. But through the goodnes of the Lord almightie, that wicked practise missed the pretensed effect: for that worthie English knight receiued no bodilie hurt, but perceiuing their dealings, with a bold courage he bestowed his pistols as fréelie at them as they did their harquebuse shot at him, and so returned to his companie backe againe in safetie, yéelding to God due honour and thanks for his mercifull deliuerance from such a murtherous practise of his deadlie foes.

The generall sendeth to know who was within the castell, &c.

Lord Fleming is required to come to parlée with the generall.

The dishonorable dealing of the lord Fleming.

Vpon a new occasion to vnderstand the certeintie of that, whereof he had some inkling, the one and twentith of Maie, sir William Drurie accompanied with the said gentlemen and horssemen, went againe towards Dunbreton, to parlee with the lord Fleming vpon his further promise, that he would méet him three miles from the said castell. Wherevpon the said sir William Drurie sent an Englishman and a Scotishman to view the ground, which should be appointed foorth for their méeting which they found to be so néere to the castell, as was subiect to all their shot both great and small, and cleane contrarie to the promise: and so they declared to the capteine named Iohn Fleming, that was sent foorth of the castell to appoint the same, how it was neither indifferent nor méet for such a purpose. The capteine answered, that his maister was a man of honour, and stood vpon the same, and therefore would not hazard himselfe among horssemen wholie without the danger of the péece. Whereto

Sir William Drurie goeth againe towards Dunbreton.

He sendeth to view the ground, where he should méet with the lord Fleming.

the

the messengers replied, that the lord Fleming for his late euill dealing, was not to be credited in this case; neither comparable to the generall of the English armie, for he was there for the queene of England. And further they said, that for somuch as they had of late dealt so vniustlie contrarie to promise and the law of armes, and thereby so greatlie cracked their credits, stained their honesties and honour: they could not but wish that their generall should be well aduised, yer he did hazard himselfe anie more within their danger vpon their slipperie promises, except they would appoint some other place of parlée, as might be thought indifferent, according to their former offers, which would not be granted, and so they departed. Immediatlie wherevpon, to shew some péece of their double dealings, and vnfaithful practises towards the Englishmen: the Scots within the castell presentlie sent after the messengers a culuering shot for a farewell. Thus did they by practise iustifie the opinion that strangers to them haue long conceiued of their dealing: and which he saw full well (perhaps also prooued in some part) that said of the Scotish nations vntrustinesse, &c:

This is a common fault in the Scots.

Scotish honestie.

——— graue pectus abundat
Fraudibus ingenitis & non eget arte magistra.

Sir William Drurie then perceiuing that the meaning of the lord Fleming was not to deale simplie in this matter, touching a conference to be had betwixt them, returned to Glasco, where sir George Careie being maruellouslie inflamed with that vnhonest dealing of the lord Fleming, made earnest sute to the generall that he might send to him and offer him the combat in triall of this quarrell, sith it was more requisit that a gentleman souldier should stand in those questions than a generall, considering his calling and office. "The generall thanked sir George verie courteouslie, but yet said, that it stood him vpon to search out these matters to the vttermost (as he would haue doone in déed) were not his commission and charge (as was well knowne) to be otherwise imploied: Yet (quoth he) sith your sute is so reasonable (and the whole companie and lawes of armes alloweth of it) I grant your request, and therein doo as best shall séeme to your birth and estimation." Herevpon sir George Careie streightwaies deuised a letter of challenge, and deliuered it to an herald to beare from him vnto the said lord Fleming, the tenour whereof here insueth.

The lord Flemings double dealing.

Sir George Careis sute.

T. Churchyard.

A letter of chalenge sent to the lord Fleming.

A COPIE OF SIR GEORGE CAREIS FORESAID LETTER TO THE LORD FLEMING.

LORD Fleming, if either your birth or bringing vp had wrought in you a noble mind, or estimation of credit, hardlie would you haue so much forgotten and staind your honour, as in a parlée of late with our generall you did. At whom vilelie and vnhonorablie shooting, you falsed that assurance of warre which souldiers submit themselues vnto: and trained him to your treason vnder trust, a thing heretofore not accustomed, nor presentlie to be allowed of. He assuredlie pretending your owne and your freends good, commoditie to your countrie, and quietnesse to the state, twise abased and submitted himselfe, comming to confer with you thereof: but your pride ioined with a harmefull meaning, to those that you professe best vnto, and selfe wilfull vaineglorie, without cause why, refused that which reason and honour commanded you to haue doone. Therefore, bicause his calling is presentlie with his charge better than yours, and mine not inferior;

The lord Fleming charged with treacherie;

With pride, harmefull meaning and vaineglorie.

inferior; I summon you reasonablie to excuse that fault supposed to be yours, or else to mainteine that traitorous act with your person against mine in fight, when, where, or how you dare. Otherwise I will baffull your good name, sound with the trumpet your dishonour, and paint your picture with the heels vpward, and beare it in despite of your selfe. In the meane time I attend your answer. From Glasco, the 22 of Maie 1570.

Subscribed GEORGE CAREIE.

THE COPIE OF THE LORD FLEMINGS ANSWER.

GEORGE Careie, I haue receiued your brainelesse letter, making mention of my false and treasonable dealing against your generall, in shooting vnder trust, so vilelie against my honour and truth, traitorouslie trained him vnder my trust: which is altogither false and vntrue. And howbeit your generall came by the house of Dunglas by my appointment, which I suffered, and I appointed one place of méeting, six men of either partie which he refused, and he departed and certeine of his companie came bragging vp the riuers side towards the house, viewing the same and the ground thereabouts, shooting your harquebusses against the same: I could doo no lesse but present you with such as I had. Whereas you write of your generals calling to be presentlie better than mine, and yours not inferiour; when your generall challengeth me therof, I shall giue answer. And as for you, I will not be inferiour to a better than you, or anie souldier vnder your generals charge. Whereas you summon me (as you call it) reasonablie to excuse that falt supposed to be mine owne, or else to mainteine that traitorous act with my person against yours; you shall wit, I haue gentlemen of honour, seruant souldiers to me, as ye are to your generall, which may be your fellowes, shall defend the same against you and your false and vntrue inuented writing; and were not the charge I present, or how soone I can be relieued of the same, I should lowlie my person to méet you six English miles, or anie other person. Howbeit ye be but one souldier, assure your selfe from this daie foorth, I will not receiue no such inuented message, for I haue little to doo with Englishmen, ye may raile vpon my honorable name as ye please. You shall haue as honorable gentlemen as your selfe against you fighting. Take this for answer.

The lord Flemings defense against the charge of treacherie.

Lord Fleming beareth him bold of his gentrie.

IOHN LORD FLEMING.

THE REPLIE OF SIR GEORGE CAREIE VPON THE LORD FLEMINGS ANSWER.

LORD Fleming, often the Flemings after noone answer smelleth more of wine than wit. But as to that common crime, the custome of their countrie yeeldeth them part of pardon; so your common acquaintance with the same condition, knowne to be verie great, shall to me somewhat excuse your whitlesse writing, wherein first you disalow my right recitall of your traitorous dealing, by tearming it false and vntrue. For answer, know this, the truth my pen hath written, by the witnesse of a number; and my hand I vow shall mainteine the same

Sir George Carie voweth to mainteine no lesse than he hath written.

same before the world at all times. But you in denieng it, haue both falslie and vniustlie lied in your throte, and dare neither defend nor disproue that in deeds, which in words you haue doone. Whereas you write, that our generall passed Dunglas, by your appointment which you suffered, therein you doo manifestlie saie vnhonorablie and vntrulie; for that you had no knowledge of our first comming, but saluted vs with your shot: and we likewise skirmished with your men euen at their owne strength, vntill we viewed the ground about at our pleasure. And touching the appointment of six of either part, easilie that maie be knowne to be a plaine lie; séeing we had neither parlée nor conference with you before, to appoint place or méeting. But whereas you saie, you could doo no lesse but present vs with such as you had, therein you confesse and acknowledge the dishonour and treason that I charged you withall, taking vpon your selfe that fault, which I supposed to haue bin of your seruants, for our generall retired his companie farre from him. And his trumpet being with you, approched himselfe alone to haue parled, when vnder trust you discharged two harquebusses against him: an act rather séemelie for a cowardlie traitor, than one that professeth to be a souldier.

The lord Fleming in seeking to excuse accuseth himselfe the more manifestlie.

Finallie, whereas you let me wit, that you haue gentlemen of honour, seruant soldiers vnto you, that maie be my fellowes, which should defend the chalenge: that toucheth so néere your selfe, as with honor you should not haue refused it. First I thinke scorne to be anie waies inferior to you, though but a souldier, too honourable a name for you, being better in birth, and vnsteined with reproch as you haue béene. Secondlie, I haue more, and as good gentlemen vnder my conduct, as your selfe haue vnder your charge, which shall answer as many as you can bring, if with number ye meane to combat, and will put them to that which you dare not doo your selfe. But assure you, my quarell shall remaine euerlasting, except the proofe of your owne person against mine maie end it: and when you shall dare come out of your crowes nest, I will be readie to ride an hundred Scotish miles, to méet with you in anie indifferent place. And vntill that time, I shall account you deuoid of honestie and honor, vnworthie to march vpon ground, or keepe companie with men. From Hamilton, the 29 of Maie 1570.

Subscribed GEORGE CAREIE.

Sir George Careie his answer to the lord Flemings brag of his gentrie.

Oh valiant heart!

Though manie waies were sought by message and otherwise, to mooue the lord Fleming to defend with battell the fault and follie committed: yet it would not be; for he shifted off the matter, so as it well appered, it was but lost labor further to attempt him therein. The two and twentith of Maie, the earle of Lennox, accompanied with the earle of Glencarne, the lord Simple, and other his friends, feodaries and alies, mustered on the moore before the towne of Glasco the number of foure thousand horssemen and footmen, that were there assembled to serue him, in presence of sir William Drurie, and other of the English capteins. The three and twentith of Maie, sir William Drurie, the earle of Lennox, and other the Scotish lords, and the whole armie marched towards the castell of Hamilton, and sending a trumpettor, and one with him to parlée with the capteine named Andrew Hamilton, he agreed to come foorth, and one other with him, to talke with sir William Drurie, and one other gentleman, such as he should thinke good to bring with him to a place somewhat distant, as well from the castell as the campe.

A muster of Scotishmen to the number of 4000.

The armie goeth toward Hamilton.

Herevpon sir William Drurie with his sword and target, and sir George Careie with a case of pistols went foorth to the appointed place, whither the capteine of the castell also with an halbert, and one other with him, hauing likewise a case

of

of pistols, came according to appointment. But after they had talked togither, and that the capteine would not in anie wise consent to deliuer vp the castell, he with his associat returned to their hold againe, and the English generall, with sir George Careie, came backe to the campe, and therevpon the English ordinance was presentlie placed about the castell, and shot verie sore all that night: but did no great hurt, by reason they were but field péeces, and not fit for batterie. They in the castell likewise shot verie sore at the Englishmen, but did no great harme, sauing that there were three of the footmen hurt. In the palace which was a pretie house the duchesse of Chatellerault was at that time resident, to whom sir William Drurie did repaire, offering hir all the courtesie he might, with all that to hir apperteined, willing hir not to feare anie thing: and for hir more assurance, he committed hir to the charge of sir Thomas Maners.

Sir William Drurie talketh with the capteine of Hamilton castell.

The English ordinance shooteth at the castell.

The duchesse of Chatellerault committed to the charge of an English knight.

The foure and twentith of Maie, the generall gaue summons vnto the castell. And bicause they within stoode stiffelie in deniall to make surrender thereof vnto him, he was driuen to send to Striueling for some great peeces of ordinance méet to make batterie. In the meane time, the earles of Lennox and Morton with the horssemen, and some shot, marched into the countrie to a verie faire house of the abbat of Kilwinnings neere adioining, whose name was Gawen Hamilton, which house they burnt and vtterlie defaced, spoiling it, and rasing it downe to the earth. They burnt and spoiled also seuentéene houses more belonging to men of that surname, situate néere thereabouts, whereof one belonged vnto a lard that had married with the sister of Iames Hamilton of Bodweie haugh, which slue the regent. There were also burnt seuen other faire houses belonging to others that were not of that surname: but yet were of their friends and alies. Moreouer, there were diuerse other of their kindred and alies that came in with humble submission, and assured themselues, firmelie promising from thensefoorth their obedience to the king.

Great ordinance sent for.

The earles of Lennox and Morton.

The abbeie of Kilwinnings burnt.

The fiue and twentith of Maie sir William Drurie the generall retired his people vpon a policie from the castell, and left it without either watch or ward for that night. The next daie he sent sir George Careie to the castell with a trumpettor, to know if they within would deliuer it vp, before the great ordinance should come, which the capteine vtterlie refused to doo. Wherevpon the small shot clapt suddenlie round about the house, and kept them within occupied, till that a whole culuering and a demie culuering came to them from Sterling, the which with foure of the English small field péeces were in the night following planted against the castell, and being shot off, a bullet of one of the great péeces passed through the walles into the castell.

The castell summoned.

The castell of Hamilton battered.

The seuen and twentith of Maie about foure of the clocke in the morning, the generall sent a trumpettor to giue summons againe to the castell: vnto whome the capteine answered, that he cared not for them, and so bad them doo their woorst, for he would not yéeld the place to them at anie hand. Wherevpon immediatlie the whole tire began to plaie in such sort, that within foure volées both sides of the house were battered through: at the sight whereof the capteine was so dismaied, that foorthwith he cried for parlée, and so the shot was staied. Now vpon humble sute the capteine was admitted to speake with the generall, and so comming to talke with him, at length he agreed to yeeld: wherevpon, the prouost marshall was sent into the castell to take possession thereof. The generall permitted them verie courteouslie to depart with their furniture, and other such stuffe as they could carie with them. There came out of the house nine and thirtie persons one and other, foure and thirtie men, three boies, and two women, and therewith was the castell blowne vp and rased, and the armie laie that night in the towne, and in places about it.

The castell eftsoones summoned.

The capteine of the castell demandeth parlée

The next daie, being the eight and twentith of Maie they departed from thence:

the earles of Lennox, Mar, and Glencarne, with other of the nobilitie of Scotland of the kings part taking their leaues, with their companie returned to Glasco: and sir George Careie with the horssemen came that night to Lithquo, where also the rest of the English forces met. A castell called Combernawd belonging to the lord Fleming was yéelded to the generals hands, who vpon bond of assurance that the house should remaine at the deuotion of the queene of England, was contented to spare it from fire and spoile. But this was not the first nor last courtesie which the generall shewed in this iournie, vnto such as in anie respect were thought worthie of his fauour. Amongst other the ladie of Lidington being great with child, mistrusting hir selfe (or hir husbands double dealing towards our countrie) in great feare began to flie. But sir William Drurie hearing thereof, sent hir word he came not to make warres with women, but rather to shew pitie to the weake and comfortlesse: and therevpon she staid, and had no further harme.

The ladie of Lidington.

The nine and twentith of Maie, when the armie should dislodge from Lithquo, the generall called for the prouost of the towne, and commanded him to prepare with all expedition, to receiue a iust punishment and correction thorough the whole towne for treason, and vnpardonable offenses committed: and declaring that the inhabitants thereof had succoured and supported traitors to the realme of England, and likewise to their owne king, contrarie to the leagues and quietnesse of both the realmes of England and Scotland, for which cause he was fullie resolued to ouerthrow that town and receptacle of traitors. If therefore there were anie women in childbed or impotent people within that towne, he gaue warning thus aforehand to conueie them out of it: and herewith also commanding each capteine and souldier vnder his charge, to sée due execution of that which he purposed in this behalfe to haue doone, he willed the prouost to appoint a place conuenient, into the which the goods of the towne might be brought, to the end that the same should neither bee spoiled by the English souldiers, neither yet consumed through vehemencie of fire, but to be preserued all wholie to the Scotishmens vse. Further, he granted, that euerie noble mans lodging and capteins house shoud bée saued from fire.

Th. Churchyard.

The towne of Leith threatened to be burned.

But now the time being come for this determined execution, the earle of Morton, that still accompanied the English generall, offered himselfe as an intercessor to intreat and sue for a pardon, bringing afore the generall a multitude of wailing people, whose mournfull and most pitious cries were lamentable and verie importunat. The generall hearing their requests, made answer, that for manie causes the towne ought to be destroied, considering how diuerse enimies (whose insolent practises were not to be suffered) had alwaies there a common resort to conferre of their wicked deuises: and further (quoth he) the courtesie that is shewed to such places of repaire, hath imboldened the rest of Scotland to vse open violence and secret villanies, to the preiudice of Gods glorie, hinderance of the weale publike, and breach of good lawes and policies: and therefore it was fit and most méet for a warning to thousands in that case of extremitie, to rase out such monuments of mischiefe. But at length, notwithstanding these heauie words vttered by sir William Drurie, the people of all sorts so preassed about him, and made such pitifull cries and sorowfull noise, with children sucking of their mothers breasts, that he taking ruth of their miserable estates, at this their lamentable sute, and speciallie at the great instance of the earle of Morton, who came bareheaded to speake for them, the generall was contented to saue the towne and people therein: taking good band and assurance of the prouost and chiefest of the towne, that they should follow the campe, and at all times appeare when they were called for at Berwike, and there to submit themselues, their towne and goods, to the clemencie of the quéens highnesse; and to such order as the earle of Sussex

The earle of Morton, an intercessor for the towne of Lithquo.

Lithquo spared from deserued destruction.

hir maiesties generall lieutenant should by consent thinke necessarie; to which band and conditions they of Lithquo agréed. And for that their regent was slaine, and none since instituted to whome they had giuen faith of allegiance; they confessed, that none might command them anie waie without licence of him, to whome they had made this band, sith to him both their promise and obligation was passed. And in this sort they continued bound to him for their good behauiors. The prouost and other enter bands.

The duke of Chatellerault's palace in Lithquo was yet burnt and rased, and marching to another house belonging to the said duke, called Kenile, distant from Lithquo about a mile or more, they likewise burned the same. Thus hauing doone their pleasures at Lithquo, and in the countrie about that towne, they marched from thense to a proper house and castell, belonging to the lord Seton, called Neitherie, which the enimies had fortified. But yet when the ladie of that house came to the generall, and made humble petition on hir knées for his fauor, offering to him the keies of that place in most humble wise; she found such courtesie at his hands, that with condition that she and a baron with hir should enter bands for assurance, that the castell should euer afterwards remaine at the quéene of Englands pleasure, he tooke hir the keies againe, leauing hir in possession of hir house and goods, without dooing hir anie further displeasure. The duke of Chatellerault's palace burned. Neitherie. The ladie Seton.

This night the armie came to Edenburgh, where certeine of the companie that made hast to get thither somewhat before the rest, receiued some discourtesie: for they were spoiled in the streets of their furniture, and such other things as they had about them. But when the generall with the rest of the armie was come néere to the towne, and had knowledge of such foule disorder, he thought not good to enter the towne, without standing so sure on his gard, that he should not néed to doubt any double dealing, or crooked measure. Which sure handling of the matter did not onelie shew the deuiser thereof to haue good conduct and experience: but in verie déed auoided no small inconuenience and mischiefe, that by the enimies was finelie contriued (through a fraie to be made in the suburbs) so that a great slaughter had burst out suddenlie, and no small bloudshed followed, if God and good guiding of the people had not staied and turned awaie that imminent danger. To be short, the generall sent sir Thomas Maners with two bands of souldiors, vnder one ensigne, to seize vpon the gates at their first arriuall, and so the pretensed conspiracie was happilie preuented; for the residue of the power was no sooner entred the towne, but that kéeping themselues in order to cléere the streets, and to command the inhabitants the better, they spent that night standing on their gard, as the case required. When the morning was come, sir William Drurie smelling out the couert practise, and naughtie meaning of some, demanded iustice and strict punishment of such offenses and things as he would truelie laie to the charges of some in that towne: and told them flatlie, if remedie were not the sooner prouided, and satisfaction made for the follies and outrage committed, he would be quicklie reuenged, to the displeasure and shame of all the contriuers of that same mad and mischéefous presumption. Some of the English armie spoiled in Edenburgh. *S. Churchyard.* Sir Thomas Maners with his two bands vnder one ensigne.

Herevpon, not onelie such things as had bin taken from those few souldiors, which first entred the towne ouer night, were not onelie restored: but diuerse malefactors were also deliuered to the generall, to be executed and ordered by his discretion; who séeing their submission, mercifullie and franklie sent them awaie vnto their capteins: and so these broiles were pacified and things set in quiet. After they had rested in Edenburgh a two daies, the first of Iune they dislodged. The generall comming to Seton the chiefe castell and house of the lord Seton, the ladie was readie there also to present him the keies, with like humble submission as before: and therevpon receiued the like fauor for this house, Restitution made of things taken awaie from the souldiors. Seton castell spared at the suite of the ladie.

Anderwike saued from ruine by occasion.

as was shewed to hir for the other. That night they lodged at Hadington. It was determined that the pile of Anderwike should haue beene ouerthrowne: but vpon sute and bands taken of diuerse gentlemen, the place was spared, and the offendors receiued to mercie. And so the next daie, the generall with the horssemen came through to Berwike, a iournie of two and thirtie long miles.

The footbands lodged the same night at Coldingham with sir Robert Conestable who the next daie the third of Iune came with them vnto Berwike. And so ended this iournie, to the great commendation of the generall and capteins: and consequentlie to all the gentlemen and souldiors that had beene foorth in the same, as well for the good successe which it pleased God the author of all good and prosperous euents to grant to them, as also for their dutifull obedience to all warlike discipline, their painfull trauels susteined, their manlie forwardnesse and skilfull practise in martiall polices still shewed, as occasion of seruice was anie where offered. But now to returne to the dooings at home. Whilest this iournie was made (as ye haue heard) into Scotland, the fiue and twentith of Maie in the morning was found hanging on the bishop of Londons palace gate in Pauls churchyard, a bull which latelie had beene sent from Rome, conteining diuerse horrible treasons against the queens maiestie: for the which one Iohn Felton was shortlie after apprehended, and committed to the tower of London. ¶ And because the said bull may appeare and shew it selfe in nature and kind, it is behoofull here to interlace some rorings of the same, as I haue gathered them out of one that I am sure had a conscience to tell the truth: which I therefore am the willinger to insert, that the world may iudge the heinousnesse of Feltons fact, in fixing so pestilent a libell vpon a prelats gate in a place of common concourse, and against the queens excellent maiestie.

The happie successe of the foresaid viage vndertaken by the English.

I. Stow.

A bull from Rome hanged on the bishop of Londons gate.

A. F.

See the view of a seditious bull ripped vp by Iohn Iewell late bishop of Salisburie printed 1582.

[a] SENTENTIA DECLARATORIA CONTRA ELISABETH, &c.

[a] Pag. 3.

[b] Pag. 7.
[c] Pag. 23.
[d] Pag. 36.
[e] Pag. 42.
[f] Pag. 44.
[g] Pag. 49.
[h] Pag. 50.
[i] Pag. 63.
[k] Pag. 67.
[l] Pag. 74.
[m] Pag. 79.

PIUS [b] episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, &c. [c] Missæ sacrificium, preces, ieiunia, ciborum delectum, cœlibatum illa (regina Elisabetha) aboleuit. [d] Eadem occupato regno supremi ecclesiæ capitis locum in omni Anglia, eiúsque præcipuam authoritatem atque iurisdictionem monstrosè sibi vsurpans, regnum ipsum rursum in miserum exitium reuocauit. [e] Regium concilium ex Anglica nobilitate conflatum diremit. [f] Hominibus obscuris compleuit. [g] Hominibus hæreticis compleuit. [h] Ad quam velut ad asylum omnium infestissimi perfugium inuenerunt, &c. [i] Declaramus prædictam Elisabetham, eíque adhærentes in prædictis, anathematis sententiam incurrisse. [k] Quinetiam ipsam prætenso regni prædicti iure, necnon omni & quocunque dominio, dignitate, priuilegióque priuatam. [l] Præcipimus & interdicimus vniuersis & singulis proceribus, subditis, & populis, & alijs prædictis, ne illi eiúsque monitis, mandatis & legibus audeant obedire: qui secus egerint, eos simili anathematis sententia innodamus. [m] Omnes qui illi quomodocunque iurauerunt, à iuramento huiusmodi ac omni prorsus dominij fidelitatis & obsequij debito perpetuò absolutos declaramus, &c.

[a] A SENTENCE DENOUNCED AGAINST ELIZABETH, &c.

[a] Pag. 3.

[b] Pag. 7.
[c] Pag. 23.
[d] Pag. 36.
[e] Pag. 42.
[f] Pag. 44.
[g] Pag. 49.

PIUS [b] bishop, seruant of Gods seruants, &c. [c] Shée (quéene Elisabeth) hath cleane put awaie the sacrifice of the masse, praiers, fastings, choise or difference of meats and single life. [d] She inuaded the kingdome, and by vsurping monstrouslie the place of the supreme head of the church in all England, and the cheefe authoritie and iurisdiction of the same, hath againe brought the said realme into miserable destruction. [e] Shee hath remooued the noble men of England from the kings councell. [f] She hath made hir councell of poore, darke, beggerlie fellows, and hath placed them ouer the people. [g] These councellors are not onlie poore and beggerlie, but also heretikes.

tikes. [h] Vnto hir all such as are the woorst of the people resort, and are by hir re- [h] Pag. 50.
ceiued in to safe protection, &c. [i] We make it knowen, that Elisabeth aforesaid, and [i] Pag. 63.
as manie as stand on hir side in the matters abouenamed, haue run into the danger
of our cursse. [k] We make it also knowen, that we haue depriued hir from that right [k] Pag. 67.
shée pretended to haue in the kingdome aforesaid, and also from all and euerie hir
authoritie, dignitie, and priuilege. [l] We charge and forbid all and euerie the nobles, [l] Pag. 74.
and subiects, and people, and others aforesaid, that they be not so hardie as to
obeie hir or hir will, or commandements, or laws, vpon paine of the like accursse
vpon them. [m] We pronounce that all whosoeuer by anie occasion haue taken their oth [m] Pag. 79.
vnto hir, are for euer discharged of such their oth, and also from all fealtie and ser-
uice, which was due to hir by reason of hir gouernment, &c.

Héere hath euerie true subiect to sée whether Felton was not a fréend to Pius Quintus, in so easilie being induced and drawne to prefér his procéedings against the lords annointed; for whose sake if he had had a thousand liues, true loialtie would haue inuited him to the losse of them all, if occasion had so required; considering that hir maiestie hath alwaies deserued well of hir people, for whome she euer had a tender care, as one reporteth that saith he heard with his owne ears, hir maiestie commending hir subiects to the carefull and wise gouernment of hir counsell and iudges, when shée spake thus vnto them. Haue care ouer my people. You haue my place. Do you that which I ought to doo. They are my people. Euerie man oppresseth them, and spoileth them without mercie. They cannot reuenge their quarrell, nor help themselues. See vnto them, see vnto them, for they are my charge. I charge you euen as God hath charged me I care not for my selfe, my life is not deare to me, my care is for my people. I praie God whosoeuer succéed me be as carefull as I am. They which might know what cares I beare, would not thinke I tooke anie great ioie in wearing the crowne.

Sée the view of the seditious bull, pag 72, 73.

The quéenes words.

Could a mother speake more tenderlie for hir infant, than this good quéene speaketh for hir people: And shall the people be so ungratious to a prince so gratious, as to attempt anie thing that should discontent hir highnesse? A mercifull hart shée hath alwaies had, before she atteined the crowne, a mercifull hart shée hath now possessing the scepter: manie times remitting and pardoning offenses intended and practised against hir owne person: which C. O. noteth in his Eirenarchia siue Elisabetha, speaking of hir maiestie in this point verie trulie and vncontrollablie:

Multiplus Elisabeth virtus.

Nobilis & præstans est ignoscentia virtus,
Hæc quanquam potis est, si vult, excelsior & vis
Mentis inest, iram strictis compescit habenis.
Delictis mulctam grauibus quandóque remittens.
Hoc priuata priùs nondum diademate sumpto
Fecerat, hoc facit & princeps diademate sumpto.]

The Mortons executed.

The seauen and twentith of Maie, Thomas Morton and Christopher Morton of Yorkshire, being both condemned of high treason for the late rebellion in the north, were drawen from the tower of London to Tiborne, and there hanged, headed, and quartered. In this yeare also conspired certeine gentlemen with other in the countie of Norffolke, whose purpose was on Midsummer daie at Harlestone faire, with sound of trumpet and drum to haue raised a number, and then to proclame their diuelish pretense against strangers and others. This matter was vttered by thomas Ket one of the conspiracie vnto Iohn Kenseie, who forthwith sent the same Ket with a conestable to the next iustice, before whome and other iustices he opened the whole matter. Wherevpon maister Drue Drurie immediatlie apprehended Iohn Throckmorton, and after him manie gentlemen of the citie of Norwich,

Conspiracie in Norffolke and wherevpon it tooke beginning.

Norwich, and the countie of Norffolke, who were all committed to prison, and at the next sessions of goale deliuerie at the castell of Norwich, the seauentéenth of Iulie before sir Robert Catlin knight lord chéefe iustice, Gilbert Gerard the quéenes attornie generall, and other iustices, ten of them were indicted of high treason, and some others of contempt. Diuerse of them were condemned, and had iudgement the one and twentith of August: and afterward three of them were hanged, bowelled, and quartered, which were Iohn Throckmorton of Norwich gentleman, who stood mute at his arreignment, but at the gallows confessed himselfe to be the chéefe conspirator, and that none had deserued to die but he, for that he had procured them. With him was executed Thomas Brooke of Rolsbie gentleman on the thirtith of August; and George Dedman of Cringleford gentleman was likewise executed the second of September.

The duke of Norffolke remooued.

The fourth of August, the duke of Norffolke was remooued from the tower of London to the Charterhouse néere vnto Smithfield. The same daie was arreigned at the Guildhall of London Iohn Felton, for hanging the foresaid bull of pope Pius Quintus on the gate of the bishop of Londons palace: and also two yoong men for coining and clipping of coine, who all were found guiltie of high treason, and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, and quartered. The eight of August Iohn Felton was drawen from Newgate into Paules churchyard, and there hanged on a gallows new set vp that morning before the bishops palace gate; and being cut downe aliue, he was bowelled and quartered. After this, the same morning the shiriffes returned to Newgate, and so to Tiborne with two yoong men, which were there executed for coining and clipping, as is aforesaid.

Felton arreigned with other offendors, and all condemned.

Felton and others executed for treason.

A iourneie into Scotland by the earle of Sussex.

The two and twentith of August the earle of Sussex, lord lieutenant generall for the queenes maiestie in the north, and the lord Scroope warden of the west marches, with diuerse others, marched from Carleil with the quéens armie and force of the north as well of horssemen as footmen into Scotland, passing ouer the riuers of Eske, Leuine and Sarke which riuer of Sarke parteth England and Scotland, and so to Dornocke wood belonging to Edward Vroue, the lord of Bonshow, and then to Annan a strong house of the lord Harris, which they rased and ouerthrew with others thereabouts: from thense to Hodham, which they burnt and blew vp: from thense to Kennell, a towne belonging to the lord Cowhill, which they burnt: from thense to Donfrise, which they sacked and spoiled of such paltrie as the fugitiues had left, and also ouerthrew a sumptuous house belonging to the quéene of Scots, in the kéeping of the lord Harris. Then passing the riuer of Longher, they burnt and spoiled Cowhilles, and Powtracke, and returned to Donfrise, and so to the towne of Bankend, which they burnt, with another house perteining to William Maxwell of the Iles, and so to the castell of Carlauarocke standing in a marish, iust to an arme of the sea, which parteth Annerdale and Gallowaie; which castell they blew vp, and returned homeward, transporting their ordinance ouer quicksands and bogs, where neuer the like was doone before, and so came to Dornocke wood.

Wast by fire and sword in Scotland.

Knights made by the earle of Sussex.

The eight of August they marched towards Carleill, where (by the waie) they burnt and ouerthrew two houses, the one being Arthur Creams alias Carleill, the other rich George, two notable théeues. The same daie at night after the lord lieutenants comming to Carleill he made knights, sir Edward Hastings, sir Francis Russell, sir Valentine Browne, sir William Hilton, sir Robert Stapleton, sir Henrie Curwen, sir Simon Musgraue. This yéere the fift of October chanced a terrible tempest of wind and raine both by sea and land, by meanes whereof manie ships perished, and much hurt was doone in diuerse parts of the realme, as by a little pamphlet set foorth therof by Thomas Knell minister appéereth, the effect whereof insueth. About midnight the water ouerflowed so much, that men were faine to forsake their beds, and

Tempest by sea and land which did much hurt. *Tho. Knell.*

What hurt this tempest did in Bedfordshire.

and one woman drowned, where also were lost a great number of sheepe, oxen, kine, horsse, and other cattell. Among other there, one maister Cartwright gentleman, hauing his house inclosed round about, the water came in so much, that a cart being laden with thornes did swim about the ground. He lost by the same floud, sheepe, and other cattell, to the value of an hundred pounds. The same gentleman had a close gate by the high waies side, where the water ran ouer so extremelie, that at the fall thereof it made such an hole, that it was fortie foot déepe: so that no man could passe that waie without great danger. To the filling vp of the said hole or pit, was cast in by the men of the said towne fiue and twentie lodes of faggots, and twentie lodes of horsse doong, which said faggots and horsse doong filled not the hole. Also one maister Lée at the friers in Bedford, hauing a faire yard, wherein was great store of elme trees, whereof thréescore were blowen downe, with the roots pulled cleane out of the ground. Also he had a close of cónies that were cleane destroied.

A woonder of an hole made in the ground by a water course.

The sea brake in betwixt Wisbich and Walsorken, and at the crosse keies drowning Tilneie, and old Lin, saint Marie Teding, saint Marie Tid, saint Iohns Wauple, Walton and Walsocken, Emneie, Iarmans and Stowbridge, all being the space of ten miles. At the crosse keies the goodman of the inne had built an house with a strong foundation ioining vnto an other house being old and not so strong, wherein were certeine ghests. And when the water came in so violentlie, the goodman of the house being in the stronger house, called the men out of the old house, and they would haue gone downe the stairs, but the water was so high that they could not come downe, wherefore they went backe againe, and brake anhole into the other house, where they went thorough, and the last man was no sooner in, but the old house fell downe. The walles of the houses were broken downe, and the horsses that were tied at the manger (which was made fast in the ground) did swim in the water, when the stable was cleane carried awaie, vntill the waters were asswaged, and were saued aliue, and the people were constreined to get vp to the highest parts of the house, and so to be carried awaie in botes.

What hurt this tempest did in the countie of Norffolke.

At Yarmouth a great part of the bridge was carried awaie. The house vpon the hauen called the hauen house, wherein was one Nicholas Iossellin the hauen man and his son, with all their tooles, were carried into the marishes six miles from the hauen, where it stood vpright, and where they abode long without meat or drinke. Also at Iermans Bridgestréet was verie much hurt doone by the extreame floods that were there. Also one Thomas Smith of Yarmouth lost a ship, with seauen men and a boie in it. Also at Newarke by Yarmouth were lost twelue saile. Also a great hulke, laden with oile and pitch, was lost at Worreie sand, and about twentie men lost therein, and thirtie saued by the hulke bote. These townes and villages were ouerflowne, that is to saie, Wisbich, Guiborne, Parson Droue, and Hobshouse. This Hobshouse being an almes house (and the water breaking downe the wals of it) the wind blew the cloths off from the bed of a poore man and his wife: who being cold, awaked, and suddenlie stept out of his bed to reach vp his cloths, and slipt vp to the bellie in water, and then he thinking himselfe to be in danger (as he was in déed) and knowing the best waie to escape the danger of the water, he tooke his wife on his necke, and carried hir awaie, and so were both saued.

A péece of Yarmouth bridge borne awaie with water.

What hurt this tempest did in the bishoprike of Elie.

At the same time in Wisbich was a garden, a tennise plaie, and a bowling allie walled about with bricke (which was worth twentie pounds by yeare to the owner) was quite destroied by the water. Mumbie chappell, the whole towne was lost, except thrée houses. A ship was driuen vpon an house, the sailers thinking they had béene vpon a rocke, committed themselues to God: and thrée of the marriners lept out of the ship, and chanced to take hold on the house top, and so saued themselues: and the wife of the same lieng in childbed, by climing vp into the top of the

What hurt this tempest did in Lincolneshire.

the house, was also saued by the marriners, hir husband and child being both drowned. Likewise, the church was wholie ouerthrowne except the stéeple. Betwéene Boston and Newcastell were threescore sea vessels, as small ships, craires, and such like, lost vpon the coasts of Boston, Humerston, Marsh chappell, Tetnie, Stepneie Nercots, Kelbie, and Grimsbie, where no ship can come in without a pilot, which were all lost, with goods, corne, and cattell, with all the salt cotes, where the chiefe and finest salt was made, were vtterlie destroied, to the vtter vndooing of manie a man, and great lamentation both of old and yoong.

Threescore sea vessels lost in this tempest.

Wentford bridge, being verie strong, of eight arches in length, had three of the arches broken, and cleane carried awaie. Master Smith at the swan there had his house (being three stories high) ouerflowed vnto the third storie, and the wals of the stable were broken downe, and the horsses tied to the manger were all drowned. Manie men had great losse, as well of sheepe, kine, oxen, great mares, colts of the breed of the great horsses, and other cattell innumerable, of which the names manie of them shall here follow. Master Pelham lost eleuen hundred shéepe at Mumbie chappell. In Summercote were lost fiue hundred sheepe, that were of the inhabitants there. Also betwéene Humerston and Grimsbie were lost eleuen hundred shéepe of one master Spensers, whose sheepherd about middaie, comming to his wife, asked his dinner: and she being more bold than manerlie, said, he should haue none of hir. Then he chanced to looke toward the marishes where the sheepe were, and saw the water breake in so fiercelie, that the shéepe would be lost, if they were not brought from thense, said, that he was not a good shéepherd that would not venture his life for his shéepe, and so went streight to driue them from thense, but he and his shéepe, were both drowned, and after the water being gone, he was found dead, standing vpright in a ditch.

Great losse of cattell both great and small.

Scripture abused.

Master Thimblebie lost two hundred and twentie sheepe, master Dimocke lost foure hundred shéepe, and master Marsh fiue hundred, master Madison lost a ship, master William Askugh of Kelseie, sir Hugh Askugh, master Merin, master Fitz Williams of Maplithorpe, lost by estimation twentie thousand cattell, one and other. Boorne was ouerflowne vnto the midwaie of the height of the church. Steeping was wholie carried awaie, where was a waine lode of willow tops, the bodie of the waine with the willowes carried one waie, and the axiltrée and wheeles an other waie. In the towne of saint Edes, the water flowed into the towne in such abundance, that it ran thorough the towne and church, being in the middest therof, hauing about the churchyard a bricke wall of two yards high, was so ouerflowne, that botes were rowed ouer it, without touching of the same. Also a litle from Huntington, were three men riding vpon the causeie, being then ouerflowne (the water on the causeie being not deepe) and thinking no danger therein chanced to come into a place where the water had galled awaie the earth, and the grauell, were carried awaie with the water: and willowes growing on both sides the waie, two of them caught hold on the willowes and left their horsses, and saued themselues: and the third chanced to catch a verie little twig of willow betwéene his fingers, hauing verie little hold, and forsaking his horsse, which was carried a great waie from him, had much paine to kéepe his hold on the twig, and hold his head aboue the water, and his horsse returning with force against the streame, came againe vnto him, and vnder him: by which meanes he set his feet vpon him, and gat better hold of the willow, and so saued himselfe, and the horsse was immediatlie carried awaie, that he neuer saw him after.

What hurt this tempest did in Huntingtonshire.

A man woonderfullie preserued from drowning.

Also Holland, Leuerington, Newton chappell in the sea, long Stutton and Holbich were ouerflowne. And in this countrie also was great losse of cattell. In the low parts in Moreland, in a little towne called Cliffield, there was a man, his wife, and a sucking child in hir armes ouerwhelmed and slaine by the violence of the waters, and of the boisterous winds. The water called Auen, that passeth by the towne called

What hurt this tempest did in Staffordshire and Warwickeshire.

called Stratford vpon Auen, did run with such violence, that meeting with the water called the Seuerne, droue it backe ten miles against the course, ouerflowing much ground, and drowning much cattell. In Newport panell were two houses ouerthrowne, and in one of them an old man and an old woman were ouerwhelmed and slaine. And in the same towne, on the backe side of the Saracens head, the water sprang out of the hard grauellie ground, and flowed so fast, that certeine merchants (sitting there at dinner) were faine to rise and depart from thense to saue themselues. Sir Henrie Leie knight (dwelling at Quarrington) lost by the flouds the number of three thousand sheepe, besides horsses and other cattell, a great number.

Hurt in Buckinghamshire by this tempest.

In the Wish at Rie (a place so called) the water came in so suddenlie, and flowed so high about midnight, that it was eight or nine foot high in mens houses: insomuch that if one William White had not called them vp, some of them had like to haue beene drowned. And the same William White hauing a bote, fetcht a great companie of them out of their windowes, and carried them to drie land as fast as he could fetch them, which were in great danger and feare, and glad to escape with their liues. Moreouer, the water came in so vehementlie there, that it brake into the marishes, and made such waie, that where of late yeares, and now before this great floud came, a cockebote could not passe in at a low water, now a fisherman drawing six foot water and more maie come in at a low water, and at a full sea the greatest ship that the queenes maiestie hath may come in, and haue good harborough there. The continuance of the same will not onelie be profitable to the most part of the inhabitants there, but also commodious vnto all the queenes subiects trauelling by sea.

Hurt in Sussex by this sudden inundation of waters.

A strange euent wrought by the inflowing of the water.

And whereas one of the owners of a great part of the same marishes had certeine poles set vp therein (and being verie meet and in conuenient place of the same marish) for the drieng of their fishing nets, and receiued monie yeerelie of those that dried their nets there sufficientlie inough: yet he caused his seruant to pull vp the poles, and laie them in an house standing in the same marish: and also commanded his seruant to giue them warning, that they should no more hang their nets there, except they would come and compound with him for it. And the same night (by Gods prouidence) it came so to passe, that according to his saieng (though contrarie to his good will and mind) they are not like to hang their nets there anie more, bicause of the depth of the water is so great, and like to continue. In hope of continuance of the same, new opened hauen, certeine men of the same towne haue begun to build faire barks to trauell the seas, the which in continuance of time will be a great furtherance to the maintenance of the queenes nauie. At the blacke shore end, before the said floud, no bote could passe further than the shore end; and now a bote that draweth six foot water maie come in at a low water. Without the barre, the water is deeper than it was by two foot and more in the chanell.

A new hauen and the same like to continue.

At Prum hill marish, foure miles from Rie, the water came in so outragiouslie, that it brake downe the marish wals, one master Burie being owner thereof, who lost by the same a thousand one hundred threescore and two of his sheepe, and it is thought that the marish is neuer like to be gotten againe. Also at Erith breach, a mariner riding by the marishes, seeing two maidens in the marishes, and perceiuing the waters breaking in so fast, that the maides were not like to escape, rode vnto them, and one of them gat vp behind him, and the other tooke hold on the horsse taile, and by that means were both saued from drowning. In the same marish were drowned a great number of sheepe. Also there in a marish land that was sowne, were two boies keeping crowes in the after noone, and seeing the water breaking in so vehementlie, gat them into a cart that was not farre from them, where they were faine to tarrie vntill the next tide, which came in so boisterouslie, that it had like to haue ouerthrowne both the cart and boies. And the one of them being more stronger than the other,

Hurt in Kent by the same tempest and breaking in of the streame.

A boie drowned after he was dead.

kept the other in his armes, where he with cold, wet, and feare, died: so that he was faine to let him fall from him into the water, when he perceiued that he was past recouerie. A little from that place were also drowned a thousand sheepe, and also manie other cattell.

Hurt in Essex.

From a towne called Rainam, vnto the towne named Mauldon, all alongst by the water side were the marishes all ouerflowen, wherein were a great number of cattell drowned. In Claie were two ships laden with Danske ware which came to shore, with no man in them, nor anie man could tell of whence they were. In Claie the dwellers there lost a verie great parcell of salt and herrings barrelled, being housed in an house walled with bricke three foot thicke, and yet the wall was broken downe. Also there was lost much saffron ground, with manie other things mo, to the great hinderance of manie a man. Also, in Walderswicke, Dunwich, and Blaibrooke, was great losse of boord, planke, timber, and salt. A great part of the bridge by Magdalene college was borne cleane awaie, and manie trées were turned vp by the root.

Hurt doone by this tempest in Suffolke and Oxford.

An. Reg. 13.

The three and twentith of Ianuarie, the quéenes maiestie, accompanied with hir nobilitie, came from hir house at the Strand, called Summerset place, and entered the citie of London by Temple bar, Fléetstréet, Cheape, and so by the north side of the Bursse, to sir Thomas Greshams in Bishops gate stréet, where she dined. After dinner, hir grace returning through Cornehill, entred the Bursse on the southside, and after hir highnesse had viewed euerie part thereof aboue ground, especiallie the Pawne which was richlie furnished with all sorts of the finest wares in the citie, she caused the same Bursse by an herald and a trumpet, to be proclamed the Roiall exchange, so to be called from thensefoorth, and not otherwise.

The quéenes going to the Bursse after it was finished.

She giueth it to name the Roiall exchange.

A strange kind of earth mooning in the countie of Hereford.

The seuenteenth of Februarie at a place called Kinnaston, néere Marlech hill in the countie of Hereford, was séene the ground to open, and certeine rockes with a péece of ground remooued, and went forward the space of four daies, making at the first a terrible noise as it went on the earth. It remooued it selfe betwéene six of the clocke in the euening, and seuen the next morrow fortie pases, carrieng great trees and shéepecotes, some sheepecotes with threescore sheepe in them, some trées fell into the chinkes, other that grew on the same ground, grow now as firmelie on a hill; and some that stood east, stand west; and those that stood west, stand east. The depth of the hole where it first brake out is thirtie foot, the breadth of the breach is eight score yards, and in length aboue twentie score yards. It ouerthrew Kinnaston chappell. Also two high waies be remooued nigh one hundred yards, with the trées of the hedgerowes. The ground in all is six and twentie acres: and where tillage ground was, there is pasture left in place; and where was pasture, there is tillage ground gone vpon it. The ground as it remooued draue the earth before it, and at the lower part ouerwhelmed the ground, so that it is growen to a great hill of twelue fadams high. It remooued from saturdaie till mondaie at night following, and so staied.

Sir Thomas Sackuille ambassador to the French king.

Moreouer this yeare about Candelmas, sir Thomas Sackuille, baron of Buckhurst was sent in ambassage from the quéenes maiestie to Charles the ninth French king, as well to congratulate for his marriage with the daughter of the emperour Maximilian, as for other weightie affaires. And as his ambassage was great, so was his charge no lesse in furnishing himselfe and traine accordinglie, being both in number and furniture such in euerie point, as did apperteine; and his receiuing and interteinement in France by the king and others was agréeable thereto, for he was receiued vpon the coast by the gouernours of the fortified townes right honorablie by order from the king. Among other the baron of Bournoisell was one, who being verie well mounted and appointed, left not his lordship before he came to the court, and from thense accompanied him backe vntill his imbarkement homewards.

His interteinement verie honorable.

In

In the manie countries he was accompanied with the gouernours and nobles of the places about. And in the good townes where he passed, he was presented by the chiefe magistrates, wherein their good wils were to be thankefullie accepted, though his lordships rewards far ouervalued their presents. At his approch néere to Paris he was incountred on the waie for courtesie sake, by two marquesses of Trans and Saluces; this being of the house of Sauoie, and the other of the worthie familie of Foir. These wanted not such as accompanied them, and the same euen of the best sort. At the lord ambassadors first audience, which was at the castell of Madrill, otherwise called Bullogne néere Paris (where the king then laie) the quéenes Almane coches verie brauelie furnished were sent to Paris for him, in one of the which his lordship with the marquesse of Trans rode towards the court, verie narrowlie escaping from a shrewd turne and great mischance, by reason the same coch was ouerthrowen by the Dutch wagoners their negligence, who in a brauerie galloping the field made an ouer short turne, wherewith the marques was sore brused.

The first place of the lord ambassadors audience.

The lord ambassador at his arriuall at the place was right honorablie receiued, he was banketted by diuerse, and that verie sumptuouslie: which by him was not left vnrequited to the vttermost, and rather with the better. For his liberalitie vnto the French was verie large, but his reward at the kings hands was onelie a chaine waieng a thousand French crownes. At that present there was a great dearth and scarsitie of vittels in France. The riuer of Saine that runneth through Paris was not passable with vessels, by reason of the great frosts: and thereby not onelie all kind of vittels, but also haie and wood hard to come by, and not to be had but at excessiue prices, the countrie thereabouts hauing before béene sore harried and spoiled by the ciuill tumults. By reason whereof, not onelie the lord of Buckhurst for the space he remained there, but also sir Henrie Norrice (now lord Norrice) and maister Francis Walsingham hir maiesties ambassadors, ligiers successiuelie, were driuen to an increase in expenses, paieng for euerie thing they bought an higher price than ordinarilie had béene accustomed.

The lord ambassadors liberalitie.

The riuer of Saine not passable with vessels.

After that the lord Buckhurst had béene feasted and banketted by the king, and other of the French nobilitie, and had accomplished the points of his ambassage, he tooke leaue of the king, and departed homewards, arriuing here in England a little before Easter. The second of Aprill a parlement began at Westminster, wherein was granted to the quéenes maiestie (toward hir great charges, in repressing the late rebellion in the north, and pursuing the said rebels and their fautors, which were fled into Scotland) by the cleargie a subsidie of six shillings in the pound, and by the temporaltie two fiftéens, with a subsidie of two shillings and eight pence in the pound. The first, the second, and third of Maie, was holden at Westminster before the quéenes maiestie a solemne iust at the tilt, tourneie and barriers. The chalengers were Edward earle of Oxford, Charles Howard, sir Henrie Lée, and Christopher Hatton esquier, who all did verie valiantlie; but the chiefe honour was giuen to the earle of Oxford. The first of Iune, Iohn Storie a doctor of the canon law, who before had beene condemned of high treason, was drawen from the tower of London to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, his head was set on London bridge, and his quarters on the gates of the citie. Of this monster disguised in the likenesse of a man, it is verie materiall to record what maister Fox hath noted in his historie.

The ambassador returneth into England.

1571.

A parlement at Westminster.

A subsidie.

Iusts at Westminster at the tilt, tourneie and barriers.

Doctor Storie executed for high treason.

¶ This doctor Storie (saith he) being an Englishman by birth, and from his infancie not onelie nuzled in papistrie, but also euen as it were by nature earnestlie affected to the same, and growing somewhat to riper yeares, in the daies of quéene Marie became a most bloudie tyrant, and cruell persecutor of Christ in his members, as all the stories of martyrs almost doo declare. Thus he raging all the reigne of the foresaid quéene Marie, against the infallible truth of Christs gospell, and the true professors thereof, neuer

Abr. Fl. in Iohan. Foxi martyrologio.

Stories education and birth.

Storie a bloudie persecutor.

ceased till he had consumed to ashes two or thrée hundred blessed martyrs, who willinglie gaue their liues for the testimonie of his truth. And thinking their punishment in fire not cruell inough, he went about to inuent new torments for the holie martyrs of Christ; such was his hatred to the truth of Christs gospell: but in the end the Lord looking vpon the affliction, and cruell bloudshedding of his seruants, tooke awaie quéene Marie the great piller of papistrie. After whome succéeded ladie Elisabeth now queene of England, who staieng the bloudie sword of persecution from raging anie further caused the same doctor Storie to be apprehended, and committed to ward with manie other his complices, sworne enimies to Christs glorious gospell.

Storie inuenting new torments for the martyrs.

Storie apprehended.

Storie conueied himselfe ouer the seas, where he continued a bloudie persecutor.

Storie obteined a commission to search for English bookes.

The said Storie hauing béene a while deteined in prison, at the last by what means I know not, brake foorth of hold, and conueied himselfe ouer the seas, where he continued a most bloudie persecutor, still raging against Gods saints with fire and sword. Insomuch as he growing to be familiar and right deere to duke Dalua in Antwerpe, receiued a speciall commission from him to search all the ships for goods forfeited, and for English bookes and such like. And in this fauour and authoritie he continued there for a space, by the which meanes he did much hurt, and brought manie a good man and woman to trouble, and extreme perill of life through his bloudthirstie crueltie. But at the last the Lord (when the measure of his iniquitie was full) proceéeded in iudgment against him, and cut him off from the face of the earth, according to the praiers of manie a good man, which came to passe in order as followeth.

Storie intendeth the ouerthow of England.

A platforme laid to apprehend Storie.

Storie searched the English ships for bookes and is apprehended and brought into England.

It being certeinlie knowne (for the brute thereof was gone foorth into all lands) that he not onelie intended the subuersion and ouerthrow of his natiue countrie of England by bringing in forren hostilitie, if by anie means he might compasse it; but also dailie and hourelie murthered Gods people: there was this platforme laid (by Gods prouidence no doubt) that one maister Parker a merchant should saile vnto Antwerpe, and by some means to conueie Storie into England. This Parker arriuing at Antwerpe, suborned certeine to repaire to doctor Storie, and to signifie vnto him, that there was an English ship come fraught with merchandize; and that if he would make search thereof himselfe, hée should find store of English bookes, and other things for his purpose. Storie hearing this and suspecting nothing, made hast towards the ship, thinking to make the same his preie; and comming aboord searched for English heriticall books (as he called them) and going downe vnder the hatches, bicause he would be sure to haue their bloud if he could, they clapped downe the hatches, hoisted vp their sailes, hauing (as God would) a good gale, and sailed awaie into England, where they arriuing presented this bloudie butcher and traitorous rebell Storie, to the no little reioising of manie an English heart.

He being now committed to prison, continued there a good space: during all which time, he was laboured and solicited dailie by wise and learned fathers, to recant his diuelish and erronious opinions, to confirme himselfe to the truth, and to acknowledge the quéenes maiesties supremasie. All which he vtterlie denied to the death, saieng that he was sworne subiect to the king of Spaine, and was no subiect to the quéene of England, nor shée his souereigne queene. And therefore (as he well deserued) he was condemned (as a traitor to God, the quéenes maiestie, and the realme) to be drawne, hanged, and quartered, which was performed accordinglie, he being laid vpon an hurdle, and drawne from the tower along the streets to Tiburne where he being hanged till he was halfe dead, was cut downe and stripped. And (which is not to be forgot) when the executioner had cut off his priuie members, he rushing vp vpon a sudden gaue him a blow vpon the eare, to the great woonder of all that stood by. And thus ended this bloudie Nemrod his wretched life, whose iudgement I leaue to the Lord.]

Storie a traitor hanged drawne and quartered.

The

The eighteenth of Iune, in Trinitie terme, there was a combat appointed to haue beene fought for a certeine manour and demaine lands belonging therevnto, in the Ile of Hartie, adioining to the Ile of Shepeie in Kent. Simon Low and Iohn Kime were plaintifs, and had brought a writ of right against Thomas Paramore, who offered to defend his right by battell. Whervpon the plaintifs aforesaid accepted to answer his challenge, offering likewise to defend their right to the same manour and lands, and to proue by battell, that Paramore had no right nor good title to haue the same manour and lands. Herevpon the said Thomas Paramore brought before the iudges of the common plees at Westminster, one George Thorne, a big, broad, strong set fellow; and the plaintifs Henrie Nailer, maister of defense, and seruant to the right honourable the earle of Leicester, a proper slender man, and not so tall as the other. Thorne cast downe a gantlet, which Nailer tooke vp, vpon the sundaie before the battell should be tried. On the next morow, the matter was staied, and the parties agréed, that Paramore being in possession should haue the land, and was bound in fiue hundred pounds to consider the plaintifs, as vpon hearing the matter the iudges should award. The quéenes maiestie abhorring bloudshed, and (as the poet verie well saith)

(Tristia sanguinei deuitans prælia campi)

was the taker vp of the matter, in this wise. It was thought good, that for Paramores assurance, the order should be kept touching the combat, and that the plaintifs Low and Kime should make default of appearance; but that yet such as were suerties for Nailer their champions appearance, should bring him in; and likewise those that were suerties for Thorne, should bring in the same Thorne, in discharge of their band: and that the court should sit in Tuthill fields, where was prepared one plot of ground, of one and twentie yards square, double railed for the combat. Without the west square a stage being set vp for the iudges, representing the court of the common plées.

A combat appointed at Tuthill but not tried.

Thorne and Nailer combatants.

The quarrell of combat staied by the quéenes maiestie.

All the compasse without the lists was set with scaffolds one aboue another, for people to stand and behold. There were behind the square where the iudges sat, two tents, the one for Nailer, the other for Thorne. Thorne was there in the morning timelie, Nailer about seauen of the clocke came thorough London, apparelled in a dublet, and gallie gascoine bréeches all of crimsin sattin, cut and rased, a hat of blacke veluet, with a red feather and band, before him drums and fifes plaieng. The gantlet cast downe by George Thorne was borne before the said Nailer vpon a swords point, and his baston (a staffe of an ell long made taper wise tipt with horne) with his shield of hard leather was borne after him, by Askam a yeoman of the queenes gard. He came into the palace at Westminster, and staieng not long before the hall doore, came backe into the Kings stréet, and so along thorough the Sanctuarie and Tuthill street into the field, where he staied till past nine of the clocke, and then sir Ierome Bowes brought him to his tent: Thorne being in the tent with sir Henrie Cheinie long before.

The maner of all things in redinesse for the combat.

About ten of the clocke, the court of common plées remooued, and came to the place prepared. When the lord chiefe iustice, with two other his associats were set, then Low was called solemnlie to come in, or else to lose his writ of right. Then after a certeine time, the suerties of Henrie Nailer were called to bring in the said Nailer, champion for Simon Low. And shortlie therevpon, sir Ierome Bowes, leading Nailer by the hand, entred with him the lists, bringing him downe that square by which he entred, being on the left hand of the iudges, and so about till he came to the next square, iust against the iudges, and there making courtesie, first with one leg and then with the other, passed foorth till he came to the middle of the place, and then made the like obeisance, and so passing till they came to the barre, there he made the like courtesie, and his shield was held vp aloft

The lord chiefe iustice set and his associats with him.

Nailer prepareth himselfe for the incounter against Thorne.

aloft ouer his head. Nailer put off his netherstocks, and so barefoot and barelegged, saue his silke scauilones to the ankles, and his dublet sleeues tied vp aboue the elbow, and bareheaded, came in, as is aforesaid. Then were the suerties of George Thorne called to bring in the same Thorne: and immediatlie sir Henrie Cheineie entering at the vpper end on the right hand of the iudges, vsed the like order in comming about by his side, as Nailer had before on that other side: and so comming to the barre with like obeisance, held vp his shield. Proclamation was made that none should touch the barres, nor presume to come within the same, except such as were appointed.

The lord chéefe iustice toucheth the present case.

After all this solemne order was finished, the lord chiefe iustice rehearsing the maner of bringing the writ of right by Simon Low, of the answer made therevnto by Paramore, of the procéeding therein, and how Paramore had challenged to defend his right to the land by battell, by his champion Thomas Thorne, and of the accepting the triall that was by Low with his champion Henrie Nailer: and then for default of appearance in Low, he adiudged the land to Paramore, and dismissed the champion, acquiting the suerties of their bands. He also willed Henrie Nailer to render againe to George Thorne his gantlet. Whereto the said Nailer answered, that his lordship might command him anie thing, but willinglie he wold not render the said gantlet to Thorne except he could win it. And further he challenged the said Thorne to play with him halfe a score blowes, to shew some pastime to the lord chiefe iustice, and to the other there assembled. But Thorne answered, that he came to fight, and would not plaie. Then the lord chiefe iustice commending Nailer for his valiant courage, commanded them both quietlie to depart the field, &c.

Nailer challengeth Thorne at a few blowes.

A woman burnt at Maidston for poisoning.

On the sixtéenth of Iulie, Rebecca Chamber, late wife to Thomas Chamber of Heriettesham, was found culpable of poisoning the said Thomas Chamber hir husband, at the assises holden at Maidstone in the countie of Kent. For the which fact she (hauing well deserued) was there burnt on the next morrow.

Duke of Norffolke sent to the tower.

The seuenth of September, the duke of Norffolke was remooued from the Charterhouse, to the tower of London prisoner.

Bishop of Salisburie deceassed.

The two and twentith of September deceassed Iohn Iewell bishop of Salisburie, in his life a most eloquent and diligent preacher, but a far more painefull and studious writer, as his workes remaining doo beare witnesse, whereby his fame shall neuer die.

A sermon in Paules church for victorie against the Turkes.

The ninth of Nouember, a sermon was preached in Paules church at London, by maister William Foulks of Cambridge, to giue thanks to almightie God for the victorie, which of his mercifull clemencie it had pleased him to grant to the christians in the Leuant seas, against the common enimies of our faith, the Turks, the seuenth of October last past. His theame was taken out of the sixtéenth psalme of Dauids psalter, the fourth verse.

The assemblie at this sermon.

There were present at this sermon, the lord maior of London sir William Allen, with the alderman and craftsmen in their liueries. And in the euening there were bonefiers made through the citie, with banketting and great reioising, as good cause there was, for a victorie of so great importance vnto the whole state of the christian common-wealth.

Contareno.

In the which were taken one hundred and thirtie vessels, that is, one hundred and seuentéene gallies, and thirtéene galleots, beside other vessels that were bouged, abandoned, and let go at large abroad in the seas, as gallies, foists, and galleots, to the number of fourescore, or thereabouts.

Principals among the Turkes slaine.

And of their chiefeteins slaine in that bloudie battell, these we find by name as principall: Halie Bassa high admerall of the whole nauie, Amar Beie capteine of the Ianissaries, Assan Beie the sonne of Barbarossa, with his sonne Mehemet Beie gouernor of Mitellene, Gider Beie gouernour of Chio, Capsan Beie gouernour of the Rhodes, Peruis Aga gouernour of Affrica otherwise Mahomeda,

Mustafa Scelubie high treasuror, Affis Clueaga capteine of Gallipolie, Tramontana chiefe maister of the Turkish emperours owne gallie, Caracoza, and also manie others, whose names were too long to rehearse: but the whole number that were slaine of the Turks could not be perfectlie knowne, by reason that manie were drowned in the sea, which came not to sight.

The whole number of the slaine.

Some yet affirme, that there were slaine of them in all, to the number of one and twentie thousand, although other speake but of fifteene thousand. But Contareno writeth, that there were slaine and taken 29990. Of which number he reckoneth 3846 to haue remained prisoners, and among them were these persons of name, Mahemet Beie, Sainus Beie, and Sirocho Beie. There escaped yet from this discomfiture, Partau, generall of all the men of warre and souldiors by land, Ochialie, Murate Raie with his sonne, and Hali Genouese, and with them about fortie gallies, foists, and fregats. Moreouer, there were found in the Turkish gallies that came into the hands of the christians, one hundred and sixteene double canons, two hundred sixtie and fiue demie canons, and sixteene other great peeces of brasse. For it is to be remembred, that not onelie the Turkish gallies, but also the christians were throughlie armed, furnished, and appointed with men, munition, and ordinance in euerie behalfe.

Bizari.

Contareno.

Bizari.

Persons that escaped from this discomfiture.

Booties that fell into the christians hands.

In Halie Bassa his gallie there were found aboord three hundred harquebusiers Ianissaries, and an hundred archers. In the gallie of Don Giouan de Austria chiefe admerall of the christians, were foure hundred harquebusiers Spaniards, of the tierse of Sardigna, beside a great number of lords and gentlemen, and also beside the rowers: and in euerie other gallie were 200 fighting men at the least, beside the rowers, and in some 300, and other some 400 according to the mould of the vessels. The number of the christian gallies and galliots, were in all two hundred and two, besides six great galleasses. The Turks had their gallies, galliots, and foists, to the number of two hundred and fiftie, as appeareth by the account afore made, of those that were taken, abandoned, and escaped. There were deliuered and set at libertie, about twelue thousand, some say fourteene thousand christian captiues, whome the Turks kept for slaues, and had them chained there aboord with them in their gallies. But this victorie was not got without great losse of the christians, for beside Agustine Barbarigo, the principall proueditore of the Venetians, there died seuentéene other gentlemen of Venice, being men of good estimation, Iohn Cardone, and Barnardine Cardone Spaniards, Virginio and Horatio Vrsini Romans, Troilo, Sabello, Marco Molino, besides diuerse other nobles and gentlemen of name, as well Italians, as Spaniards, and Almans.

The number of the christian gallies and the Turkes.

Christian captiues set at libertie 14000.

In all, there died of the christians to the number of seauen thousand six hundred fiftie and six, beside those that were hurt, being in like number to them that were slaine, among whom was don Iohn de Austria, generall of all the christian armie there, Sebastian Veniero the Venetians generall, and the counte de Santa Fiore with diuerse others. Moreouer, there were christian gallies bouged, three of the Venetians, one of the popes, one belonging to the duke of Sauoie, and another to the knights of Malta. There was one also taken and led awaie by Ochialie, and his companie. Such was the successe of this battell, which continued for the space of six houres, in the end whereof the victorie remaining with the christians, caused no small reioising through all parties of christendome. For if this victorie had béene followed, with his grátious helpe and assistance that was the giuer thereof, the proud and loftie horne of the Ismaelite had béene so bruised, as peraduenture his courage would haue quailed to put foorth the same so spéedilie as he did. But such is the malice of the time, that the christians haue more pleasure to draw their weapons one against another, than against that common enimie of vs all, who regardeth neither protestant nor catholike (they may be sure) those of Gréekish church nor others,

Contareno.

The number of christians that died.

Bizari.

Contareno.

The space how long the battell continued.

A common fault among christians.

others, as if the mercifull prouidence of the Lord of hosts doo not in time disappoint his proceedings, it will be too soone perceiued, though happilie too late to stop the breach, when the floud hath got head, and once woone passage through the banke.

Good councell if that faith be the faith of Christ and his true church.

It were therefore to be wished of all those that tender the suertie of the christian commonwealth, that princes would permit their subiects to liue in libertie of conscience, concerning matters of faith: and that subiects againe would be readie in dutifull wise, to obeie their princes in matters of ciuill gouernment, so that compounding their controuersies among themselues, with tollerable conditions, they might emploie their forces against the common enimie, to the benefit of the whole christian world, which (the more is the pitie) they haue so long exercised one against another, to each others destruction. And as for matters in variance about religion, rather to decide the same with the word, than with the sword, an instrument full vnfit for that purpose, and not lightlie vsed nor allowed of by the ancient fathers in time of the primitiue church. But sith this is rather to be wished than hoped for, by anie apparant likelihood, considering the strange contrarietie of humors now reigning among men in sundrie parts of christendome, let vs leaue the successe of our wish to the pleasure of God, the author of all good haps, who ruleth the harts of princes (as the poet saith verie trulie

——————& eius
In manibus sunt regum animi; quocúnque voluntas
Fert sua, vertit eos)

and frameth the peoples minds as séemeth best to his diuine prouidence. And withall, let vs also humblie offer to him our praiers, instantlie beseeching him to spare vs in mercie, and not to reward vs after our iniquities: but rather by his omnipotent power to turne from vs the violence of our enimies, in abridging their forces, as it may séeme good to his mercifull fauour and great clemencie.

An. Reg. 14. Reinold Grey earle of Kent. *I. St. pag.* 1155. Sir William Peter deceassed. His charitable déeds.

The thirtith of December Reinold Greie was by the quéenes maiestie restored earle of Kent. ¶ The thirtéenth of Ianuarie deceassed sir William Peter knight, who for his iudgement and pregnant wit had béene secretarie and of the priuie councell to foure kings and quéenes of this realme, and seauen times ambassador abroad in forren lands: he augmented Exeter college in Oxford with lands, to the value of an hundred pounds by yeare: and also builded ten almes houses in the parish of Ingerstone for twentie poore people, ten within the house, and ten without the house, hauing euerie one two pence the daie, a winter gowne, and two load of wood, and among them féeding for six kine winter and summer, and a chapleine to saie them seruice dailie.]

1572.

Duke of Norffolke arreigned.

The sixteenth of Ianuarie the lord Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke was arreigned at Westminster hall, before George lord Talbot, earle of Shrewesburie, high steward of England for that daie, and there by his péeres found guiltie of high treason, and had iudgement accordinglie. The eleuenth of Februarie Kenelme Barneie,

Mather, Barneie, and Rolfe executed.

and Edmund Mather were drawen from the Tower of London, and Henrie Rolfe from the Marshallsea in Southworke, all thrée to Tiburne and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered for treason; Barneie and Mather for conspiracie, and Rolfe for counterfeiting of the quéens maiesties hand.

I. S. pag. 1155. Conueiers of bels, lead, and other church goods, are to be punished to the example of their too manie followers.

¶ The queenes maiestie hearing crediblie by report, that certeine lewd persons, vnder pretense of executing commissions for inquiries to be made for lands concealed, contrarie to hir maiesties meaning, chalenging lands, stocks of monie, plate, &c: letting not also to make pretense to the bels, led, and other such things belonging vnto parish churches or chappels. Hir maiestie meaning spéedilie to withstand such manner of vnlawfull practises, commanded, that all commissions then extant, and not determined, for inquisition of anie manner of concealements, should be by

Supersedias,

Supersedias, out of hir excheker reuolked. And also appointed speedie remedie to be had against such extortioners, as more at large appeareth by proclamation, concluding thus. "Finallie, hir maiestie would hir iustices of assise to haue some speciall care, not onelie to the premisses, but also to the reforming of certeine couetous and iniurious attempts, of diuerse that of late time by other colour than for hir maiesties vse, had taken awaie the led of churches and chappels; yea and bels also out of steeples, and other common goods belonging to parishes: an example not to be suffered vnpunished, nor vnreformed. And so hir maiestie eftsoones chargeth hir iustices of hir assise to prouide seuere remedie, both for punishment and reformation thereof. Dated at Westminster the thirteenth daie of Februarie, the fourteenth yeare of hir reigne."]

Sir William Paulet lord treasuror deceassed.

The tenth of March deceased sir William Paulet knight, lord saint Iohn, earle of Wilshire, marquesse of Winchester, knight of the honorable order of the garter, one of the quéenes maiesties priuie councell, and lord high treasuror of England, at his manor of Basing. This worthie man was borne in the yeare of our Lord 1483, the first yeare of king Richard the third, and liued about the age of foure score and seauen yeares, in six kings and quéenes daies. He serued fiue kings and quéenes, Henrie the seauenth, Henrie the eight, Edward the sixt, queene Marie, and quéene Elisabeth. All these he serued faithfullie, and of them was greatlie fauoured. Himselfe did sée the children of his childrens children, growing to the number of one hundred and thrée. A rare blessing giuen by God to men of his calling.

His ancient and honorable seruice.

Three thousand chosen persons for pikemen and gunners out of halles.

On the fiue and twentith and six and twentith of March, by the commandement of the quéenes maiestie hir councell, the citizens of London, assembling at their seuerall halles; the maisters collected and chose out the most likelie and actiue persons of euerie their companies, to the number of thrée thousand, whome they appointed to be pikemen and shot. The pikemen were foorthwith armed in faire corslets and other furniture according thervnto; the gunners had euerie of them his caliuer with the furniture, and murrians on their heads. To these were appointed diuerse valiant capteins, who to traine them vp in warlike feats, mustered them thrise euerie wéeke, sometimes in the artillerie yard, teaching the gunners to handle their péeces, sometimes at the Miles end, and in saint Georges field, teaching them to skirmish. In the which skirmish on the Miles end the tenth of Aprill, one of the gunners of the goldsmiths companie was shot in the side with a peece of a scouring sticke left in one of the caliuers, wherof he died, and was buried the twelfe of Aprill in Pauls churchyard; all the gunners marching from the Miles end in battell raie, shot off their caliuers at his graue.

Training vp of yoong soldiors in the field.

A muster at Gréenewich before the quéene.

On Maie daie they mustered at Gréenwich before the quéenes maiestie, where they shewed manie warlike feats, but were much hindered by the weather, which was all daie showring, they returned that present night to London, and were discharged the next morrow. The fourth of Maie Walter Deuereur, lord Ferrers of Chartleie, and vicount of Hereford, was created earle of Essex: and Edward Fines lord Clinton and Saie high admerall of England was created earle of Lincolne. The eight of Maie the parlement began at Westminster, and that same daie in the parlement by the quéenes maiesties writs, sir Henrie Compton knight, lord of Compton in the hole, sir Henrie Cheinie knight lord of Todington, sir William Paulet knight of Basing, and sir Henrie Norris knight lord of Ricot, were called Barons into the higher house. In this parlement, for so much as the whole realme of England was exceedinglie pestered with roges, vagabunds, and sturdie beggers, by means whereof dailie happened diuerse horrible murthers, thefts, and other great outrages: it was enacted, that all persons aboue the age of fouretéene yéeres, being taken begging, vagarant, and wandering disorderlie, should be apprehended, whipped, and burned through

Earles of Essex and Lincolne created.

Barons made.

Roges burnt through the eare.

through the gristle of the right eare, with a hot iron of one inch compasse for the first time so taken.

Martin Bullocke hanged at the well with two buckets.

The foure and twentith of Maie, Martine Bullocke was hanged on a gibet by the well with two buckets in Bishops gate stréet of London, for robbing, and most shamefullie murthering of a merchant named Arthur Hall, in the parsonage of S. Martine by the said well. This Martine had procured the said Arthur Hall to come to the said parsonage, to buie of him certeine plate. But after the said Arthur had well viewed the same, he said; This is none of your plate, it hath doctor Gardeners marke, and I know it to be his: That is true said Martine Bullocke, but he hath appointed me to sell it, &c. After this talke, whilest the said Arthur was weieng the plate, the same Martine fetcht out of the kitchin a thicke washing beetle, and comming behind him stroke the said Arthur on the head, that he felled him with the first stroke; and then strake him againe, and after tooke the said Arthurs dagger, and sticked him, and with his knife cut his throte: and after would haue trusted him in a Danske chest, but the same was too short. Whervpon he tumbled him downe a paire of staires, and after thinking to haue buried him in the cellar, his legs being broken with the first fall, and stiffe, he could not draw him downe the cellar stairs being winding. Wherfore he cut off his legs with an hatchet, and in the end trussed him with straw in a drie vat: and saieng it was his apparell and bookes, caused the same to be carried to the water side, and so shipped to Rie. But as God would haue it, there was suspicion gathered against the murtherer, wherby he was examined before Alderman Branch then one of the shiriffes of London; but so small likelihood appéered that he should be guiltie, that there was an honest man dwelling in saint Laurence Pontneis named Robert Gée a clothworker, who supposing the offendor to be cléere in the matter, vndertooke for his foorth comming. Wherevpon Bullocke being suffered to go at libertie, slipt awaie, first to Westminster; and there taking bote, passed vp the riuer: and comming on land beyond Kingston, passed foorth till he came to Okingham, in the forest of Windsore, an eight miles beyond the towne of Windsore: and from thense (what mooued him, I leaue to the secret iudgement of God) he came backe againe vnto London, lodging at the red lion in Holborne.

Fellonie and murther combined.

The maner of the murther committed.

An mercilesse mutherer.

The murtherer examined.

He hath libertie notwithstanding his offense.

In the meane time the foresaid Gée vpon knowledge had that Bullocke was withdrawen out of the waie, was not onelie had in some suspicion, but also committed to ward: albeit so as he had libertie to take order to send abrode such as should make sute after Bullocke. And amongst other that went foorth, one of his seruants was sent to Rie, whither the drie vat was conueied: and comming thither, the same drie vat was opened, wherein the mangled corps of Hall was found: whereby the truth of the matter came to light, and by the good prouidence of God, the reuealer of such euill facts, Bullocke was at the verie same time discouered at the place in Holborne afore mentioned, and there apprehended, did receiue (as ye haue heard) due punishment for his heinous and most wicked offense.

The drie vat, wherein the murthered man was put to be transported, descried.

Earle of Lincolne and other ambassadors into France.

The six and twentith of Maie, the right honorable earle of Lincolne, departed from London towards France ambassador, being accompanied with the lord Dacres, the lord Rich, the lord Talbot, the lord Sands, and the lord Clinton, sir Arthur Chambernowne, sir Ierome Bowes, and sir Edward Hastings knights, with diuerse other gentlemen, who taking ship at Douer, cut ouer to Bullongne, where they were verie honorablie receiued, and conueied by iournies to Paris, where they were lodged in a house of the kings named le chasteau de Louure, being attended vpon of the kings officers. Fiue daies after they went to the king at a house called Madrill, where the king with his two brethren, the admerall, and the most part of the nobles of France met them a distance from the place, and brought them to the house: where they dined, and abode till sundaie following, from whence the

The maner of the ambassadors intertcinement.

the king and his nobles with the nobles of England came to Paris. The king, his two brethren, and our ambassador riding in one coch togither, and the nobles of England and France being so placed also in coches, came to the said castell of Louure, and there dined. After dinner the king, our ambassador, with the nobilitie of both realmes, went to a church named saint Germane, where the French king, his brethren, and nobilitie heard euensong. The noblemen of England withdrawing them into a chappell till euensong was doone, were then fetched thense by the nobles of France to the king and his brethren that awaited their comming, where was confirmed the league which had béene concluded at Blois the ninteenth of Aprill, deputies being there for the French partie, Francis Montmorencie, Reinold Birago, Sebastian de Laubespine, and Paule de Foix: and for the queene of England, sir Thomas Smith, and maister Walsingham ambassadors. League with France confirmed in France.

This being doone they departed without the wals of Paris, to a garden of plea sure, where they supped. After supper, the king departed to his place of Madrill, and the nobles of England vnto the castell of Louure. On mondaie, the admerall feasted the nobles of England; vpon tuesdaie, the duke of Anion the kings brother, and on wednesdaie the duke of Alanson his yoonger brother, and so passed in feasting and banketting, with rich gifts on both parts. On fridaie, the nobles of England tooke leaue of the king, and on sundaie came to saint Denis, and after to Bullongne, where they tooke ship, and returned into England the fourth of Iulie. The second of Iune in the morning, betwéene the houres of seuen and eight, Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke, was beheaded on a scaffold newlie set vp on tower hill. ¶ This execution in a short time was spred abroad, for fame, which (as the poet saith in few words The ambassadours returned out of France. The duke of Norffolke beheaded.

——volat leuibus sublata per æthera pennis)

had sounded the same farre and néere: insomuch that in tract of time, as men had leasure to laie their collections togither, among other things this is recorded euen of strangers. For the execution of an honorable personage must néeds be so much the more notorious, as his misdéed is dishonorable. Touching the duke therefore this I find in Schardius (howsoeuer he came to the knowledge thereof) a moderne historien, and doctor of the lawes in Basill. The duke of Norffolke, who (as we haue said) was condemned for treason the sixteenth daie of Ianuarie, was brought out of the tower of London, to a plaine hard by, which they call the hill; in the middest whereof a scaffold had béene builded manie yeares ago seruing for execution, which being old was both rotten and ruinous. For queene Elisabeth hauing with mercie gouerned hir commonwealth there was no punishment inflicted there vpon anie for the space of fourtéene yeares. Wherefore a new scaffold must needs be made. Which when the duke at seuen of the clocke in the morning had mounted, hauing on a silken doublet, and a long gowne of like fine stuffe, all blacke, earnestlie he beheld the people round about with his cap on his head. Now when he had stood still a prettie while, and cast his eies vpon the scaffold, he asked whereabouts he might best stand to speake vnto the people? For the scaffold was foure square, and the people came flocking from all places. Now when he was directed to the east side thereof, and the people had muttered and whispered diuerslie among themselues, master Alexander Nowell deane of Paules besought them that were present to be silent and still. Then began the duke to speake to the people as followeth. *Schardius in reb. gest. sub Maximil. imperat. secundo pag. 2513.* Forren nations heare and write of the queenes vnbloudie gouernement. The attire, behauiour, and gesture of the duke at his execution. Maister Nowel deane of Paule the dukes ghostlie father.

THE

THE DUKE OF NORFFOLKES WORDS

VTTERED ON THE SCAFFOLD AT TOWER HILL WHEN HE SHOULD BE EXECUTED.

IT is no rare thing (good people) to sée a man come hither to die, albeit since this quéens most blessed reigne I be the first, I praie God I be the last. The people said Amen. It is a hard matter for a man of my calling to vse long spéech in such an audience, either for that audacitie serues me not, or for that comming to such an end as I doo, the feare of death troubleth me: and therefore I beseech you all heartilie to beare with me, I will not be long, I will make a short spéech and diuide my talke into three parts. And first concerning my offense towards my prince, wherein some thing I haue to confesse against my selfe, and in some thing to cléere my selfe. I come not to complaine against my peeres, I doo acquit them, I haue deserued to die, it is not vnknowne. I haue dealt with the quéene of Scots in verie great and high matters, without making my prince priuie therevnto, otherwise than I ought to haue doone.

The duke confesseth his offense against the quéenes maiestie.

There is one thing, which greatlie grudgeth my conscience, that is: when I was first deliuered out of this place, I made a submission, and promised the Q. neuer to deale further in that matter; and yet contrarie to my promise I meant and did otherwise, I am sorie for it. It was reported I made a vow and tooke a solemne oth, and receiued the communion vpon it, that is not true: the other was too much. It was reported also I went about to destroie the citie of London: I take God to my witnesse I neuer meant to hurt this citie. I haue dealt with suspected persons, and such as haue shewed themselues enimies to the state; especiallie one I will name, to wit one Radulpho, whome I neuer talked withall but once, and then I liked not his dealing, he shewed me two letters which he said came from the pope.

He is sorie for the violating of his promise made to the quéene.

He maketh shew to cléere himselfe in diuerse points.

Then said one of the shiriffes of London, Good my lord be short: he said, I will be short, I haue not much to saie, good gentlemen beare witnesse, I come not to cléere my selfe. I saw two letters, the one inciphered and the other disciphered. I was charged to confeder with the rebels, I take God to witnesse I did neuer. The secondarie interrupted him and said, I praie you my lord go not about to cléere your selfe, you haue béene tried as honourablie, as anie noble man hath euer béene in this land: I praie you make short, for the houre is past, it is vpon the perill of their liues (meaning the shiriffes) they can not suffer you. Oh I praie you giue me leaue a little, I doo confesse my fault. This is my confession, I doo confesse it, notwithstanding my religion. It hath been reported I haue béene a papist, a confederer with papists, a friend to them and a mainteiner of them and of their religion: I take God to witnesse I am none, nor euer was a papist since I knew what religion ment. I haue had friends, yea familiar friends, yea peraduenture seruants that haue béene papists, with whom I haue borne: but I take God to witnesse I am none, I vtterlie defie the pope and his religion, and I hope to be saued onlie by my faith in Iesus Christ: and I vtterlie abhorre all mans traditions. And if at anie time I did giue countenance to anie papist, whereby anie goodman or the church was offended, I aske them mercie: there is no man that alloweth better of this religion than I doo. Then he was desired againe to be short. Now touching the goodnesse of the queenes maiestie, I am much

He meaneth confession of his religion.

He confesseth himselfe much bound to the quéenes maiestie.

bound to hir grace. I doo thanke hir humblie for that she hath forgiuen all my offenses, and hath prolonged my life so long. You sée how good she hath béen to me, I haue béene looked for here long before this time, God send hir long ouer you to reigne, she hath promised me to be gratious to my poore orphan children. God grant my death maie end all troubles. And if anie of you haue anie one faction, or two, or three, or mo, let him giue ouer and forsake it. Manie wish and desire diuerse things: but they know not what they wish. They seeke their owne destruction. If euerie man should haue his wish, God knoweth how manie would repent, whatsoeuer they are.

He exhorteth to beware of factions.

The quéene hath promised in my death to forgiue all, and I praie God that she maie liue manie yeeres. I remember well the words of that good father and holie martyr Latimer. He told the people, that for their wickednesse God would take awaie his blessing from them. I praie God the contrarie, that your good life maie be such, that God maie turne awaie those plagues that he hath thretned. He spake it in an honorable place, in the pulpit, before king Edward: yet let not this place discredit my words. I praie God preserue the quéens maiestie, and that she maie liue and reigne ouer you manie yeares: euen to the worlds end, which I beléeue that some one aliue shall sée. Then he knéeled downe and praied, and master Nowell knéeled downe by him and wept, with manie others. His praier was vnto God for the continuance of the truth of his gospell; he praied also instantlie for the quéenes most prosperous reigne, and knéeling vpon his knees he said two psalms, to wit Miserere and Domine ne in furore, and in the first psalme he praied to build the wals of Ierusalem, according to the psalme. Master Nowell said, That is meant of Christs church. I know that well (said he) I meane not the church of Rome, I abhorre it, but the church of England and of all the world wheresoeuer it be.

He putteth the people in mind of Latimers words vttered before king Edward.

He praieth and manie more with him: the effect of his praier.

I haue forgotten one thing, I thanke thée God that hast put me in mind of it. I forgiue all the world and I aske all the world forgiuenesse: and I protest before God, if I knew anie particular man I had offended, I would namelie aske him forgiuenesse. Then he read the other psalme, wherein adulterie is mentioned, and when he came to that point, he said: I would I were as cleare in euerie thing as in that, sauing for thought, and that is as euill. Then he said a collect, and in the end he said, In manus tuas Domine, &c: in Latine and English. And then he desired the people to praie for him while he liued, for (quoth he) I looke not to haue anie excuse after my death. Then he imbrased sir Henrie Leie, and after a few secret words betweene them, Master Nowell stood vp and said to the people, He dooth desire you all with one voice to saie Lord haue mercie vpon him, and after to saie no more words, nor to make anie shout or shritching for troubling of him in his last visitation. Then the duke knéeled downe, and master Nowell bowed himselfe towards him with manie imbrasings, and tooke there leaue each of other. Then the executioner desired him knéeling to forgiue him: and he tooke him by the hand and forgaue him, and then requested sight of the axe; Master Nowell said, The sight will trouble you. He answered; No, let me see it: but he shewed it not, and then he laied his necke vpon the blocke. Then the executioner said; My lord your head lieth not well. I will make it lie well, saith he, and therewith lifting vp his bodie he laid his necke euen vpon the blocke, which doone it was cut cleane off at one stroke. This was the end of the duke of Northfolke, a man whose life God had limited, as also the estate wherein he sometimes flourished: both which (as all things else) in a short time vanished. Let all degrées therefore learne, both by precept and example to know God principallie, secondlie their souereigne Gods annointed, and finallie themselues to be subiects: forgetting their owne honour, which puffeth

He asketh all the world forgiuenesse, &c.

He iustifieth himselfe against the filthie sinne of adulterie.

He kneeleth downe and submitteth himselfe to the axe.

puffeth men vp manie times with the wind of vainglorie, euen to their owne ouerthrow, whilest they become insolent, and dreame that the transitorie aduancements of this world will make them princes, princes péeres; naie (O monstrous madnesse) gods, whereas all things are mutable and momentarie, and the higher that a man dooth clime, the greater is his fall; as verie aptlie saith the poet in these words:

Hoc fragili varijs voluuntur casibus orbe
Omnia, celsa ruit turris grauiore ruina.

THE DISCOURSE AND CATALOG OF ALL THE DUKES OF ENGLAND BY CREATION OR DESCENT SINCE THE TIME OF THE CONQUEST.

The collection of Francis Boteuille aliàs Thin, in the yeare of Christ 1585.

TWO sentences, the one an Italian prouerbe, the other an old English byword haue mooued me to make this collection (at the request of an other) of all the dukes of England. First the Italian said that France cannot abide anie treasurors, England anie dukes, nor Scotland anie kings, the truth wherof need no confirming examples to be set downe, sith (as saith the philosopher) things subiect to the sense néed no further proofe. Secondlie the English saieng hath been, that a Nag of fiue shillings shall beare all the dukes of England and Scotland, being spoken in no sense of disgrace to that honorable title: but onelie to shew that the time should come, wherein there should be no dukes in England or Scotland. How true the same is in England, and likelie againe to be in Scotland (being once before verified in that realme, for about fiue yeares past, there was no duke there also when the duke of Lineux was banished) euerie man dooth well perceiue. For the death of this Thomas duke of Northfolke, being the last of that honour hath iustified the same in England. And the turmoils in Scotland may perhaps shortlie verifie the same in that countrie, in which there were neuer so few dukes, as that they cannot make the first and smallest number: for being but one in that countrie, and he verie yoong (which is the duke of Lineux) if he should miscarie, the same would againe also be as true there as it is now héere. For which cause to perpetuat the memories of such antiquities and titles of honor, as age hath consumed with the persons which inioied such prehemences in England, I will from the first creation of anie duke since the conquest recite the creation, descent, and succession of all the dukes of England, shewing first the time of the creation of such dukes, and secondlie the descent of all such dukes as are lineallie issued out of that creation, which follow as they came in one line.

Edward the blacke prince duke of Cornwall.

Edward (the eldest sonne of king Edward the third) being surnamed the blacke prince, was made duke of Cornewall the eleauenth of Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1337, when he was yet but yoong. This yoong prince was the first duke in England since the conquest, and Cornewall was by that creation the first place that was erected to a dukedome. Which duke, being the flower of chiualrie in his time, died about the fiftith yéere of king Edward the third; in the yeare of Christ 1376, and was buried at Canturburie.

Henrie Plantagenet duke of Lancaster.

Henrie Plantagenet aliàs Tort Colle (bicause his head leaned somewhat to one shoulder like the great Macedone king Alexander, whose valure in feats of armes this Henrie did also imitate) being sonne to Henrie of Monmouth earle of Lancaster, was in like sort earle of Lancaster by descent. After which he was created

earle

earle of Darbie, as some saie in the eleauenth yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1337, other saie in the fouretéenth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our salutation 1340. He was created duke of Lancaster as some haue in the six and twentith yeare of Edward the third, as other haue the seauen and twentith, and as the third sort haue the eight and twentith yeare of Edward the third. He was lord steward of England, and lieutenant of Guines. This man was wise, glorious in fortune, and full of honor in feates of armes, whilest he was yoong: he died the fiue and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1361, being one of the first knights which were made at the first institution of the honorable order of the garter, and the second duke that was made in England. He had issue two daughters and heires, Mawd maried to William duke of Bauare, earle of Henalt, Zeland and Holand, which after became mad; and Blanch maried to Iohn of Gant, fourth sonne to Edward the third.

Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaster.

Iohn Plantagenet, surnamed of Gant in Flanders, where he was borne, the fourth sonne to king Edward the third, was first by his father in the fiue and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1361, made duke of Lancaster, so that he was duke of Lancaster, earle of Lincolne, Salisburie, Darbie and Leicester, king of Castile and Lirne, and steward of England. He married three wiues, the first was Blanch the daughter and heire of Henrie duke of Lancaster, earle of Leicester, Lincolne, Sarisburie and Darbie, in whose right he obteined all those titles of honor, whome he maried in the thirtith three yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1359, and by hir had issue Henrie Plantagenet duke of Hereford: Philip married in the tenth yeare of Richard the second (in the yeare of Christ 1386, as some saie or rather 1385, as others haue) to the king of Portingale: and Elisabeth married to Iohn Holland erle of Huntington. His second wife was Constance eldest daughter to Peter king of Castile, whom he maried in the six and fortith yeare of Edward the third, being in the yeare of Christ 1372, by whome he had issue Margaret maried to the king of Castile, which Constance died in the yere of Christ 1394, as saith Ypodigma. His third wife was Katharine the widow of Otho Swinford, and daughter to sir Paien Kuet aliàs Guien king at armes, whom he maried in the nintéenth yeare of king Richard the second, being the yere of Christ 1395, or as some saie 1396, by this woman he had before mariage Thomas Beaufort, Iohn Beaufort, Henrie Beaufort, cardinall of Winchester, and Iane maried to Rafe Neuill earle of Westmerland, all which children were in the twentith of Richard the second, being in the yeare 1396, legitimated by parlement: at which time the said Iohn of Gant gaue them the surname of Beaufort. This Iohn of Gant was also earle of Richmond and constable of France in the time of Richard the second, who made him also duke of Aquitaine in the fourtéenth yeare of his reigne, being the yeare 1390. This Iohn of Gant died in the two and twentith yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare 1398, or as saith Ypodigma 1399, and was buried in the quéere of saint Paules church of London, on the north side.

Henrie Plantagenet duke of Lancaster and Hereford, king of England.

Henrie Plantagenet aliàs Henrie of Bollinbroke so surnamed of the place of his birth, the eldest son of the said Iohn, was by inheritance duke of Lancaster, earle of Leicester, Salisburie, Darbie, and Lincolne: he was created duke of Hereford by Richard the second, who made him earle of Darbie, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, in the yeare of Christ 1386, and after made him duke of Hereford in the 21 yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ 1397. Which Henrie of Bollinbroke maried in the 9 yéere of the reigne of Richard the second, in the yeare of Christ 1386 Marie the second daughter, and one of the heires of Humphrie Bohune earle of Hereford and Essex, and conestable of England, which woman died in the yéere of Christ 1394, about the eighteenth yéere of Richard

the

the second. This Henrie was after king of England by the name of Henrie the fourth.

Lionell Plantagenet duke of Clarence.

Lionell Plantagenet surnamed Lionell of Antwerpe in Brabant, because he was there borne, being the third son of king Edward the third, was erle of Ulster in Ireland by his wife, and created duke of Clarence in the 36 yéere of Edward the third, in the yéere of Christ 1462: but other saie he was made duke in the 33 yeer of Edward the third. He had two wiues, the first Elisabeth, some saie Eleanor (but rightlie as I doo suppose) the daughter of William Burgh earle of Ulster, by whom he had issue Philip maried to Edmund earle of March: the second wife was Ielant or Vielant daughter to Galeas duke of Millane, to whom he was maried, as saith the English chronicle, in the two and fortith yéere of Edward the third, in the yéere of Christ 1368: which yéere the Italians count 1367, by whom he had no issue. This Lionell was sometime regent of France, and died 1368.

Edmund Plantagenet duke of Yorke.

Edmund of Langleie, fift son to Edward the third made earle of Cambridge about the six and thirtith yéere of Edward the third, being the yeere of Christ 1361, was made duke of Yorke in the eight, or (as some haue) the ninth yéere of the said king Richard the second. He in the six and fortith yéere of king Edward the third, in the yéere that the word became flesh 1372, married Isabell one of the daughters of Peter king of Castile, and sister by the mother to Constance second wife to Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaster, brother to this Edmund, who was about the twentith yéere of Richard the second protector of England, while the king was in Ireland, which Isabell died in the yeere of Christ 1394, being about the eightéenth yéere of Richard the second, and by the kings commandement was buried in the friers of Langleie. This Edmund had issue by his wife Isabell Edward earle of Rutland, and duke Albermerle, Richard earle of Cambridge, and one daughter called Constance married to Thomas lord Spencer: he died the second (as some haue) or rather the third (as others haue) of Henrie the 4, in the yéere of Christ, as hath Ypodigma 1402, and was buried at Langleie.

Edward Plantagenet duke of Albermerle and Yorke.

Edward Plantagenet son and heire of Edmund of Langleie duke of Yorke, was in the foureteenth of Richard the second created erle of Rutland in his fathers life, in the yéere of Christ 1390, and in the twentith yeare of Richard the second, or rather the 21 of the same king, being the yeare of Christ 1397, he was made duke of Albermerle or Aumerle, and after his fathers death he was duke of Yorke: he was slaine at the battell of Agincourt, in the third yeare of Henrie the fift, being the yeare of Christ 1415, he married Margaret, or rather more trulie Philip the ladie Fitzwater, and widow to sir Iohn Gollafer knight, bastard sonne to sir Iohn Gollafer of Cercedone or Saresdone knight in Oxfordshire. And here because I haue mentioned the name of Gollafer, although it be digressing from my first purposes, onelie to treat of the dukes of England, I thinke it not amisse to saie somewhat of these two knights, of the Gollafers, sir Iohn the father, and sir Iohn the sonne. This sir Iohn Gollafer the father being the sonne of Iohn Gollafer esquier (whose ancestors as farre as I can learne had their first originall from Roger Gollafer of Cercedone in the time of king Iohn, and was buried in Domo capitulari de Bruera in com. oxon.) married Anne the daughter and heire of sir Thomas Langleie lord of Langleie in Oxfordshire (now at this daie in the yeare 1585, by grant of queene Elisabeth, in the possession of Robert Sutton or Dudleie earle of Leicester) which Anne died shortlie after without anie issue by him. After whose death this sir Iohn Gollafer married Isabell the ladie of Missenden (dwelling at Missenden) and of Queintone in Buckinghamshire, she being daughter to sir Barnard Brocas. But this sir Iohn Gollafer hauing no issue by the said Elisabeth, and desirous by some meanes or other to continue his name (which yet he could not make perpetuall nor of anie long continuance) made

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choise in the life of his wife Isabell of another woman, whome he vsed for procreations cause, and by hir had issue two bastards, one called Iennet Pulham after prioresse of Burneham by Windsore, and an other bastard called after the father Iohn Gollafer, who in following time became a knight. Afterward this sir Iohn the father died at Queintone in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, seauentie and nine, falling partlie in the second and third yeare of Henrie the fourth, and was buried at the Graie friers in Oxford, whose wife Isabell was after buried in Missenden priorie.

After the death of this sir Iohn the father, sir Iohn Gollafer knight his base sonne being lord of Langleie, married Phillip ladie Fitzwater, after maried to this duke of Yorke (as before is said) which sir Iohn Gollafer died at Wallingford, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, ninetie and six, being the twentith yeare of Richard the second, and was buried at Westminster, néere vnto the toome of Richard the second. Which ladie Philip died in the time of Henrie the sixt, and was buried at Westminster, néere vnto hir husband, whose statelie toome is yet extant, on the south side almost directlie oueragainst the toome of Richard the second. Thus this much for the name of Gollafer; and so againe to the dukes of England.

Thomas Plantagenet, otherwise called Thomas of Woodstocke, sixt sonne to king Edward the third, was created earle of Buckingham, the first yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare one thousand, thrée hundred, seauentie and seauen, the daie of his coronation before dinner. This man was high constable of England, and created duke of Glocester, in the eight yeare of Richard the second, of whom is more especiall mention made in the treatise of the constables of England. Thomas Plantagenet surnamed of Woodstocke duke of Glocester.

Thomas Holland, brother by the mothers side to king Richard the second, and sonne to the lord Thomas Holland (earle of Kent, in the right of Iane, daughter and heire to Edmund Plantagenet, surnamed of Woodstocke earle of Kent) was aduanced to the title of duke of Surreie in the two and twentith yeare of king Richard the second, being the yeare of Christ one thousand, thrée hundred, ninetie and seauen, he maried Alice the daughter of Richard Fitzallen earle of Arundell. He had issue six daughters and heires; Margaret married to Iohn Beaufort earle of Summerset, and marquesse Dorset; Alice maried to Thomas Montacute earle of Salisburie; Elisabeth, married to Iohn lord Neuill sonne to Rafe Neuill the first earle of Westmerland, and after his death to Edward Chareleton lord Powis; Ioane married to Edmund of Langleie duke of Yorke; and Bridget a nun atBarking. This man with others, at a parlement held the first yeare of Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, thrée hundred ninetie and nine was depriued of his name of duke, and of all honours, togither with the dignities belonging to a duke, and was after in the same yeare (rebelling against king Henrie the fourth) taken by the men of Cireester, and beheaded in the same towne, after that he had caused the towne to be set on fire. Thomas Holland duke of Surreie.

Iohn Holland full brother to Thomas Holland, and halfe brother to Richard the second, was created earle of Huntington in the fourteenth yeare of king Richard the second, and made duke of Excester at a parlement holden in the one and twentith yeare of the same king, though some attribute that to the twentith yeare of king Richard. This man at a parlement held in the first of Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of Christ 1399, was disgraded from his title of dukedome, and was after taken at Pritewell in Essex in a mill, and beheaded at Plassie in the said shire, in the said first yéere of the said king Henrie the fourth, he married Elisabeth the daughter of Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaster, and had issue Iohn Holland earle of Huntington. Iohn Holland duke of Excester.

Iohn Holland duke of Excester.

Iohn Holland earle of Huntington was (as it seemeth) made by Henrie the fourth (after the death of the duke of Excester his father) and admitted to be duke of Excester, he married Anne the daughter of Edmund earle of Stafford, he had issue Henrie Holland duke of Excester, and Anne maried to sir Iohn Neuill knight, brother of Rafe the third of that name erle of Westmerland, he died the six and twentith of king Henrie the sixt on the fift of August, being the yeare of Christ 1448, and was buried at S. Katharins nigh the tower of London. After which his first wife he maried Anne the daughter of Iohn Montacute earle of Salisburie, by whome he had no issue.

Henrie Holland duke of Excester.

Henrie Holland sonne of Iohn Holland was (after the death of his father) duke of Excester, he was disherited in the first of Edward the fourth at a parlement held then in the yeare 1461, he maried Anne daughter to Richard duke of Yorke, and sister to king Edward the fourth, which Anne at hir owne sute on the twelfe of Nouember in the eleuenth yeere of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1471, was diuorced from the said duke of Excester. Shortlie after which, in the yeare of Christ 1413, being in the thirteenth of Edward the fourth, this duke was found dead in the sea betweene Douer and Calis, but how he came there none could certenlie declare. He died without issue, leauing his sister Anne his heire, maried (as before) to Iohn Neuill brother to Rafe earle of Westmerland.

Robert Vere duke of Ireland.

Robert Vere earle of Oxford and marquesse of Dubline was in the yéere of Christ 1386, in the tenth of Richard the second created duke of Ireland, he died without issue at Louaine in great penurie and vexation of mind, as hath Ypodigma, in the yeere of Christ 1392, being about the sixtéenth of king Richard the second, he maried the daughter of Ingerame de Cousie earle of Bedford, and after diuorced from hir he married Lancecrona one of meane parentage.

Margaret Segraue duchesse of Norffolke.

Margaret ladie Segraue the daughter and heire of Thomas Brotherton earle of Norffolke and marshall of England, was created duchesse of Norffolke in the one and twentith yeare of king Richard the second, she had two husbands, whereof the first was Iohn lord Segraue; by whom she had issue Elisabeth married to Iohn Mowbreie, the third of that name. Hir second husband was sir Walter Mannie knight of the order, by whome she had a daughter married to Iohn lord Hastings erle of Penbroke. This duchesse Margaret died in the yeare of Christ 1399, being about the three and twentith of Richard the second, and was buried in the frier Minors of London.

Thomas lord Mowbreie duke of Norffolke.

Thomas lord Mowbreie second sonne of Elisabeth Segraue and Iohn lord Mowbreie hir husband was aduanced to the dukedome of Norffolke, in the one and twentith yeare of the reigne of Richard the second. Shortlie after which he was appeled by Henrie earle of Bullingbroke of treason, and caried to the castell of Windsore, where he was stronglie and safelie garded, hauing a time of combat granted to determine the cause betwéene the two dukes the sixtéenth daie of September, in the two and twentith of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption 1398. But in the end the matter was so ordered, that this duke of Norffolke was banished for euer: whervpon taking his iourneie to Ierusalem, he died at Venice in his returne from the said citie of Ierusalem in the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, about the yeare of our redemption 1399. He maried Elisabeth one of the daughters and heires of Richard erle of Arundell Warren and Surreie, by whome he had issue Iohn duke of Norffolke, and three daughters, Elisabeth maried to Michaell de la Poole the yoonger earle of Suffolke, Margaret maried vnto sir Robert Howard knight, and Isabell maried to sir Iames Barkeleie.

Iohn Mowbreie duke of Norffolke.

Iohn Mowbreie earle of Nottingham marshall of England and duke of Norffolke, baron Segraue and Bower, was buried in the Charterhouse within the ile of Exholme,

holme, he maried Katharine the daughter of Rafe the first earle of Westmerland, by whom he had issue Iohn duke of Norffolke.

Iohn lord Mowbreie the sixt baron of the name of Mowbreie, sonne to Iohn duke of Norffolke, was after his father duke of Norffolke. This Iohn was buried in Tetford priorie, who marieng Elenor the daughter of William lord Burchier earle of Eive, had issue Iohn duke of Norffolke. Iohn Mowbreie duke of Norffolke.

Iohn the last duke of Norffolke of the surname of Mowbreie, the sonne of Iohn the last before mentioned, was in his fathers lifetime created earle of Warren and Surreie by king Henrie the sixt, and after the death of his father was duke of Norffolke. This Iohn the last duke died in his castell of Fremingham, in the yeare 1461, being the second yeare of king Edward the fourth. He maried Elisabeth daughter to Iohn lord Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, by whome he had issue one onelie daughter and heire, maried to Richard duke of Yorke second son to Edward the fourth. Iohn Mowbreie duke of Norffolke.

Thomas Plantagenet second sonne to Henrie the fourth, was created duke of Clarence in the eleuenth yeare of his father, being about the yeare of our redemption 1409, and was afterward in the 13 of the same king created earle of Aumerle, and high steward of England; he was slaine the two and twentith of March, in the ninth yeare of the reigne of the victorious king Henrie the fift, in the yeare of our redemption 1420, beginning the yeare of our Lord on the fiue and twentith daie of March. He maried Margaret the daughter of Thomas Holland earle of Kent, and died without issue legitimat, hauing a base sonne called Iohn the bastard of Clarence. Th. Plantagenet duke of Clarence.

Iohn Plantagenet third son to Henrie the fourth, was by his father created duke of Bedford, at the parlement of Leicester, in the yeare of Christ 1414, in the second of king Henrie the fift. Of this man is more large mention made in my discourse of the protectors of England. Iohn Plantagenet duke of Bedford.

Humfreie Plantagenet fourth sonne of Henrie the fourth, was by his father created duke of Glocester, who for the nobilitie of his mind and vertuous life, was made protector of England. Of whom is more spoken in my former discourse of the protectors of England. Humfreie Plantagenet duke of Glocester.

Iohn Beaufort (which name of Beaufort was giuen by Iohn of Gant to his children which he had by Katharine Swineford, when they were made legitimate by parlement, about the one and twentith yeare of king Richard the second as is before touched) was created marquesse Dorset by Henrie the fourth, and after aduanced to the honour of duke of Summerset, in the first yeare of king Henrie the fift, being the yeare of our redemption 1413. He maried Margaret the daughter of sir Iohn Beauchampe lord of Powicke, he had issue Margaret maried to Edmund Haddam earle of Richmond father to king Henrie the seuenth: after the death of which Edmund she was maried to Thomas lord Stonleie, afterward by Henrie the seuenth created earle of Darbie, and after vnto Henrie sonne to Humfreie duke of Buckingham. This duke of Summerset died the two and twentith yeare of king Henrie the sixt, and was buried at Winborne, in the yeare of Christ 1444. And his daughter the ladie Margaret died at Westminster on the nine and twentith of Iune, in the first yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of Christ a thousand fiue hundred and nine, about three score and fiue yeares after the death of hir father. Iohn Beaufort duke of Summerset.

Thomas Beaufort sonne to Iohn of Gant duke of Lancaster and Katherine Swineford was created duke of Excester, in the fift yeare of K. Henrie the fift, of whome is mention made in my protectors. Thomas Beaufort duke of Excester.

Edmund Beaufort sonne of Iohn Beaufort duke of Summerset, was created earle Morton in the seuenth yeare of K. Henrie the fift. He was created marquesse Dorset and duke of Summerset by king Henrie the sixt, he was made regent of Normandie, Edmund Beaufort duke of Summerset.

and lost the whole countrie to the French: for which after his comming out of Normandie in the nine and twentith yeare of king Henrie the sixt, he was on the sixt of December, the same yeare, being the yeare of our Lord 1450, apprehended and put vnder arrest, and his goods by the commons fowlie despoiled and caried awaie from the Blacke friers. He was slaine at the battell of S. Albons in Maie, the three and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the sixt, falling in the yeare of our Lord 1455, and was with Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland, and Thomas lord Clifford buried at S. Albons. He maried two wiues, the first was Elenor the daughter of Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike, and widow to Thomas lord Rosse, by whom he had issue Henrie duke of Summerset, Edmund duke of Summerset, Iohn marques Dorset, Margaret maried to Humfreie duke of Buckingham, Elisabeth maried to sir Henrie Lewes knight, Elenor maried to Iames Butler earle of Wilshire, and after to sir Robert Spenser, Anne maried to sir William Pastone knight, and Ione maried to the lord Hooth of Ireland. His second wife was Ione, who was after maried to Henrie Bromefield knight, of the which Edmund duke of Summerset, and the other lords buried at saint Albons, thus writeth the worthie poet Iohn Gower with these same verses hereafter following:

Quos mors quos Martis sors sæua, suæque sororis
Bella prostrarunt, villæ medióque necarunt,
Mors sic occisos tumulauerat hîc simul ipsos,
Póstque necem requiem causauit habere perennem
Et medium sine quo vult hîc requiescere nemo,
Hic lis, hic pugna mors est qui terminat arma,
Mors sors & Mauors qui strauerunt dominos hos.

Henrie Beaufort duke of Summerset.

Henrie Beaufort eldest sonne to Edmund duke of Summerset was after the death of his father erle Morton, marquesse Dorset, and duke of Summerset, he was capteine of Calis; who with other nobles in the nine and thirtith of Henrie the sixt slue the duke of Yorke at the battell of Wakefield, in the yeare of our redemption 1460; according to the accompt of England. Shortlie after which, K. Henrie the sixt, whom this duke supported all that he could, was deposed, and Edward the fourth crowned. Touching which deposing of the one, and crowning of the other, although it be impertinent to the treatise of the dukes of England, hauing here so good place therfore, I will set downe such verses as I haue found in I. Whethamsted, adding further such other verses also as I find in him, concerning a battell fiercelie fought at Ferribrig in Yorkeshire, in this sort:

In the yeare of Christ 1460.

X. numero seni lapsi sunt circiter anni,
Postquam successit lex iuris, iuréue rexit,
Anglorum regnum vis non ius rexerat ipsum
Iam noua progenies, quia cœlo venit ab alto
Saturni soboles, quæ nomine dicitur altro
Edwardus quartus, Richardo sanguine iunctus
Creditur à multis, redeunt Saturnia nostris
Temporibus sæcla, lis visque nephas simul vna
Deperiunt, iura lex & pax sunt reditura.
Fraus etiámque dolus cessabunt, ac violentus
Raptus auaritiæ, subeunt verúmque fidésque:
Hæc spes plebis erat, cleri chorus hæcque putabat.
Det ceu speratur regnum Deus vt statuatur,
Et plebs tranquillè viuat clerus atque quietè.

Then of the time of that former recited warre, in which the northerne men were ouercome, there were these verses made, vpon the excesse and euill which they outragiouslie committed in the south parts of England, without regard of God, obedi-

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ence to their naturall prince, reuerence to the church, loue to their natiue countrie, or benefite to themselues:

M. semel X. seno centum quater I. simul vno
In Martis mense terdena denique luce,
In patria Boreæ Ferrebrig propè iugera villæ,
Pugna fuit plebis acris nimis et satis atrox.
Vicerat Arcthos in bello Martius heros,
Iunior Edwardus Hector nouus alter Achilles
Prostrauit multos Austro tunc cesserat Arcthos,
Et doluit casum supra X. bis millia, quorum
Quamplures domini plures & erant generosi
Illius patriæ flos vt sors tunc cecidere.
Et meritò, quoniam spoliarunt nequiter Austrum.
Laus igitur Domino, sit honor, sit gloria Christo
Cessat nunc flatus grandis Boreæque boatus,
Inque Austrum redijt, Aeolus ventum variauit,
Est Boreas mordens, & valdè ventus adurens,
Est Auster iustus, vult morsu rodere morsus,
Et malè mordentes bene vires tollere eidem,
Est Zephyrus placidus, est suauis frater & eius,
Hinc Boreásque Aquilo pro nunc clauduntur in antro.

The battell of Ferribrig the thirteenth of March in the yeare 1461, according to the accompt of them that begin the yeare at Ianuarie.

Aboue 20,000 slaine, wherof most knights and gentlemen.

Furthermore, touching the title of the same king Edward the fourth to the gouernement of the kingdome of England, and of his right and truth therevnto were these following verses composed, to declare the deposition of king Henrie the sixt, as beforesaid in the coronation of Edward the fourth, and how the same kingdome of England, with all the members thereof, did belong to Edward the fourth, as vnto the rightfull lineall heire to the same with his pedegrée, prooving the same also in this sort:

In sibi coniunctis [a] Edwardi semine natis
Ortus erat primò [b] Leonellus [c] Iohnque secundò,
Cedat lex regni vult iunior vt seniori.
Attamen [d] Henricus hæres, genitúsque Iohannis
Per vim sceptrigenum regimen tulerátque coronam,
Et tenuit multis sed non sine viribus annis.
Illi successit rex [e] qui si non caruisset
Iustitiæ titulo, non Hector dignior ipso:
Non iudex Eacus, non ore politus Vlysses.
Ipso defuncto successit [f] filius in quo
Stirps ea cessauit. Hæres rectus remeauit
Scilicet [g] Edwardus Leonelli proximus hæres,
Hic petijt regimen, [h] rex obstat, dátque negamen.
Res agitur belli, vicit sanguis Leonelli,
Et palmam tulerat Henricus rex fugiebat
Bello finito, multo quóque sanguine fuso
Quum victor secum palmam ferrétque triumphum,
Vendicat hoc iterum, plebs applaudebat eidem
Clamabátque sibi [k] Viuat fœlicior omni
Rege vel Augusto, melior regat Octauiano.
Hæc vox cunctorum, clamor fuit ac populorum.
Rex igitur factus, rex in solióque leuatus
Quod fractum fuerat iterum bene consolidabat,
Iuréque quo potuit, vim pressit, ius renouauit.
Sic vetus id dictum fuerat bene verificatum,

[a] King Edward the third.
[b] Lionell duke of Clarence third sonne to Edward the third.
[c] Iohn of Gant fourth sonne to Edward the third.
[d] Henrie the fourth.
[e] Henrie the fift.
[f] Henrie the sixt.
[g] Edward the fourth.
[h] Henrie the sixt.
Henrie the sixt.
[k] Edward the fourth.

De

De malè quæsitis vix gaudet tertius hæres.
Stare diu nequit mala quamquam vis stabiliuit
Ius, nescítque mori, valeat licèt ense feriri,
Ex bene patratis bene crescit honos quoque virtus.
O rota versátilis nimis obque rotabilis axis!
Sorte nouercante fatóque modum variante,
Corruit[l] Henricus isto sub nomine sextus,
Et casum tulerat, titulus sibi deficiebat
Defecítque bonus, heus pro moderamine sensus
Próque bono campi cor defuit Herculis illi,
Matris non patris fuit ortus filius excors,
Martem non coluit nimis à[m] patre degenerauit
Quo melior miles non Teucer erat vel Atrides,
Siue timor Phrygijs Aiax robustus in armis.
[n] Hic fuit in verbis rex mitis, rex pietatis,
Attamen in factis nimiæ vir simplicitatis.
Hinc postquam triginta nouem rex præfuit annis,
Cæca manu fortuna rotam quasi fortis in armi
Voluerat, et regimen capiebat regis, eundem
Compulit ac subito sic dicere, Sum sine regno.
Oh sors prosperior, oh gratia sortéque maior!
Qui diuturna nimis fuit expectatio plebis,
Sed mittendus erat, iam dante Deo veniebat
Hic Martis soboles, et nomine[o] Martius heros.
Marte triumphante, ius sceptri iúsque coronæ,
Vt decuit sumpsit, vt debuit ac sibi iunxit,
Tunc bona spes fuerat, sors prospera quod reueniret,
Lætáque pro voto colere plebs secla sub ipso
Det Deus, ac faciat bona ne spes irrita fiat.

[l] King Henrie the sixt his disposition described.

[m] Henrie the fift.

[n] Henrie the sixt.

[o] Edward erle of March, after king Edward the fourth.

Thus after this long digression from the matter of the duke of Summerset, bicause I would set downe all the verses of Whethamsted, I must yet also ad other verses found in his register, mentioning some part of the dooings of the northerne men before spoken of: which verses, although they should haue gone before, yet I think better here than not at all to write them in this sort. Shortly after the forsaid battell of Wakefield wherin the duke of Yorke was slaine, and before the deposing of king Henrie the sixt, he had a battell at S. Albons, called the second battell of S. Albons with the northern men (folowing the quéene and this duke of Summersets faction) and now were come as far as S. Albons, on Shroue-tuesdaie the seuenteenth daie of Februarie in the said yeare of Christ 1460, where the king was put to flight, and fled to the quéene. Touching which battell also, thus writeth that learned abbat of saint Albons Iohn Whethamsted in his ancient register:

M. simul X. seno centum quater I. simul vno,
Quum lux septena fuerat mensis quóque dena,
Numinis illius venerantur quod morientes,
Inter* Solares pugnantes et Boreales,
Magna cohors cecidit, duo millia plebs numerauit,
Sors apud Albani villam protomartyris almi,
Et pugnæ campum, cæsis dedit et tumulatum,
Quod dolet ac doluit annis multísque dolebit,
Villicus ac monachus prope eos habitator et omnis,
Principio pugnæ potiores Marte fuere
Australes, tandem vicit Boreásque triumphum
Abstulerat secum, stat sors mox versa retrorsum,
Martis vt euentum fore scires sic dubiosum.

The 17 of Februarie 1461 after the account of such as begin the yeare at Ianuarie.

*Southernemen.

Vt veniunt cynephes, culices, brusique locustæ,
Vt vastant segetes: aliæ muscæ quóque multæ,
Sic aduenerunt similes illis Boreales,
Austri totius. His iudex sit Radamantus,
Et Minos Cretæ, coniunctus eis Eacúsque,
Atque modum pœnæ pensent seu demeruere,
Vix infernalis pro pœna sufficit ipsis,
Aut focus aut furiæ licent essent agmine mille,
Gens est Cerberea, gens Sphingia, gens Briarea,
Latratu, raptu, spolij prædæque voratu,
Laus hæc, laus Boreæ, laus est hæc laus sine laude.

Thus to returne to the duke of Summerset, we saie that afterward in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, the said duke of Summerset fled to Yorke to king Henrie the sixt, and the quéene, who altogither fled from thense to Berwike, and so to Edinburgh. Wherevpon by parlement in the first yeare of Edward the fourth 1461, this duke was atteinted, and his goods and lands seized for the king. But after that time king Edward the fourth besieging the castels of Bamburgh, Dunstenburgh, and Alnewike, this duke of Summerset and others yéelded those forts to the king on Christmas éeuen, in the third yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption 1463. For which cause this duke was taken againe into the kings fauour, who gaue him a thousand marks by yeare, whereof he was neuer paid. Notwithstanding all which, in the yeare following, being the fourth yeare of Edward the fourth, in Maie, in the yeare of Christ 1464, this duke with others raised an armie against the king, in which battell he was taken (with Robert earle of Hungerford) by Iohn Neuill earle of Northumberland, and beheaded. He died without lawfull issue, leauing behind him a base sonne called Charles Summerset, by king Henrie the eight created earle of Worcester.

Edmund Beaufort duke of Summerset.

Edmund Beaufort sonne of the foresaid Edmund, and brother and heire to this last Henrie duke of Summerset, was also duke of Summerset. This man in the eleuenth yeare of Edward the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1471, fleeing into the church of Teukesburie at the battell of Teukesburie (which quéene Margaret the wife of Henrie the sixt and hir sonne prince Edward had against king Edward the fourth) lost then the field. After which this duke was taken out of the church, and was there beheaded in the said eleuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, and died without issue.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke.

Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to Richard earle of Cambridge, was created duke of Yorke by king Henrie the sixt: he was also earle of Cambridge, Ulster and March, lord of Wigmore and Clare, lieutenant of the realme of France and duchie of Normandie. Of this man sée more in the protectors of England.

George Plantagenet duke of Clarence.

George Plantagenet the second sonne to Richard duke of Yorke, was made duke of Clarence by his elder brother king Edward the fourth when he came to the crowne, in the yeare of Christ 1461, being the first yeare of his reigne. Of this George I haue somwhat intreated in my discourse of the conestables of England, and in my discourse of the protectors of England.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Glocester.

Richard Plantagenet, the third sonne of Richard duke of Yorke, and brother to George duke of Clarence, was made duke of Glocester by king Edward the fourth, in the first yéere of his reigne, being the yeare in which God tooke on him the forme of a seruant 1461, of whome I haue discoursed in my constables of England, and in my collection of the protectors of England.

Henrie Beauchampe duke of Warwike.

Henrie Beauchampe, sonne of Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike by Isabell ladie Spenser, his second wife, succeeded his father in all his inheritances the twentith of Maie, in the seuenteenth yeare of king Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of our redemption

redemption 1439. For then the said Richard Beauchampe died at Rone in Normandie. This Henrie after that his inheritance had beene kept two years in the kings hands, was dismissed of his wardship, and restored to his liuings with great glorie. For he was crowned king of the Ile of Wight (as saith Iohn Stow) by the kings owne hand, and nominated chiefe earle of England, in the twentith yeare of the said king Henrie the sixt, being about the yeare of Christ 1442. Shortlie after, in the two and twentith yeare of the said king Henrie the sixt, in the yeare of our redemption 1444, he was created duke of Warwike, vnto whome the king gaue the castell of Brightstow or Bristow, with all the appurtenances which king Iohn kept in his hands, to which duke also the king gaue the Iles of Garnseie and Ierseie. About two years after which, on the foure and twentith of the same king Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of our redemption 1446, died this duke of Warwike, whose stile was duke of Warwike chiefe earle of England, lord Spenser and Aburgauennie, king of the Ile of Wight, Garnseie and Ierseie, and lord of the castell of Bristow. He died without issue, and was buried at Teukesburie, whereby his inheritance came to his foure sisters, which were (by Elisabeth one of the daughters and heires of Thomas lord Barkeleie, Lisle and Teies, first wife vnto his father) Margaret his eldest sister maried to Iohn Talbot first earle of Shrewsburie of that name: Elenor the second sister, first maried to Thomas lord Rosse, and after to Edmund duke of Summerset, &c: Elisabeth the third sister, maried to George Neuill lord Latimer: whose other fourth sister (by Isabell the second wife vnto Richard earle Beauchampe, daughter to Thomas lord Spenser, and mother also to the aboue named Henrie duke of Warwike, who died without issue) was Anne, maried to Richard Neuill earle of Salisburie.

Humfreie Stafford duke of Buckingham.

Humfreie Stafford earle Stafford, created duke of Buckingham in the two and twentith yeare of king Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of our redemption 1444, was slaine at the battell of Northampton. Of this man sée more in my discourse of the conestables of England.

Henrie Stafford duke of Buckingham.

Henrie sonne to the said Humfreie duke of Buckingham was beheaded in the first yeare of Richard the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1483. Of this man is more set downe in my discourse of the conestables of England.

Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham.

Edward Stafford, sonne to the said Henrie, was duke of Buckingham, being beheaded in the thirteenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, which was the yeare of our redemption 1521, of whom also I haue intreated in the said discourse of the constables of England.

William de la Poole duke of Suffolke.

William de la Poole earle of Suffolke created marques of Suffolke in the two and twentith of king Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of our redemption 1444, was shortlie after also created duke of Suffolke, and in the eight and twentith of the said king Henrie the sixt, falling in the yeare 1450, was banished the realme for fiue yeares, to pacifie the hard opinion which the commons had conceiued against him. He tooke ship to performe his banishment the third of Maie, and sailed towards France, but was on the sea incountered by a ship of the tower named the Nicholas, by which he was taken and heheaded, and his bodie cast vp at Douer sands, and buried in the charterhouse at Hull. He maried Alice the daughter and heire of Thomas Chaucer, son to that famous poet Geffreie Chaucer, by which wife the maner of Ewelme, commonlie called Newelme in Oxfordshire came to the Pooles. This duke and his wife did there build a new parish church of Ewelme standing on a hill, and founded a pretie hospitall called Gods house, at the west end of Ewelme parish church, to which house he gaue the manours of Ramrige in Hampshire, Conocke in Wiltshire, and Mersh in Buckinghamshire. He also founded an hospitall at Donnington castell. This Alice wife of duke William, suruiuing hir husband, was after buried in the parish church of Ewelme, on the southside of the high altar, in a rich toome of alabaster with an image in the habit of a dutchesse crowned, lieng on the

same toome, and hauing this epitaph: Orate pro anima serenissimæ principissæ Alissiæ Sulfolchiæ huius ecclesiæ patronæ, quæ obijt 20 die mensis Maij, anno Domini 1475, litera dominicali A.

Iohn de la Poole duke of Suffolke.

Iohn de la Poole son to the said William de la Poole duke of Suffolke, was also duke of Suffolke after the death of his father. This man on the eightéenth of Aprill in the fiftéenth yéere of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1415, was knighted by the king. He married Elisabeth daughter to Richard duke of Yorke, and sister to Edward the fourth, by whom he had issue Edmund erle of Suffolke: Iohn that by Edward the fourth was created earle of Lincolne, and Anne, who by procurement of king Richard the third was maried to the duke of Rothseie, eldest son to the king of Scots.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke.

Richard Plantagenent second sonne to king Edward the fourth, was by his father created duke of Yorke, in the 15 yéere of his reigne, being the yeare of our Lord 1474, at a parlement in the said fiftéenth yeare of Edward the fourth. This duke on the fiftéenth of Ianuarie in the seauentéenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1477, was married to ladie Anne daughter and heire to Iohn Mowbreie duke of Norffolke, and was in the first yéere of the reigne of the tyrant king Richard the third his uncle most vnnaturallie murthered in the tower, in the yeare of Christ 1483.

George Plantagenet duke of Bedford.

George Plantagenent third sonne to king Edward the fourth was created duke of Bedford by his father, in the yéere of our redemption 1470, and died without issue being yerie yoong.

Iohn Howard duke of Norffolke.

Iohn Howard lord Howard (the son of sir Robert Howard knight, and of Margaret his wife, one of the daughters and heires of Thomas lord Mowbreie duke of Norffolke, earle of Notingham, and marshall of England) was created duke of Norffolke, and marshall of England, in the first yéere of the vsurping king Richard the third, being the yéere of our redemption 1483. This man following the part of the said king Richard, was at the battell of Bosworth in Lecestershire (fought in the third yeare of the said king Richard, in the yéere of Christ 1485) slaine with the said king Richard. He had two wiues, Katharine the daughter of William lord Molins, by whome he had issue Thomas earle of Surreie, after made duke of Norffolke by king Henrie the eight: Anne married to sir Edmund Gorge knight; Isabell married to sir Roger Mortimer of Essex; Iane married to sir Iohn Timperleie; and Margaret married to sir Iohn Windham: his second wife was Margaret the daughter of sir Iohn Chedworth knight, by whome he had Katharine married to sir Iohn Bourchier lord Barns.

Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke.

Thomas Howard earle of Surreie sonne of the said Iohn was created duke of Norffolke, in the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight, being about the yéere of Christ 1514. Of him is more mention in my discourse of the lord treasurors of England.

Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke.

Thomas Howard created earle of Surreie in the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight, being high admerall and lord treasuror of England, was duke of Norffolke, after the death of his father, which fell in the sixtéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption 1524. Of this man is also more intreated in my discourse of the lord treasurors.

Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke.

Thomas Howard the third duke of the name of Thomas, and the fourth of the name of Howard, was son to Henrie Howard earle of Surreie sonne to the last before recited Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke. This man, being the last duke that liued in England, and occasioned me to make this discourse of the dukes, was beheaded on tower hill the second daie of Iune, in the fourtéenth yeere of the now reigning prince Elisabeth, being the yeare of Christ 1572, and buried in the chappell of the tower. He maried three wiues; his first wife was Marie one of the daughters and heires of Henrie Fitzallen earle of Arundell, by whom he had issue Philip earle

of Arundell, his second wife was Margaret daughter and onlie heire to Thomas Audleie knight, chancellor of England, and lord Audleie of saffron Walden the widow of the lord Henrie Dudleie yoongest son to Iohn Sutton of Dudleie duke of Northumberland, by which second wife this duke had issue Thomas, William, Elisabeth, and Margaret; his third wife was Elisabeth the daughter of sir Iames Leiborne knight, and widow of the lord Dacres of Gisseland, by whome he had no issue.

Henrie Teuther duke of Yorke.

Henrie the second son of king Henrie the seuenth was by his father created duke of Yorke at Westminster, in the eleuenth yéere of his reigne, being the yeere of our redemption 1495, or therabouts. This man was after king of England by the name of king Henrie the eight.

Iasper of Hatfield duke of Bedford.

Iasper of Hatfield the sonne of Owen Teuther esquier, by Katharine daughter to the French king, and widow to king Henrie the fift, was by king Henrie the sixt his brother on the mothers side created earle of Penbroke, in the yeare of Christ 1452, after which in the fiue and thirtith yeere of the said king he was made earle of Cambridge: and lastlie, in the first yeere of the reigne of king Henrie the seauenth he was created duke of Bedford on Simon and Iudes daie, in the yeare of our redemption 1485, but died without issue the eighteenth daie of December, in the twelfe yéere of the reigne of king Henrie the seauenth, in the yéere of Christ 1496, and was buried at Kensham.

Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke.

Charles Brandon the son of sir William Brandon knight, slaine on the part of king Henrie the seuenth at Bosworth field, was created viscount Lisle, and after on Candlemasse daie in the yéere of Christ 1513, being the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight he was created duke of Suffolke. He married thrée wiues; the first was Anne daughter of sir Anthonie Browne knight; the second Marie, second daughter of king Henrie the seauenth, and widow to the king of France, by whom he had issue Henrie earle of Lincolne, and Francis married to Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke; his third wife was Katharine the daughter and onlie heire of William lord Willoughbie of Ersleie, by whome he had issue Henrie and Charles both dukes of Suffolke one after another, who both died within one houre of the sweat at Cambridge. This Charles the father died in the yéere of Christ 1545, and was buried at Windsore: and of the two dukes the sons thus writeth Iohn Parkhurst sometime placed in the bishops see of Norwich:

Fratres Amyclæi Pollux cum Castore
Potuere sic cum morte depaciscier,
Vt cùm alter illorum esset mortuus, tamen
Alter superesset, & reuersus sortibus
Vicissim vtérque vtriúsque morte viueret.
Cur Parca nunc crudelior est, quàm olim fuit?
Fratres duos nuper ea, quales hactenus
Nec vidit vnquam, nec videbit Anglia
Lumina duo, duóque propugnacula
Fortissima virtutis, reíque publicæ,
Crudelis ab vno perêmit funere.
Virtus nequaquam illam, nec egregia indoles
Mouit, nec Edwardi regis, nec optimæ
Matris, neque totius gemitus Britanniæ.
O dura dura mors! ô sæua numina!

Henrie Fitz Roie duke of Richmont.

Henrie Fitz Roie the base son to king Henrie the eight, begotten vpon Elisabeth Blunt the ladie Talboise, was by his father first created earle of Summerset and Northampton, and after duke of Richmont. This duke was verie forward in the knowledge of toongs, and also in knightlie actiuitie, as may appéere by due consideration

deration of the historie in place where he is mentioned. He loued Iohn Lelend the reuerend antiquarie, who presented vnto the said duke a booke of copies, whereby he might learne to write Romane letters great and small, as appéereth by this hexastichon, which I find among the said Iohn Lelands written epigrams in this maner set downe:

Ad illustrissimum Henricum ducem Richmontanum.

Quo Romana modo maiuscula littera pingi,
Pingi quo possit littera parua modo,
Hic liber ecce tibi signis monstrabit apertis
Princeps, Aonij spes & alumne gregis:
Qui tibi si placeat (quod certè spero futurum)
Maxima pro paruo munere dona dabis.]

He died without issue the two and twentith of Iulie, in the eight and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yeere of our redemption 1536, and was buried at Thetford in Norffolke, hauing maried Marie the daughter of Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke.

Edward Seimor duke of Summerset.

Edward Seimor knight (the son of sir Iohn Seimor knight) was created vicount Beauchampe in Maie, the eight and twentith yéere of king Henrie the eight, being the yéere of our redemption 1536, and was after in the nine and twentith yeare of the same king on the eightéenth daie of October, in the yéere of Christ 1537 created earle of Hertford. Then king Henrie being dead, he in the first yeare of king Edward the sixt, which was the yéere of our redemption 1546, was made protector of England, and immediatlie therevpon created duke of Summerset, being vncle by the mothers side vnto the said king Edward the sixt. This man had manie honors and offices, as maie appéere by his stile, which he prefixed before a missiue persuasorie sent to the Scots for the marriage of their yoong quéene Marie to our yoong king Edward the sixt in this sort: Edward by the grace of God duke of Summerset, earle of Hertford, vicount Beauchampe lord Seimor, vncle to the kings highnesse of England, gouernor of his most roiall person, and protector of all his realmes, dominions, and subiects, lieutenant generall of his maiesties armies both by sea and land, treasuror and earle marshall of England, gouernor of the iles of Gerneseie and Ierseie, and knight of the most honorable order of the garter, &c. This stile he had, which I haue béene the more willing to set downe, because I doo not remember that anie subiect did with like shew publish anie such stile before his time. Which honors he did not long inioie; for were it for malice of some of the nobilitie, disdaining such honor; or for cause in him offending the laws, or for his ouer carelesse good disposition, that suspected no such euill from his enimies: he was the second time on the sixt of October in the fift yeere of king Edward the sixt, being the yeare of Christ 1551 committed prisoner to the tower, and the two and twentith daie of Ianuarie folowing he was beheaded at tower hill, and buried in the tower chappell. He had two wiues, wherof the first was Katharine the daughter of sir William Filioll of Woodland knight, by whome he had a son called Edward: his second wife was Anne the daughter of sir Edward Stanhope, by whom he had issue, Edward earle of Hertford, Henrie now liuing, and Edward, with Anne (married the third of Iune, in the fourth yéere of the reigne of king Edward the sixt, in the yéere one thousand fiue hundred and fiftie to Iohn lord Dudleie, eldest sonne to Iohn earle of Warwike and duke of Northumberland) Ione, Marie, Katharine, and Elisabeth.

Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke.

Henrie Greie marquesse Dorset, lord Ferrers of Groobie, Harrington, Boneuile and Asleie, was at Hampton court created duke of Suffolke, on the eleuenth of October, in the fift yéere of the reigne of king Edward the sixt, being the yeere of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one: who in the first yeere of quéene Marie, being the yéere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred

fiftie and three, supposing that the queene would marrie a stranger, did flie into Leicester and Warwikeshires with a small companie, making proclamation against the queenes marriage with the prince of Spaine: but the people inclined not vnto him. Wherevpon a companie being sent out after him, vnder the leading of the earle of Huntington, the first daie of Februarie proclamation was made at London, that the duke was discomfited and fled with his two brethren. After which the tenth of Februarie, the duke with his brother sir Iohn Greie was brought from Couentrie (where he remained three daies after his taking, in the house and custodie of Christopher Warren alderman of that towne) by the earle of Huntington, and attended with three hundred men to the tower. Where remaining a certeine space, he was on the three and twentith of Februarie beheaded at tower hill; and buried in the chappell of the tower (as I haue heard.) He married Francis one of the daughters to Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, by whom he had issue Iane, married to Gilford the sonne of Iohn duke of Northumberland, and died without issue; Katharine and Marie.

Iohn Sutton of Dudleie duke of Northumberland.

Iohn Sutton of Dudleie created by king Henrie the eight vicount Lisle, being admerall, lord great chamberleine, lord great maister and earle of Warwike, was after on the eleuenth daie of October, the fift yeere of king Edward the sixt, being the yeere of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one, created duke of Northumberland. He, after the death of king Edward, tooke armes, and proclamed queene Iane, daughter to Henrie duke of Suffolke; meaning to exclude queene Marie. But shortlie after perceiuing queene Marie to be proclamed at London, this duke did also proclame hir at Cambridge. Notwithstanding all which he was arested in the kings college there by one maister Sleg sergeant at armes, and after anew arested by the earle of Arundell. Henrie Fitzallen (sent thither for that cause) who brought him to London, where this duke was the fiue and twentith of Iulie, in the said first yeare of queene Marie commited to the tower. Shortlie after which, he was the eightéenth of August following arreigned at Westminster, there condemned, and beheaded on tower hill the two and twentith of the same moneth: whose bodie with the head was buried in the tower, he being the last duke that was created in England. He married Iane the daughter of sir Edward Gilford knight, the sister and heire to sir Henrie Gilford knight, of whose children I will not speake, bicause they are yet fresh in memorie. And thus farre Francis Thin, touching the creation and the succession in lineall descents of all the dukes of England since the conquest.

French ambassadors from Charles the ninth came into England.

About the ninth of Iune, Francis duke of Montmorencie, chiefe marshall of France, gouernour and lieutenant of the Ile of France, generall to Charles the ninth king of France, and Paule de Foir of the priuie councell of the said king, and Bertrand de Saligners, lord de la Mothfenelon, knights of the order of S. Michaell, ambassadors for the same king, arriued at Douer. The fourteenth daie they shot London bridge toward Summerset house at the Strand, where they were lodged. The fifteenth daie being sundaie, the said ambassadors repaired to the White hall, where they were honourablie receiued of the queenes maiestie, with hir nobilitie: and there in hir graces chappell, about one of the clocke in the after noone, the articles of treatie, league or confederacie and sure friendship (concluded at Blois the nineteenth of Aprill as is afore shewed) betwixt the queenes maiestie, and the French king being read, the same was by hir maiestie and his ambassadors confirmed to be obserued and kept, without innouation or violation, &c. The rest of that daie, with great part of the night following, was spent in great triumph with sumptuous bankets.

League with France confirmed at Westminster.

St. Georges feast at Windsor.

The eightéenth of Iune, the feast of saint George was holden at Windsor, where the French ambassadors were roiallie feasted, and Francis duke of Montmorencie was stalled knight of the most honourable order of the garter. The eight and twentith

daie of Iune the forenamed ambassadors departed from London toward France. ¶The fourteenth of Iune, Thomas lord Wharton deceased in his house of Chanon row at Westminster. The thirteenth daie of Iulie, the queenes maiestie at Whitehall made sir William Cicill lord of Burghleie, lord high treasuror of England: lord William Howard, late lord chamberleine, lord priuie seale: the earle of Sussex, lord chamberleine: sir Thomas Smith principall secretarie: and Christopher Hatton, esquier capteine of the gard.

Sir William Cicill lord treasuror, lord priuie seale, lord chamberleine, with other officers.

A TREATISE OF THE TREASURORS OF ENGLAND

SET DOWNE OUT OF ANCIENT HISTORIES AND RECORDS, AS THEY SUCCEEDED IN ORDER OF TIME AND IN THE REIGNE OF THE KINGS.

THIS adorning of sir William Cicill knight, lord Burghleie with the honour of lord treasuror of England, hath rowsed my enuied pen through the malicious barking of some (who suppose nothing well but what they doo themselues, whereby gaine maie rise vnto their posteritie) in this liberal sort to set downe the names and times of such treasurors as haue liued in England, as hereafter I will doo the chancellors, and that with as good authoritie as these secret backbiters can challenge anie cunning to themselues, who suppose euerie blast of their mouth to come foorth of Trophonius den, and that they spake from the triuet. As I will not arrogate anie thing to my selfe, for in truth I saie with Socrates, Hoc tantùm scio quòd nihil scio, or derogate from them that which their worthinesse maie merit: so shall I be glad (sith nothing is at the first so perfect, but that somewhat maie be either augmented or amended to and in it) that this maie whet those enuious persons to deliuer anie thing to the world, that maie in comptrolling my labours benefit their countrie, which if they will not doo, let them cease their euill speeches: for Qui pergit dicere quæ libet, quæ non vult audiet. And truelie for mine owne part, I will Canere palinodiam, and yeeld them an honourable victorie, if any better shall be produced: and be heartilie glad, that truth (which is all that I seeke) maie be brought to perfection. Now how well I haue done it, my selfe must not be iudge, desiring pardon of such as either with wise modestie can or ought to iudge, or with rare antiquities can or will correct what I haue doone; if thorough ignorance we haue committed anie escapes or imperfections: further promising, that if hereafter we espie any of our owne error; or if anie other either friend for good will, or aduersarie for desire of reprehension shall open the same vnto me: I will not for defense of mine estimation, or of pride, or of contention by wranglings or quarrelling vpon authorities, histories and records, wilfullie persist in those faults: but be glad to heare of them, and in the whole and large discourse of the liues of the lord treasurors (almost perfected) correct them. For (as I said) it is truth of antiquities that I seeke for, which being had (either by good intention of my welwilling friends, or by occasion and reprehension of my enuious emulators) I greatlie esteeme not. And so to the matter.

Collected by *Francis Thin* in this yeare of Christ 1583.

Saint Dunstane was treasuror to Eadred or Eldred king of England, who began his reigne in the yeare that the word became flesh, nine hundred fortie and six: of whome thus writeth Matthew Parker in his booke of the archbishops of Canturburie, in the life of Odo Seuerus the two and twentith bishop of that see: Edmundo (the king of England) defuncto, Eadredus corona regia ab Odone redimitus, et rem publicam administrans, Dunstanum (vt in eius vita plenius patebit) tam singulari amore prosequutus est, vt omnes regni thesauros illius custodiæ commendaret. Saint Dunstane.

Hugoline

Hugoline. Hugoline was treasuror and chamberleine to Edward the confessor, he gaue Deane and Southbrigh to Westminster, which Edward the confessor did afterward confirme to that house.

Odo bishop of Baieux. Odo halfe brother to William the conqueror erle of Kent bishop of Baieux and chiefe iustice of England, was treasuror in the time of the conqueror, who had at his death (as saith Anonymus M. S.) sixtie thousand pounds, Excepto auro, et gemmis, et vasis, et palijs.

Geffreie lord Clinton. Geffreie lord Clinton treasuror and chamberleine to Henrie the first, he about the thirteenth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand, one hundred and twelue, did found the priorie of Kenelworth, and was after accused of treason in the one and thirtith yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie the first: but (as it seemed) restored (in short time after) to the kings fauour.

Ranulph bishop of Durham. Ranulph bishop of Durham, was treasuror to the king, whome Florentius Wigorniensis calleth Præcipuum regis placitatorem et regni exactorem, whose last word Exactor some men doo English treasuror. Of this man is more said in the chancellors of England.

Roger bishop of Sarisburie. Roger bishop of Sarisburie treasuror and chancellor of England, as appeareth by Leland, writing in this sort: Roger bishop of Sarum treasuror and chancellor to Henrie the first, made the castell of Eies such a costlie and so strong a fort, as was neuer before nor since set vp by anie bishop of England. The keepe or dungeon of it set vpon a hill cast by hand, is a peece of worke of incredible cost. There appeare in the gate of it six or seauen places for portculices, and much goodlie building was in it. It is now in ruine, and part of the front of the towers of the gate of the keepe, and the chappell in it, were carried full vnprofitablie to the building of master Beintons house at Bromhame, scant three miles off. There remaine diuerse goodlie towers, yet in the vtter wall of the castell: but all going to ruine. The principall gate that leadeth into the towne is yet of great strength, and hath places of seauen or eight portculices. Thus much Leland in his commentaries of England, which I haue here set downe, partlie to proue Roger bishop of Salisburie to be treasuror, and partlie to commit to the world all such collections and notes as I can get of his. Besides which, to prooue the same Roger treasuror at the latter end of the reigne of Henrie the first, togither with William de Pontlearch at the entering of king Stephan into England, thus writeth one Anonymall chronicle M. S. Stephanus cùm intrauit Angliam, Rogerum Seresberiensem et Willielmum de Pontlearcus custodes thesaurorum ad se traduxit: which William de Pontlearch was a witnesse with William Stigill to a certeine charter which Ranulph bishop of Durham made to the moonkes of Durham, commonlie called S. Cutherts moonks, wherin he confirmed to them Blakestone, Standrop and Sandropshire, with the wood of Henworth on the east part of Marneburne, as farre as it goeth to the sea. This Roger bishop of Salisburie died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred thirtie and nine, being about the fourth yeare of king Stephan, of whome mention is made in the chancellors of England.

William de Pontlearch.

Nigellus bishop of Elie. Nigellus the second, bishop of Elie, nephue to Roger bishop of Sarum, and treasuror to Henrie the first, was aduanced vnto that bishoprike of Elie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, one hundred, thirtie and three, the fift calends of Iune, being the three and thirtith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the first, at whose going downe to be installed in the said bishoprike, he was receiued, with such ioie, that all the whole street of Elie thorough which he should passe, was hanged with curteins and carpets, with seats set on ech side: and the moonks, canons, and clerks, meeting him with procession, with diuers other priests standing round about them. After his installation he returned to the dispatch of the affaires of the kingdome, committing the charge of his bishoprike to one Rafe sometime a moonke of Glastenburie, and now become

become an apostata. Great contention was betwéene this man and king Stephan. He bought the treasurorship for the summe of foure hundred marks of Henrie the second for his sonne Richard Filius Nigelli, or Fitz Nelé, otherwise called Richard of Elie. He gouerned the bishoprike six and thirtie yeares, as most saie, and builded saint Iohns college in Cambridge.

But touching the time of his death, and the years of his bishoprike, I cannot as yet set downe anie thing perfectlie; but onelie this contradiction found in the written booke of Elie, which I suppose to haue risen by the negligence of the transcriber: which is, that he gouerned the see of Elie six and thirtie years, and died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred sixtie and six, the third calends of Iune, the first houre of the sixt ferie or fridaie. Which by no account can fall to be true, accounting from the time of the first obteining of the bishoprike in the thrée and thirtith yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred thirtie and thrée. For if you adde the six and thirtie yeares of his gouernement to the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred thirtie and thrée, then must he die in the yeare of grace one thousand one hundred sixtie and nine. And if you will haue him to die in the yeare one thousand one hundred sixtie and six, then can he gouerne but thrée and thirtie yeares: which thrée and thirtie added to the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred thirtie and thrée, in which he began his gouernement, as all authors agrée, make the value of one thousand one hundred sixtie and six years of our Lord. So that considering the discordancie of the time of his death found in the written booke of his life, we cannot (I saie) as yet set downe anie certeintie of his death. Though I suppose that to be the truest which I find in Triuet, who affirmeth that he died in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred sixtie and nine, and the fiftéenth of king Henrie the second, after that he had gouerned six and thirtie yeares. He was honorablie buried in the church of saint Ethelred of Elie before the altar dedicated to the holie crosse.

Richard de Elie or Fitzneale, sonne of the said Nigellus bishop of Elie, was made treasuror to K. Henrie the second, by the purchase of his father Nigellus, when the king went to the wars of Tolous. Of whom the historie of Elie writeth, that after the buriall of of Nigellus his father, this Richard being also an enimie to the church of Elie, as his father had beene before, made hast to passe ouer the seas to king Henrie the second, fearing that some euill would be prepared against him, if the church should haue sent anie other thither before him. At whose comming to the king, he accused the moonks of manie things, and did therewith so edge the king against them, that the king sending into England, charged by Wunnerus one of his chaplens, that the prior of Elie should be deposed, and the moonks with all their goods to be proscribed and banished. This man being treasuror to king Henrie the second, the treasure of the said Henrie the second at his death came vnto one hundred thousand marks; notwithstanding the excessiue charges of the king manie waies. Which Richard being bishop of London, by the name of Richard the third, and the kings treasuror, was chosen to that sée in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred eightie and nine, being the first yéere of king Richard the first, and was consecrated bishop of Lambeth, by Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 1190: he died the fourth ides of September, in the yéere of grace 1198, being the ninth yeare of king Richard the first. Richard of Elie

William of Elie being of kin to the last Richard bishop of London, was treasuror to king Richard the first, and to king Iohn. To which William then treasuror, Richard his kinsman the bishop of London An. Dom. 1196 being the seuenth yeare of the reigne of Richard the first, and the same number of yeares of the gouernment of the said Richard in the bishoprike of London, did giue all his houses in Westmin- William of Elie.

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ster, which the said William did long after giue to the abbat and moonks of Westminster, as by the charter therof appeers by me in this sort abridged:

Vniuersis Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsens scriptum peruenerit, Gulielmus de Elie quondam regum Angliæ thesaurarius salutem. Nouerit vniuersitas vestra me dedisse, &c: Deo et monachis Westminster, &c: pro animabus Richardi et Iohannis regum Angliæ, et pro anima Richardi London episcopi, &c: domos meas, et curiam cum pertinentibus in villa Westminster, &c: quas habui ex dono Richardi episcopi London, et quæ sunt de feodo Westminster, &c: testis Eustachius Fauconbridge domini regis thesaurarius, &c. He died in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred twentie-two, being the sixt yeare of the long reigne of king Henrie the third, as noteth Matthew Paris and Westminster, who write that then Obijt Gulielmus Eliensis Angliæ thesaurarius.

A deane of Paules treasuror.

A deane of Paules was treasuror to the king, as appeereth by Mat. Parker, in the life of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, writing after this maner: Eodem tempore (which was a time betwéene the creating of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie in the yéere of Christ 1194, being the sixt yéere of Richard the first, and the death of said Richard the first, which fell in the yéere of Christ 1199) ecclesiæ Paulinæ decanus ærarij regij custos fuit, siue vt vocant thesaurarius, and so goeth on with a discourse of his miserable death.

Walter Greie bishop of Worcester.

Walter Greie bishop of Worcester, whom some call treasuror, in the eleuenth of king Iohn, wherevnto I doo not yet agrée, leauing it to the iudgment of other, and to the finall receiuing or reiecting of him, in the large booke of the whole liues of the lord treasurors of England.

Geffereie archdeacon of Norwich.

Geffereie archdeacon of Norwich, treasuror to king Iohn, who forsooke his maister the king excommunicate by the pope: as writeth Matthew Parker in the life of Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie, in these following words: Inter quos (meaning the bishops which durst not openlie publish the excommunication of the king, but secretlie cast libels about the high waies, which gaue notice thereof) quúm ad fiscum regium Gaufridus Noruicensis archidiaconus negotijs regijs intendens sedisset, cepit assidentibus exponere excommunicationis sententiam, in regem iam latam, affirmauítque non esse tutum capellanis & ecclesiasticis dignitatibus beneficijsque affectis seruire regi ampliùs. Ideóque aulam deferens, ad ecclesiastica beneficia (quæ regis seruicio acquisierat) secessit. Rex hunc tam proditorie se deficientem per Williel. Talbot militem præbendi & ad se reduci fecit, eúmque in publica custodia seruatum (donec siue pœnæ, siue conscientiæ tædio pertæsus vitæ fuit, & expirauit) detinuit: whose maner of death is in this sort set downe by Matthew Paris pag. 305, that he was committed to prison, Vbi post dies paucos rege præfato (which was king Iohn) iubente capa indutus plumbea, tam victualium penuria quàm ipsius capæ ponderositate compressus migrauit ad dominum. Much about which time (as I suppose) which was the yeare of Christ one thousand, two hundred and nine, being about the eleuenth yeare of K. Iohn, the checker was by the king remooued from London to Northampton (in hatred of the Londoners) vntill Christmasse.

Iohn Ruthall.

Iohn Ruthall Custos officij thesaurarij, as is prooued out of the records of the excheker, had that office in the third yeare of Henrie the third, in the yeare 1219.

Eustace de Fauconbridge bishop of London.

Eustachius de Fauconbridge, a iustice to receiue fines, chancellor of the exchequer and treasuror to Henrie the third, being bishop of Rochester, was made bishop of London, in the yeere of our redemption one thousand two hundred twentie and one, being the fift yéere of king Henrie the third. Which Eustachius in the yeare 1222, with the deane and chapter of London, had great sutes against William abbat of Westminster: he was treasuror in the third yeare of king Henrie the third, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and ninetéene: he died

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the daie before the calends of Nouember in the yeare of Christ 1228, being the thirtéenth of king Henrie the third, and is buried on the south side of the quéere of Paules (besides Henrie Wengham) vnder a faire monument of marble, ouer whome on the wall is this inscription: Hic iacet Eustachius de Fauconbridge quondam episcopus huius ecclesiæ, qui multa bona contulit ministris ecclesiæ sancti Pauli.

Iohannes de Fontibus, or Iohn de Fontnes was bishop of Elie, and treasuror in the ninth and eleuenth yéere of king Henrie the third, and before as I take it. This man being abbat of Fontnes, and as authors saie, Vir simplex & iustus, ac recedens a malo, was at Westminster made bishop of Elie in the yeare of Christ 1220, he died after that he had bin bishop fiue yéeres and od moneths in the yeare of Christ 1225, being the ninth yeare of Henrie the third, and was buried in the church of Elie, toward the altar of S. Andrew. Iohn de Fontnes or Founteins.

Walter Malclerke or skillesse clerke, treasuror of England, was made bishop of Carleill in the yeare of our Lord 1223, being about the seuenth yeare of Henrie the third, who in the yeare of Christ 1233, being the seauenteenth of the said king, was by the counsell of Peter de Laroches bishop of Winchester not onelie remooued from his office of treasurorship, but also put to the fine of 100 marks, which he paied, with the losse of certeine holds, giuen to him by charter during his life. After which he would haue fled beyond the seas, but entring the ship at Douer, he and all his were staied and euillie intreated by the kings seruants. This man in the yeare of Christ 1246, being the thirtith yeare of Henrie the third, did on the daie of Peter and Paule at Oxenford enter into the habit of the frier preachers. After which, in the yéare of Christ 1248, being about the two and thirtith of Henrie the third, he surrendred his soule to God. Walter Malclerke bishop of Caerleill.

Ranulph Briton by some is made treasuror of England, but vntrulie as I suppose: for in truth he was but treasuror of the chamber, for anie thing I can learne, and remooued from that place in the sixtéenth yeare of king Henrie the third, in the yeare of Grace 1232, in whose place came Peter de Riuall. Of this Ranulph is méntion made in the chancellors. Ranulph Briton.

Peter de Oriall, in Latine called Petrus de Riuallis, was treasuror of the chamber, and treasuror of the king, chamberleine of England, and Ireland, gardian of all the forrest of England, of all the escheats, of all the ports of the sea, and of all the prises of England and Ireland; being so déere to the king as hath Matthew Westminster, that Expulsis castorum custodibus per totam fere Angliam, rex omnia sub ipsius Petri custodia commendarat. This man was made treasuror after Walter Malclerke in the yéere of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and three, being about the seuentéenth of king Henrie the third, and in the eightéenth yeare of king Henrie the third, who (as I gather) was togither with Peter bishop of Winchester, Stephan de Segraue, and Robert Passlew, called to account in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie foure, for the kings treasure and seale euillie imploied and kept. Whervpon Peter de Riuallis did himselfe in the cathedrall church of Winchester, for the king remooued Peter bishop of Winchester and Peter de Riuallis, by the persuasion of Edmund of Abindon bishop of Canturburie, as they before had remooued Walter Malclerke. After which it séemeth, that growing into fauour againe, this Petrus de Riuallis was in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and seuen, being the one and fortith yéere of king Henrie the third, made treasuror of the chamber. For thus writeth Matthew Paris: Circa festum sancti Michaelis (which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and seuen) mortuo Hurtaldo domini regis conciliario & clerico speciali ac thesauriaro de camera regis, subrogatur Petrus de Riuallis. After which also, about the yeare of Christ 1260, being about the 44 yeare of Henrie the third Peter de Oriall.

he fell againe in the like disgrace, and was inforced to accompt for all offices which he had possessed. Vnder this Peter de Riuallis did Robert Passelew kéepe the kings treasure. Touching which Robert Passelew whome some will haue onelie treasuror of the chámber, some to be treasuror of England, and some to be onelie vnder-treasuror vnder Peter de Riuallis, I will set downe out of seuerall authors what I haue read thereof, leauing to the reader to thinke thereof what he list at this time, sith I determine fullie heereafter (not hauing now leisure therefore) to define the same in my large volume of the liues of the lord treasurors. Thus therefore touching him writeth Matthew Parker. Quo etiam tempore (which was in the yeare of Christ 1244, being about the eighteenth yeare of Henrie the third) Robertus de Passelew, qui in thesauris regijs custodiendis & augendis totus versatus est, eóque nomine regi charus, ab ecclesiæ cathedralis Cicestrensis canonicus, qui regi placere studuerant, Cicestrensis episcopus electus est. Quod Bonifacius Cantuariensis archiepiscopus indignè tulit, & episcopis prouinciæ suæ conuocatis, indifficilimis quibusdam & nodosis quæstionibus per Lincolniensem episcopum compositis seriò examinauit, deinde electione recissæ hunc Robertum repulit, & Richardum quendam de Wiz loco suo (inconsulto rege) substituit. Next writeth Matthew Westminster, that in the yeare of Christ 1233, being the seuentéenth of Henrie the third, the nobilitie accused manie of the kings councellors, amongst whome they placed Robertum Passelew thesaurarium. Againe a little after he saith, Et sic abscondit se iterum Robertus Passelew, qui post Walterum Carleolensem officium thesaurarij administrauerat. Of whose death Matth. Paris writeth thus, Eodem quoque anno (which was 1252, being the fiue and thirtith yeare of Henrie the third) octauo idus Iunij, obijt apud Waltham Robertus Passelew archidiaconus Lewis, &c: whom I will héere leaue, although not in that place in which he should come, if I had once resolued with my selfe that he had béene treasuror of England. But bicause I had to speake of him with Peter de Riuallis, I thought heere in one place to set downe what I had read of them both; and so to ioine them after their death, which were so fast ioined in offices during their liues.

Robert Passelew whether treasuror of England or no.

Hugh Pateshull. Hugh Pateshull, treasuror of the excheker, which was treasuror of the gréene wax, or of the seale, was also treasuror to the king in the eighteenth and ninetéenth yeare of his reigne, and after made iustice of all England: as Matthew Paris hath set downe in these words, Rex autem fretus consilio saniori (in the yeare of Christ one thousand, two hundred, thirtie and foure, being the eightéenth yéere of king Henrie the third) Hugonem de Pateshull, clericum filium videlicet Simonis de Pateshull, qui quandóque habenas moderabatur totius regni iusticiarij, virum fidelem & honestum, loco prædictorum (which were Stephan Segraue chiefe iustice of England, and Peter de Riuallis treasuror) subrogauit. Administrauerat enim idem Hugo officium scaccarij antea laudabiliter, secundum quod appellatur secretum sigillum custodiendo, & definitam pecuniam a vice comitibus recipiendo: quare plenior fides est ei adhibita, paterna fidelitate testimonium fidei perhibente. He was confirmed bishop of Couentrie in the yeare of Christ one thousand, two hundred, and fourtie, being the twentie fourth yeare of Henrie the third, who (hauing béene the kings treasuror before) did now with great solemnitie take his leaue of the barons of the excheker with teares, and they all rose vp and kissed him. Of whose election (in the yéere of Christ 1239) to that bishoprike thus further writeth the said Matth: touching the moonks of Couentrie. Eligerunt secundum prædictam formam dominum Hugonem de Pateshull, &c: canonicum sancti Pauli London: & domini regis cancellarium, in episcopum & custodem animarum suarum. Concerning whome I collected this note out of the register of Westminster, that Philip de Coleuille knight, the sonne of William Coleuille, the sonne of Agnes Foliot, gaue to Richard abbat of Westminster all his part of the inheritance which was Robert Foliots, brother to the said Agnes, in Lang-

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den, Morton, and Chalneie; witnesses, Rafe bishop of Chichester chancellor, and Hugh Pateshull treasuror in the nintéenth yere of the reigne of Henrie the third, which Pateshull Matthew Westmin: in the yere of Christ 1234, calleth Summum thesaurarium.

Galfridus Templarius, whom some will haue tresuror but by what reason I cannot conceiue as yet, and therefore will not obstinatlie reiect him, nor hastilie receiue him into this place of the treasuror: of this man is more spoken amongst the chancellors. Galfridus Templarius.

William Hauerhull, a canon of Paules church in London, was made treasuror to king Henrie the third, the yeare of our redemption 1240, being the foure and twentith of the reigne of the said Henrie, in which place he continued in the eight and twentith yeare of the said Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1244, he died at London in the yéere 1252, being the six and thirtith yeare of Henrie the third, as saith the addition to Matthew Paris fol. 1128, after which the said author fol. 1226, laied his death in the yeare of Christ 1255, being the nine and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the third, such error is crept into histories by the negligence of the transcriber: but I suppose the first note of his death to be the truer, bicause the same is confirmed by Mat. West. speaking in the said yeare 1252 of the death of this man, for whose epitaph these following verses were made: William Hauerhull.

Hîc Hauerhulle iacès protothesaurarie regis,
Hinc Hauerhulle gemis non* paritura talem:
Ferculà culta dabàs, empyrea vina pluebàs,
Amodo sit Christus* cibus & esca tibi.

* Pariture.

* Potus.

I haue also read a note of one William Hauerhull (which might be this man) which saith that William Hauerhull the sonne of Brithmarus de Hauerhull, gaue houses in Cheapside to the abbeie of Westminster, and that one Thomas de Hauerhull was the sonne and heire of William Hauerhull.

Richard Barking abbat of Westminster, as witnesseth the liues of the abbats, was one especiall councellor to Henrie the third, chiefe baron of the excheker, and treasuror of England, who I suppose did follow William Hauerhull. For his death, which happened on the thrée and twentith daie of Nouember in the thirtith yeare of king Henrie the third, in the yeare of Christ 1246, after that he had béene abbat foure and twentie yeares, must néeds proue him to be treasuror before Philip Louell: yea and peraduenture (as is most likelie) before Hugh Pateshull. Yet Matthew Parker; speaking of the death of Hauerhull, will néeds haue Philip Louell to succéed William Hauerhull, as after shall appeare. This Richard de Barking was buried in Westminster church, before the middle of the altar in our ladie chapell in a toome of marble, which after in the time of William Colchester abbat of that place was pulled downe by frier Combe a sacrist of that house of Westminster, who laied a faire plaine marble stone ouer him with this present epitaph thus inscribed: Richard de Barking.

Richardus Barking prior & post inclytus abbas,
Henrici regis prudens fuit iste ministèr:
Huius erat prima laus, insula rebus opima,
Altera laus éque Thorp, census, Ocham, decimæque,
Tertia Mortone castrum simili ratione,
Et regis quarta de multis commoda charta,
Clementis festo mundo migrauit ab isto,
M. Domini C. bis, xl. sextóque sub anno,
Cui detur venia parte pia virgo Maria.

Philip Luuell, or Louell, was in this order aduanced to the office of treasuror, as appeareth by these words of Matthew Paris vpon the death of William Hauerhull. Et cùm crederetur quòd dominus rex Iohannem Franciscum Officio Willielmi Philip Louell.

(which was Hauerhull) subrogaret, frbricatis rumoribus quòd idem Iohannes in partibus remotis Angliæ Borealibus (vt contra quosdam religiosos plantauerat) obijsset, constituit dominus rex Philippum Louell clericum, virum prudentem, facundum & generosum in loco memorati Willielmi suum thesaurarium, quod factum est apud sanctum Albanum, procurante vt dicitur Iohanne Mansell amico Philippi speciali. This man was treasuror in the 35 and so vntill the 42 yeare of Henrie the third, and was in the same yeare deposed by the barons, he died at Hamesleie, in the yeare of Christ 1259, whose executors were Philip Louell and Robert de Mercenton. But his goods after his death the king commanded to be confiscat. And heere before I go any further, I thinke it not amisse to note that some haue mistaken themselues in the accompt of the kings treasuror much about this time, making these persons Walter Brudell and Peter Catchporke or Chaceporke to be the kings treasuror, which by no accompt of yeares can be true, for they were the quéenes and not the kings tresurors, as may appéere both by Mat. Paris and Mat. Westmin. whereof the first writeth thus: Obijt & Walterus de Brudell eiusdem reginæ thesaurarius, which he placeth in the yere of Christ 1255, being the thirtie ninth yeare of king Henrie the third. Of the second person Chaceporke thus writeth Mat. West. in the yeare of Christ 1254: Veniens autem rex ad mare nec ventum habes prosperum, apud Boloniam moratus estiñuitus, vbi obijt Petrus Chaceporc natione Pictauensis, reginæ thesaurarius & regis clericus & conciliarius specialis. And thus this much by the waie of the two treasurors of the quéens supposed by some (but not rightlie) to haue béene the kings.

Iohn Crakehall. Iohn Crakehall archdeacon of Bedford was treasuror in 42, 43, 44 yeare of Henrie the third, to whom the king in the fortie fourth of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ 1260, gaue a prebendarie, wherin being inuested, he was from thence remooued by a former collation therof made to one Iohn le Grass. The said Crakehall after died the same yere at London.

Iohn abbat of Peterborow. Iohn abbat of Peterborow was by the barons in the 44 yeare of Henrie the third made treasuror, as the other officers of the king also were, Nicholas of Elie was then made chancellor, and Hugh de Spenser chéefe iustice, which office of treasurorship this Iohn continued, in the 46 yeare of Henrie the sixt, 1262.

Nicholas de Elie. Nicholas de Elie so called bicause he was archdeacon of Elie, was treasuror to the king in the seuen and fourtith of Henrie the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1263, whereof I haue seene this note of record. Memorandum quòd in crastino Paschæ, Anno 47. H. 3. In præsentia Rogeri le Bigot comite Norffolke et marischalli Angliæ, Hugo le Bigot, Arnoldi de Berkeley baron, de scaccario magistri, Iohannis de Chisull cancellar, regis, &c. Recepit magister Nicholaus archidiaconus Eliensis thesaurarius subscripta in thesauraria dom. regis, &c. This man as before appéereth had bin chancellor, of whom is mention made in my following tretise of the chancellors.

Thomas de Wimundham. Thomas Wimundham. This man being chiefe chanter of Lichfield, was by the barons in the yeare of Christ 1258, in the one and fourtith yeare of king Henrie the third, made treasuror (at the excheker) of the seale or place where the writs be sealed with gréene wax, after which he was treasuror to the king in the 50, 51, and 52 yeares of king Henrie the third.

Iohn Chisull. Iohn Chisull sometime chancellor was treasuror in the foure and fiftith yeare of Henrie the third, being about the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred thrée score and nine. He was deane of Paules, chosen bishop of London in the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred seuentie and thrée, and consecrat to that place in the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred seuentie and foure, in which place he continued about fiue yeares, and died in the yeare of our redemption 1279, being in the seuenth yeare of the reigne of the victorious prince king Edward the first of that name. See more of this Chisull in my following discourse of the chancellors.

Philip

Philip de Eie was treasuror (as appeareth by the records of the excheker) in the 56 yeare of king of Henrie the third, and in the first yeare of king Edward the first, partlie falling in the yeare of our redemption 1272, and 1273. Philip de Eie.

Ioseph de Chancie, whom one anonymall author calleth Iohn de Chancie, but not rightlie as I suppose, was treasuror in the second yéere of the scourger of the Scots king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1274. Ioseph de Chancie.

William Gifford bishop of Bath and Welles, was treasuror to Edward the first, he was remooued to Yorke in the yeare of Christ 1265, this man is by manie chronicles, and that perhaps most trulie called Walter Gifford. He died in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1279 as hath Nicholas Triuet. Of this man sée more in the chancellors of England. William bishop of Bath.

Robert Burnell bishop of Bath and Welles chancellor of England, and treasuror to king Edward the first, is by the Welsh historie called chiefe iustice of England. Leland reporteth that an abbat told him how that a bishop Burnell built the castell of Acton Burnell. Of this man shall be more spoken hereafter in the chancellors of England. Robert Burnell.

Ioseph de Chancie the second time treasuror to king Edward the first, in the sixt yeare of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption 1278, was also prior of S. Iohns Ierusalem in Anglia, as I take it; and by an other name called the lord of S. Iohns or of the knights of the Rhodes in England. Ioseph de Chancie.

Thomas Becke archdeacon of Dorchester, was treasuror in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1278 as some haue, but 1279 as other haue (by the witnesse of Leland, out of a monke of Glastenburie) in his booke De assertione Arthuri, reciting the words of the said monke in this sort. Thomas Becke.

Anno Domini 1267: Eadueardus rex Henrici tertij filius, venit cum regina sua Glasconiam. Die verò Martis proxima sequenti, fuit rex & tota curia accepta sumptibus monasterij. Quo die in crepusculo, fecit apperiri sepulchrum inclyti Arthuri vbi in duabus cistis imaginibus & armis eorum depictis, ossa dicti regis miræ grossitudinis separata inuenit. Imago quidem reginæ coronata, imaginis regiæ corona fuit prostrata, cum abscissione sinistræ auriculæ; & vestigijs plagæ vnde moriebatur: inuenta est scriptura super his singulis manifesta. In crastino, videlicet die Mercurij rex ossa regis, regina ossa reginæ, pallijs prætiosis reuoluta, in suis cistis recludentes, & sigilla sua apponentes, præceperunt idem sepulchrum ante maius altare celeriter collocari, retentis externis capitibus propter populi deuotionem; apposita huiusmodi scriptura: Hæc sunt ossa nobilissimi regis Arthurij, quæ anno dominicæ incarnationis 1278, decimo tertio calendas Maij, per dominum Eadueardum regem Angliæ illustrem hic fuerunt sic collocata, præsentibus Leonora serenissima eiusdem regis consorte, et filia domini Ferdinandi regis Hispaniæ, magistro William de Middleton nunc Norwicensi electo, magistro Thoma de Becke archidiacono Dorsitensi et prædicti regis thesaurario, domino Henrico de Lasciæ comite Lincolniæ, domino Amideo comite Subaudiæ, et multis magnatibus Angliæ. Thus farre the moonke of Glastenburie.

Richard Warren or de Ware abbat of Westminster, was made abbat about the yeare of Christ 1260, being about the foure and fortith yeare of king Henrie the third, who was made treasuror, as hath Iohn de Euersden, in the yeare of our redemption a thousand two hundred and foure score, being the eight yeare of king Edward the first: which yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred and foure score, some doo falslie make to fall in the tenth, some in the eleuenth yeare of the said Edward the first, which contrarietie hath onelie risen by the default of the transcriber. But most certeine it is that he was treasuror in the ninth, eleuenth, and part of the twelfe of the said king Edward the first. This man going to Rome for his consecration, brought from thence certeine workemen, and rich purphyrie stones, where of and by whom he made that rare pauement (conteining a discourse of the whole world) which is at this daie most beautifull, and to be seene at Westminster Richard de Ware.

before the communion table: a thing of that singularitie, curiousnesse, and rarenesse, that England hath not the like againe, in which pauement are circularie written in letters of brasse these ten verses following:

Si lector posita prudenter cuncta reuoluat,
Hîc finem primi mobilis inueniet.
Sepes trina canes, et equos, homines superaddas,
Ceruos, et coruos, aquilas, immania cete,
Mundum quódque sequens præeuntis triplicat annos,
Sphericus archetypum, globum hîc monstrat microcosmum.
Christi milleno, bis centeno, duodeno,
Cum sexageno, subductis quatuor anno,
Tertius Henricus, rex, vrbs, Odoricus et abbas
Hos compegere purphyreos lapides.

Anno Domini 1268 Henricus tertius vrbs Roma Odoricus cementator & abbas Richardus de Ware fecerunt id pauimentum.

The full explanation of which verses shall be at large set downe in the whole discourse of this abbats life, in my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurors. Which abbat with those workemen and those stones did also frame the shrine of Edward the confessor with these verses, carued out of stone and also gilded set about the same shrine or monument:

Anno milleno Domini, cum septuageno,
Et bis centeno, cum completo quasi deno,
Hoc opus est factum, quod Petrus duxit in actum;
Romanus ciuis. Homo, causam noscere si vis,
Rex fuit Henricus sancti præsentis amicus.

This abbat died the second daie of December, in the yeare of our redemption a thousand two hundred foure score and three, being the twelfe yeare of king Edward the first; after that he had gouerned the monasterie three and twentie yeares and more, and was buried there at Westminster, in the foresaid plaine pauement of purphyrie on the north side neere vnto the toome (as is yet well to be séene) of Odomer or Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, on which graue is engrauen this bréefe epitaph héere insuing:

Abbas Richardus dé Wara qui requiescit
Hîc portat lapides, quos hic portauit ab vrbe.

Walter Wenlocke.

Walter Wenlocke abbat of Westminster, whom Matthew Westminster calleth William de Wenloke, was made abbat of Westminster after the death of Richard de Ware, and was treasuror to king Edward the first, as hath the register of the liues of the abbats of Westminster, and other records that I haue seene. Which office it séemeth that he had, meane betwéene the twelfe and the foureteenth yeare of the said king Edward the first, as I suppose. This man after that he had béene abbat six and twentie yeares lacking six daies, died the fiue and twentith of December, on the Christmas daie at night, in his manour of Pireford in Glocestershire, in the first yeare of Edward the sonne of Edward (which was Edward the second) being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and seuen, and was buried in the church of Westminster, besides the high altar then standing without the south doore of saint Edwards shrine before the presbiterie there, vnder a plaine pauement and a marble stone decentlie adorned with this epitaph to his high commendation:

Abbas Walterus iacet hîc sub marmore tectus,
Non fuit austerus, sed mitis, famine rectus.

Bishop of Couentrie.

A bishop of Couentrie (and Lichfield) was treasuror of England in the fourteenth yéere of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1286, in whose place in the same yeare came Iohn Kirkbie.

Iohn Kirkbie bishop of Elie.

Iohn Kirkbie deane of Winburne, and archdeacon of Couentrie, and treasuror to king Edward the first, was on the seuenth calends of August in the yeare of our Lord 1286,

1286, being the fouretéenth yeare of the said Edward (then at Paris) made bishop of Elie, whome Leland (the refiner of all names dooth in his comment vpon his song of the swan in the word Winchelsega thus terme; Iohannes Cherchebius episcopus Anguillarinus regi à thesauris. This man was tresuror in the sixtéenth, seuenteenth, and part of the eightéenth of Edward the first, in which yeare (as it séemeth) being part of the yeare of Christ 1290 this bishop died, the seuenth calends of Aprill, after that he had béene bishop three yeares some moneths and some daies, and was buried by Walepoole bishop of Norwich in the church of Elie, on the north part of the quéere before the altar of saint Iohn Baptist.

William de Marchia or Gulielmus Martius was treasuror in Easter terme, in the eightéenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first, in which office he continued about five yeares, and was remooued from that place on the 23 yeare of the said king Edward the first, and Peter of Leicester baron of the excheker, with the two chamberleins executed all functions of that office vntill a new treasuror was made. This William de Marchia was made bishop of Bath and Welles, in the yeare of Christ 1293, being the 22 yeare of king Edward the third, in which sée he remained almost ten yeares, and died in the yeare of our Lord 1302, being about the 32 yeare of the said king Edward the first, and was buried in the church of Welles in the wall, betwéene the doore of the cloister and the altar of saint Martine, at whose toome in time past (as the nature of that credulous age did hastilie beléeue) were manie miracles doone; as some haue left in memorie to the following posteritie. William de Marchia.

Walter Langhstone bishop of Lichfield and Couentrie was made treasuror after William de Marchia, in the 23 yeare of king Edward the first, in which office he continued (as I gather) during the life of king Edward the first, which fell in the 35 yeare of his reigne, being the yéere of our redemption 1307, and was then remoued and imprisoned in the tower with two men onelie, by Edward the second then comming to the crowne, bicause the said Walter Langhstone had caused king Edward the first to imprison, and as some haue to banish this new king Edward the second for breaking downe the parkes of the said bishop Walter Langhstone. During the time that this Peter de Willebie was vnder treasuror or lieutenant of the treasuror, for the words be Locum tenens thesaurarij, in the thirtith, one and thirtith, two and thirtith of Edward the first, this Walter was made bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield, in the yeare of our redemption 1295, being the three and twentith yeare of king Edward the first, and the same yeare that he was made treasuror. He died about the yeare of our redemption 1321, being about the fouretéenth yeare of king Edward the second, to which bishop the lord Cobham now liuing his heire, as being descended from Margaret the sister and heire of Iohn Peuerell the coosine and heire to this Walter Langhstone, which Margaret was maried to sir William de la Poole of Asbie knight, from whom the lord Cobham is issued. And here sith I haue before made mention of the death of Edward the first, although it be somewhat impertinent to the treasurors; yet for that I doo not remember that the same verses are set down in any of our late English chronicles, and for that I would haue a perpetuall memorie of them, I will here deliuer such epitaphicall verses as I haue found touching king Edward the first: Walter Langhstone bishop of Lichfield.

Dum viguit (rex) & valuit, tua magna potestas,
Fraus latuit, pax magna fuit, regnauit honestas,
Scotos Eadwardus, dum vixit, suppeditauit,
Tenuit, afflixit, depressit, dilaniauit.

Walter Reinolds scholemaster to Edw. 2. bishop of Worcester, and after of Canturburie, and chancellor of England, was aduanced to the place of the lord treasuror of England, in the 1. Edw. 2. being the yeare of Christ 1307, after which in the yeare of our Lord 1308, he was made bishop of Worcester, he continued in the office Walter Reinolds bishop of Worcester.

of

of treasuror vntill some part of the fourth yeare of the said Edward the second, at what time came in his place Iohn Sandall, who was lieutenant vnto the said Walter in place of the treasuror, as appeareth by manie writs directed vnto him by the name of Iohn Sandall Locum tenenti W. episcopi Wigorniæ. Of him is more spoken in the chancellors of England. But here I cannot passe ouer some both skilfull in antiquitie, and persons of no small name by reason of their office, whereof the one in print, and the other in a booke of the nobilitie of England since the conquest vnprinted, doo make Hugh Spenser the elder treasuror of England, which as yet I cannot find to be true, for that I doubt that king Edw. 2. louing him so entierlie would euer after remoue him, and for that the full succession of treasurors before set downe, being true, and taken out of ancient and most certeine records, will not afford him anie place among them. But leauing that matter to others who can better defend the same, I will descend to the other treasurors.

Hugh Spenser the elder.

Iohn de Sandall. Iohn de Sandall being clerke, Scutifer regis, chancellor of the excheker, and chancellor of England, hauing béene before vnder treasuror or deputie for the high treasuror, came now in the fourth yeare of Edward the second to be made chiefe treasuror, and entered into that office in Easter terme about the beginning of the said fourth yeare of Edward the second. But in the yere following, which was the fift of Edward the second, he gaue place to another. He was chosen bishop of Winchester in the ninth yeare of Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1316. Of whome thus writeth Anonymus M. S. Obierunt episcopus Winton & Eli viri sacra professione insigniti, quorum primo successit Iohannes de Sandall cancellarius Angliæ vir cunctis affabilis & necessarius communitati. Secundo successit Iohannes de Hothum scaccar. regis, vir siquidem scientiæ penitùs ignarus, qui statim episcopatus ascenso culmine, ad honorum pariter & officij thesaurarij rex ipsum in sui fauorem sublimauit. Of which Iohn Sandall, and also of Iohn Hothume, shall bé more said hereafter.

Walter Norwich. Walter Norwich, knight, treasuror in the fift yeare of Edward the second, and afterward in Easter tearme in the eight yeare of king Edward the second, did on the third daie of October in the said eight yeare of king Edward the second receiue the office of the treasurorship, and on the same daie tooke a corporall oth before the barons and chamberleins of the excheker, to behaue himselfe well and faithfullie in the same office, which he had receiued of king Edward the second, by his letters dated at Yorke the six and twentith daie of September, in the eight yeare of the said king Edward the second, which he kept not long at that time.

Iohn Sandall. Iohn Sandall was the second time lord treasuror, in the six and seuenth yeare of king Edward the second. This man being bishop of Winchester, was treasuror. Of him sée more in the chancellors of England.

Walter de Norwich. Walter de Norwich being treasuror as before in the eight yeare of king Edward the second, did not long inioy the same, but as I suppose gaue place to Iohn Drokensford.

Iohn Drokensford. Iohn de Drokensford, the fourteenth bishop of Bath and Welles, had (as I haue read) the great seale deliuered vnto him, and was also treasuror of England. But bicause I find not as yet in what yeare, although it were in the time of king Edward the second, I cannot set downe the certeintie. Of whome thus writeth the register of the bishops of Bath. Iohannes Drokensford thesaurarius 14, Bathon episcopus post Walterum Haselshawes, successit in episcopatum Bathon, annis 19, iste episcopatum pluribus ædificij insigniuit, franchesias per reges episcopatui concessas non solùm literatoriè renouauit sed etiam ampliauit. Et quo ad ditationem & exaltationem parentelæ suæ ferè fuit æqualis prædecessori suo Roberto Bornell. Et Welliæ sepelitur ante altare sancti Iohannis Baptistæ.

Iohn Hothum bishop of Elie. Iohn Hothum Bishop of Elie (as is before noted out of one anonymall chronicle)

nicle) obteined the place and honour of treasurorship, in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the second, which he did not long inioy. For in the Michaelmas tearme in the twelfe yere of king Edward the second, came William Walwaine. Of this Iohn Hothum is mention made in the discourse of the chancellors hereafter.

William Walwaine treasuror of England in the twelfe yeare of king Edward the second, being about the yeare of our redemption 1318, was (as it should séeme) for his negligence and vnworthines of the place most worthilie remooued at the parlement at Yorke, in such sort that he possessed not that place (as I coniecture) aboue halfe a yere. For in the same twelfe yeare came the bishop of Winchester. William Walwaine.

Iohn Stratford bishop of Winchester, vpon the remooving of Walwaine, was in the same twelfe yeare of king Edward the second admitted into the office of the treasurorship, vntill the king should otherwise determine. Which bishop found not in the treasurie aboue nine and twentie pounds seuentéene shillings and eight pence, which might well be the cause of the displacing of the said Walwaine, who had ouer prodigallie dispersed the kings treasure. Iohn Stratford bishop of Winchester.

Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester was treasuror in the thirteenth yeare of king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1319, in which I suppose he continued vntill the fiftéenth yeare of the said king, being about the yere of Christ 1321. Of this man dooth more follow. Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester.

Walter Norwich knight was the third time made treasuror, which place he inioied in the fiftéenth yeare of king Edward the second, being the yéere of our redemption 1321, or there abouts. Walsingham saith that in the second of Edward the third Obijt William de Norwich. Walter Norwich.

Roger Northborow Scutifer or kéeper of the seale, being taken by the Scots at the battell of Banockesburne about the seuenth yeare of Edward the second, in the yeare of our redemption 1313, was also clearke of the wardrobe, and treasuror in the sixtéenth of king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1322. Of whom thus writeth one anonymall chronicle M.S. Anno Domini 1321 obijt Walterus de Langtone episcopus Cestren. cui successit in episcopatus honore per viam impressionis & ambitionis Rogerus de Northburgh, clericus, de regis garderobia, sibi regis in cunctis fauentibus auxilio & voluntate. I haue read of one Godfreie de Northburgh bishop of Chester that died in the thrée and thirtith of king Edward the third, being the yere of Christ 1359, which perhaps should be this Roger Northborow, Godfreie being by the transcriber placed in stéed of Roger. But I will not at this time define anie certeintie thereof, although I find an other note of one Roger Northborow consecrated bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield, in the yeare of Christ 1321, who sat in that sée eight and thirtie years, which eight and thirtie yeares added to the yeare of Christ, in which this Roger was made bishop, doo make vp the number of the yeare of Christ 1359, in which it is said that Godfreie Northborow died. Roger Northborow or Norberie.

Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester, the second time treasuror in the eightéenth yeare of king Edward the second, and before, was remooued in Easter tearme in the same yeare. In which Easter tearme was William bishop of Yorke also made treasuror, as is prooued by the pell of Exitus, that terme being thus intituled, De termino Paschæ anno 18 Ed. 2. tam tempore W. episcopi Exon. quàm W. archiepiscopi Eborum. This Walter being elected to the bishoprike of Excester, in the yeare of our redemption 1307, did sit in that place twentie years, and was beheaded at the comming into England of quéene Isabell to depose Edward the second, in the twentith yere of the said king Edward the second, in the yéere of our redemption 1326. The cause of whose beheading was, for that he had Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester.

procured the banishment of the said quéene Isabell, and of hir sonne prince Edward.

William Melton. William Melton archbishop of Yorke made lord treasuror in Easter terme, in the eightéenth yéere of Edward the second, kept the same office vntill the deposition of himselfe from that place, and of his maister from his kingdome, in the twentith yeare of the reigne of the said Edward the second, and then gaue place to Iohn Stratford.

Iohn Stratford. Iohn Stratford bishop of Winchester was the second time made treasuror of England, in the twentith yeare of the deposed king Edward, after the death of Walter Stapleton. This Iohn the fouretéenth daie of Nouember, in the said twentith yeare of Edward the second, comming into the excheker, brought thither the kings patent, or open writ, or commandement, vnder the seale of Edward the kings eldest son, to witnes his election and creation to that place of treasuror: the tenor of which writ I haue thought good to set downe, because it was doone by the son, in the fathers name, and vnder the teste of the son, the father yet being king in shew; but the son indéed as gouernor of the realme: which title he inioied, vntill that he most vnnaturallie by the malice of his mother, the ambition of himselfe, and the flatterie of his followers had deposed his father. The tenor of which writ was in these words, as followeth.

EDWARDUS rex Angliæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, baronibus & camerarijs suis de scaccario suo salutem. Quùm pro eo quòd venerabilis pater W. archiepiscopus Eborum nuper thesaurarius scaccarij prædicti, circa diuersa negotia in partibus Borealibus est occupatus, quominùs intendere possit ad ea quæ ad officium illud in dicto scaccario pertinent exercenda: constituerimus venerabilem patrem Iohannem Wintoniensem episcopum, tenentem locum thesaurarij scaccarij prædicti, quousque de officio illo aliter duximus ordinandum. Percipiendo in eodem officio (dum illud sic tenuerit) feodum consuetum prout in literis nostris patentibus præfato episcopo inde confectis plenius continetur. Vobis mandamus, quòd ipsum episcopum ad officium admittatis, & ei in his quæ ad officium prædictum pertineant intendatis in forma prædicta. Teste Edwardo filio nostro primogenito custo de regni nostri. Apud Hereford sexto die Nouembris, anno regni nostri vicesimo.

Adam Tarleton. Adam Tarleton, or de Orleton borne in Herefordshire, being Decretorum doctor, was made bishop of Hereford by the pope at Auinion in the yeere one thousand thrée hundred and seauenteene, about the tenth or eleuenth yeere of the reigne of Edward the second, being he that made the sermon for the deposition of king Edward the second, and wrote the amphibologicall epistle for the death of the king, conteining these words, Regem occidere nolite timere bonum est, which hath by a comma or point made at Timere one sense, and by a comma made at Nolite another sense. Which Adam was made lord treasuror in the first yeere of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred twentie and six, in which office he continued not long. For in the Easter terme of the said king came Henrie bishop of Lincolne. This man was made bishop of Winchester in the yéere one thousand thrée hundred thirtie and fiue, being the ninth yeere of king Edward the third: in which seat he sate twelue yeares. The death of which Adam (who gaue Henningfield parsonage to the church of Hereford) sir Thomas de la More doth most plentifullie set foorth.

Henrie Burwash or Burgesse bishop of Lincolne. Henrie Burwash bishop of Lincolne was lord treasuror in Easter terme, in the first yéere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption

demption one thousand three hundred twentie and seauen, in which office he continued vntill the second yeere of Edward the third, and was afterward remooued.

Thomas bishop of Hereford inioied the honorable place of the lord treasuror, in the third yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeere of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and nine: but in the yéere following another came in place. Thomas bishop of Hereford.

Robert Woodhouse possessed the roome of the high tresuror of England, in the fourth yéere of the reigne of the said yoong king Edward the third, being the yeere that the word became flesh one thousand three hundred and thirtie, and was also treasuror some part of Michaelmasse terme, in the fift yéere of king Edward the third, who in the yéere following did giue place vnto another. Robert Woodhouse.

William archbishop of Yorke was againe treasuror of England, in the fift yeere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, and inioied that place some part of Michaelmasse terme in the said yeere, after whome came the bishop of Norwich. William Melton.

W. bishop of Norwich was made treasuror in Michaelmas terme in the said fift yéere of the reigne of king Edward the third: in which terme there had béene three lord treasurors successiuelie (a thing seldome or neuer heard, nor I thinke likelie againe euer to be) which office this bishop kept all Michaelmasse terme, in the sixt yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and two, and somewhat more in the end, yet yéelding that honor to another. W. bishop of Norwich.

Robert le Ailestone, being lord treasuror in the seuenth yéere of the reigne of Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and three continued in the same office vntill the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our saluation one thousand three hundred thirtie six, which was about three yeares the same being a longer time than anie other had possessed that place, since the beginning of the reigne of the said king Edward the third. Robert le Ailestone.

Henrie Burwash bishop of Lincolne was againe treasuror the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and six, in which yéere (as hath Scala chronicorum) the king holding his parlement at London, was aduised by his councell to prosecute his title to the crowne of France. Wherevpon king Edward sent ambassadors to the duke of Bauiere emperor (which had married the other sister to the earle of Henalt, as king Edward the third had maried one) for suertie of aliance, and to reteine noble men about him with no small charge, which ambassadors were Henrie Burgwash bishop of Lincolne, and the earles William Montacute of Sarum, and William Clinton of Huntington, who returned to the parlement at London with their answer well liked. Of this man see more in the chancellors, being yet after his ambassage treasuror in some part of the eleuenth yéere of Edward the third. Henrie Burwash bishop of Lincolne.

Richard de Burie bishop of Durham did inioie the honor of lord treasuror, in the eleuenth yeere of the reigne of king Edward the third: he was a man of great grauitie, and much estéemed of the nobilitie and gentlemen of the north. Of this man is more spoken in the chancellors of England. Richard de Burie bishop of Durham.

William de la Zouch borne of the noble house of the lord Zouch, was treasuror of England, in the twelfe yéere of king Edward the third, in the yéere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and eight; he being bishop of Yorke was vicegerent to the king in the north parts, in the twentith yéere of the reigne of the said Edward the third, and in the yéere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and six, at what time he tooke Dauid Bruce king of Scots. This William de la Zouch.

man went to Rome, and after a long contention betweene him and William Kelsleie, Kilsbie, or Kelseie (for all these different names are found in authors) touching the archbishoprike of Yorke, he was after two yeares thus spent consecrated bishop of Yorke by pope Clement the sixt. After which this William in the eleuenth yeare of his bishoprike, being long troubled with a greeuous disease, began the worke of a chappell on the south side adioining to the church of saint Peters in Yorke, where he purposed to be buried: but died before it was finished, and lieth interred in the said church before the altar of saint Edward the confessor.

Richard Sadington knight.

Sir Richard Sadington knight was treasuror in the foureteenth yéere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yéere of our redemption one thousand three hundred and fortie. There was one Robert Sadington liuing about this time, of whom is more mention in the chancellors of England: but as yet I well know not whether they were both one man or no; sith authors maie misplace Robert for Richard as they haue often doone.

Robert Northborow bishop of Couentrie.

Robert Northborow being at that time (as I iudge) bishop of Couentrie, was treasuror of England, in the foureteenth yéere of the reigne of Edward the third, being the yeere of Our Lord one thousand three hundred and fortie, in which yeere he was remooued, whom with the chancellor the king meant afterward (as after shall appeare) to haue sent into Flanders as pledges for monie that the king owght there. After whom I suppose that Sadington came in place, although I haue a little misplaced him at this time, following the fansies of other men more than mine owne.

A bishop of Chester.

A bishop of Chester was lord treasuror of England in the fiftéenth yéere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being about the yéere that the word became flesh, one thousand three hundred fortie and one, in which office he did not long continue.

Robert Perning.

Robert Perning or Pernicke was lord treasuror in the Easter terme, in the yéere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and one, being the fiftéenth yéere of king Edward the third, in which yéere also he was made chancellor, and so continued both offices awhile, vntill in the sixtéenth yéere of the reigne of king Edward the third as I gather by all circumstances of times, records, and histories; who in the seuentéenth yeere of the reigne of the said king Edward the third, being the yéere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and three (as appeareth by the bookes of the law) being chancellor, deliuered a record with his hands into the court of the kings bench. Of this man more shall be set downe hereafter in my discourse of the chancellors.

Roger Northborow bishop of Couentrie.

Roger Northborow (as I take it) being then bishop of Couentrie, did honorablie possesse the place of the lord treasuror of England, in the sixtéenth yéere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yéere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and two. Of whome thus writeth Matthew Parker in the life of Iohn Stratford archbishop of Canturburie: Ibi (meaning at the tower) concilium initum est, tandémque definitum, vt archiepiscopus & episcopus Cicestrensis regni cancellarius & Couentrensis thesaurarius, vnà cum alijs à satellitibus & lictoribus deprehensi, ad publicam custodiam rerum à sé, absente rege, gestarum rationem reddituri ducerentur. Manè accedunt satellites Lametham, sed *archiepiscopus ei pridie decesserat: tum Londinum reuersi Couentrensem & Cicestrensem episcopos cum alijs designatis capiunt, captos ad turrim deducunt, &c.

*Iohn Stratford.

William de Cusans.

William de Cusans, being lord treasuror in the seauenteenth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, fortie and three, continued in the same office all Michaelmasse tearme, in the eightéenth yeare of the said Edward the third, and the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and foure: and being a yeare more. Betweene whom and Thomas Henlee abbat of Westminster was great contention about the iurisdiction of the hospitall of saint Iames in the parish of saint Margaret in Westminster, which hospitall is now a statelie house

belonging

belonging to the prince, and built by king Henrie the eight called the manor of saint Iames with a parke walled about with bricke.

William de Edington, lord chancellor and treasuror of England, and bishop of Winchester, was lord treasuror in Easter terme the nineteenth yeare of Edward the third, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred fortie and fiue, in which office he continued vntill the two and thirtith of the said king, one thousand three hundred fiftie and eight, being fourteene years, which was (as I thinke) as manie more years as anie one man did possesse that place, since the begining of the reigne of king Edward the third, vntill the time of this William Edington. He was so surnamed of the place where hée was borne, being the towne of Edington in Wiltshire: he was made bishop of Winchester (as some haue) about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and seuen, being about the one and twentith yeare of king Edward the third. This man (chosen bishop of Canturburie, but yet neuer bishop) died (as hath Walsinghan) in the fortith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred sixtie and six. I haue read of a bishop of Norwich that should also be treasuror in the foure and twentith of Edward the third, which must fall in the time that this Edington did continue that office: but how true it is, I leaue to others to consider, vntill I haue in my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurors dissolued that, and all other doubts and contrarieties that are here touched, or by authors reported. William de Edington bishop of Winchester.

Iohn bishop of Rochester was lord treasuror in the two and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1358, in which office he continued in the thirtie three and thirtie fourth yéere of Edward the third. Iohn bishop of Rochester.

Simon Langham, being of the priorie of Westminster, made abbat of that house, was shortlie after made lord treasuror of England, which office he held in the fiue and thirtith and six and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, who being bishop of London (as hath Matthew Parker) was in the yeare that the word of the father tooke on it the forme of a seruant, by due account 1361, being the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third by the pope made bishop of Elie, where he sat fiue yeares, and was after in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand, three hundred, sixtie and six, being the fortith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, chosen bishop of Canturburie, and consecrated in the yeare of our redemption 1367, as saith the same Matthew Parker. On which daie of his consecration he demanded homage of the erle Stafford of Thomas Rosse, Iohn Kirrell, Robert Brockill, and Rafe Sentleger, knights for their lands which they held of the sée of Canturburie. Shortlie after which in the yere of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, sixtie and eight, being the two and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, he was made cardinall, and died at Auimere the two and twentith daie of Iulie, about the yeare of our redemption, as saith one Anonymus M.S. 1376, being the fiftith yeare of king Edward the third, and was buried besides Auinion, in a place which he had raised from the foundation: three yeares after which his bones were brought to Westminster where at this daie he hath one honorable toome on the south side of the shrine amongst the kings, on whose toome the monks of Westminster did some time place this same epitaph in the remembrance of him: Simon Langham bishop of Elie.

Simon de Langham sub petris his tumulatus,
Istius ecclesiæ monachus fuerat, prior, abbas,
Sede vacante fuit electus Londoniensis
Præsul & insignis eligi, sed postea primas
Totius regni, magnus regísque minister:
Nam thesaurarius & cancellarius eius,
Ac cardinalis in Roma presbyter iste,

Postque

Postque Prænestinus est factus episcopus atque
Nuntius ex parte papæ, transmittitur istuc
Orbe dolente pater, quem nunc reuocare nequimus:
Magdalenæ festo milleno septuageno
Et ter centeno sexto Christi ruit anno:
Hunc Deus absoluat de cunctis quæ malè gessit,
Et meritis matris sibi cœlica gaudia donet.

Of this man I haue intreated in my discourse of the cardinals, and in my collection of all the chancellors of England hereafter following.

John Barnet bishop of Worcester.

Iohn Barnet made bishop of Worcester in the yeare of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred sixtie and two, being the six and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, was treasuror of England in the seuen and thirtith yeere of Edward the third, in which office he continued, being treasuror in Michaelmasse tearme in the eight and thirtith yeare of the reigne of the said Edward the third, which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred sixtie and foure, and so he continued in the thrée and fortith yéere of king Edward the third still treasuror. He was made bishop of Bath in the yeare of our redemption 1363, in which bishoprike he remained thrée yeares, and was by Urbane the sixt then bishop of Rome translated from Bath to Elie in the yeare of Christ 1366, being the fortith yéere of the reigne of king Edward the third, in which place he sat six yeares: and being a verie old man, and hauing béene treasuror about six yeares, he died at Hatfield the seuenth ides of Iune, in the yéare that God became man one thousand thrée hundred seuentie and thrée and the seuen and fortith yéere of the often named king Edward the third, he was buried in the church of Elie besides the high altar on the south part.

Richard de Chesterfield.

I haue read and seene by manie noted that one named Richard de Chesterfield was treasuror to the king in the one and fortith yeare of king Edward the third, whome they will haue lord treasuror: which by no possible meanes as farre as I can yet conceiue maie be true: bicause it appeareth by record that Iohn bishop of Elie (which was this Barnet if you marke the time of his translating to Elie) was treasuror in the same yeare: but it maie be that he was treasuror of the chamber or houshold to the said king in the said one and fortith yeare of his reigne.

Thomas de Brantington.

Thomas de Brantington, being treasuror for the king in the parts of Guisnes marches and Calis, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred sixtie and seuen, being the one and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, was made bishop of Excester by especiall letters of the king in the yéere of our saluation one thousand thrée hundred sixtie and eight, being the thrée and fortith yeare of the said Edward the third, and was lord treasuror of England in the foure and fortith and fiue and fortith yéere of Edward the third: in which fiue and fortith yeare, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred seuentie and one, he was in a parlement at the petition of the lords remooued, at what time also there passed a law, that the chancellor, treasuror, and clerke of the priuie seale, should no more be spirituall men: but that secular men should haue those offices.

Sir Richard Scroope lord of Bolton.

Sir Richard Scroope or Scrobs knight lord of Bolton and chancellor of England, was treasuror of England, in the six and fortith, seuen and fortith, and eight and fortith of Edward the third, and then gaue place to sir Robert Ashton knight. This Richard made out of the ground the castell of Bolton consisting of foure great strong towers, and of other statelie lodgings, which castell was erecting eightéene yeares, the charges whereof came yearelie vnto a thousand marks, which was eighteene thousand markes, or twelue thousand pounds: the ounce of siluer being then but at twentie pence, which being now tréble and at fiue shillings, dooth at this daie amount vnto six and thirtie thousand pounds, which castell he finished before Richard the second

cond died. He bought the heire generall of saint Quintine, that was honor of Hornelie castell in Richmontshire, which heire he was content one Coniers a seruant of his should marrie, and haue the preferrement of that ward; and so Hornelie castell came to the Conierses, of which house the first lord was William Coniers, grandfather to him that died in the time of queene Marie without heire male, whereby his inheritance came to his three daughters. Which William the first lord Coniers of that name did much cost vpon Hornelie castell: being before but a meane thing. I haue read of this lord Scroope that he had a sonne called William, whereof we will speake more hereafter, that was earle of Wilshire, who being beheaded in his fathers life, left no issue behind him. After which the father suruiuing was made treasuror to the king and died in honor, although he was not restored to his dignitie of chancellorship; but at what time he should be the second time treasuror (after the death of his sonne William) in the time of Henrie the fourth, I can not as yet certeinlie learne. But it maie be that he was againe treasuror in the ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth; for that I find not by any former search who then possessed that place. It seemeth that he had two wiues, the one the daughter of the lord Spenser the other the daughter of Michaell de la Poole erle of Suffolke called Blanch. He had three sons, for whom he bought of the king the three daughters and heires of Robert lord Tiptost, whereof the eldest daughter Margaret was married to Roger his second sonne, the second daughter was married to William his eldest sonne, the third daughter called Millescent was married to Stephan the third sonne of the said Richard.

Sir Robert Ashton knight, constable of Douer castell, was lord treasuror in the fiftith and one and fiftith of king Edward the third in Michaelmasse tearme, which was the last Michaelmasse tearme, wherein the king reigned, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred seuentie and six, of which name there was also one that was chiefe baron in the time of Edward the second, as I haue read. Sir Robert Ashton.

Henrie Wake or Wakefield, being made bishop of Worcester in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred seuentie and fiue, being the fortie and ninth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, was made lord treasuror of England in the yeare that the word of the father tooke flesh in the woombe of the woman, one thousand three hundred seuentie and six, in the one and fiftith yeare of king Edward the third, in which office he continued part of Easter tearme in the first yeare of king Richard the second, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred seauentie and eight, he died in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and fiue, as saith Walsingham. Henrie Wake bishop of Worcester.

Thomas Brantington bishop of Excester was made lord treasuror of England towards the latter end of Easter tearme, in the first yeare of king Richard the second, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred seauentie and eight, as I at this time account it: from which place he was shortlie remooued in the second yeare of king Richard the second. Thomas Brantington bishop of Excester.

Richard earle of Arundell and Surrie, made lord treasuror of England in the second yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, whereof part fell in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred seauentie and eight, and part in the yeere one thousand three hundred seauentie and nine, continued about one yeare in the same, and then gaue place to him which possessed the same office last before him, he married Elisabeth the daughter of William de Bohune earle of Northampton and Hereford, by whome he had issue Thomas earle of Arundell, Ione married to William Beauchampe lord Aburgauennie, Elisabeth married to Thomas lord Mowbraie, Margaret married to sir Rowland Lenthall, and Alice married to Iohn Charleton lord Powes: this Richard was beheaded in the one and twentith yeare of Richard the second. Richard earle of Arundell.

Thomas Brantingtō bishop of Excester.

Thomas Brantington bishop of Excester was the third time lord treasuror of England, in the third yéere of the after deposed king Richard the second, and was remooued from his office in the fourth yéere of the said Richard, in the yéere of our redemption one thousand three hundred and eightie, after the account of such as begin the yéere on the fiue and twentith of March.

Robert Hales.

Robert Hales chiefe prior of the knights of the Rhodes, intituled by the name of the knights of S. Iohns Ierusalem in England, was lord treasuror of England in the fourth yeere of the reigne of Richard the second, in which office he continued during his life: for shortlie after that he came into that place (which as I suppose he held Easter terme, and some moneths after) in the said yéere of Richard the second, in the yeere of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred eightie and one (the rebelles hauing spoiled the hospitall or famous college of those knights of saint Iohns by Smithfield neere vnto London) amongest others did fetch this Robert Hales out of the tower of London (where the king then laie) and beheaded him on the tower hill.

Hugh lord Segraue.

Hugh Segraue knight, whome Walsingham calleth Regis senescallum the kings steward, was made lord treasuror of England in the fift yeere of the reigne of king Richard the second, who continued in the said office the sixt, seauenth, eight, and some part of the Michaelmasse terme in the ninth yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred eightie and fiue.

Iohn Fortham bishop of Durham.

Iohn Fortham canon, being secretarie to the king, was made bishop of Durham the nine and twentith of Maie, in the yéere of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and one, being the fourth yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, and was inthronized in September, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred eightie and two, being the sixt yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second. This man was made lord treasuror in Michaelmasse terme the ninth yeare of king Richard the second, being the yeare of our saluation one thousand three hundred eightie and fiue: and so continued part of the tenth yeare of king Richard the second, vntill he was by parlement discharged. He was translated from the bishoprike of Durham to Elie by Boniface the pope the first calends of October, as hath the booke of Durham, one thousand thrée hundred eightie nine, being the twelfe yéere of the same Richard: but as saith the booke of Elie one thousand three hundred eightie and eight, being the thirteenth yeare of Richard the second. Which both may be true, bicause the one may haue relation to the yeare of his translation, and the other to the yeare of his inthronization, both which manie times happened in seuerall yeares of manie other bishops. He was bishop of Elie seuen and thirtie years, three moneths, and foure daies, and died a verie old man the thirteenth of December, in his manor of Durham, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred twentie and fiue, falling in the fourth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt.

Iohn bishop of Hereford.

Iohn Gilbert bishop of Hereford was by parlement made lord treasuror in the tenth yeare of king Richard the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred eightie and six, as I for this time take it, in which office he continued the eleuenth, and all Michaelmasse terme in the twelfe yéere of king Richard the second, and the one and twentith of March following: after which he was againe remooued, and then he with twelue more were appointed by commission to the gouernment of the whole realme vnder the king, of whome thus writeth one Anonymall chronicle M.S. Is fuit de ordine prædicatorum, vir qui plus lingua quàm fide regebat, which bishop (as I suppose) was remooued to saint Dauids, after that he had beene thirteene yeares bishop of Hereford.

Thomas Brantington bishop of Excester.

Thomas Brantington bishop of Excester. I haue read that the bishop of Excester was made treasuror in the twelfe yeare of Richard the second, vpon the remoou-

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ing of Iohn Gilbert, which bishop of Excester could not be Edmund Gifford, as some falselie name him, for there is no such man as I can find in the catalog of all the bishops of Excester: neither was it Edmund Stafford, for he was not made bishop of Excester vntill the twentith of Iune one thousand three hundred ninetie and fiue, being the daie before king Richard the second began the one and twentith yéere of his reigne, which is eight yéers after the time whereof we now intreat. Wherefore it must néeds be Thomas Brantington, for he being consecrated bishop of Excester the tenth of March, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and seuentie, being the foure and fortith yeare of Edward the third, and gouerning that sée foure and twentie years, till the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and fiue, in which came Edmund Stafford kéeper of the priuie seale; it must néeds be that (the bishop of Excester being treasuror in the twelfe yeare of Richard the second, falling in the yeere of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and eight) it was this man Brantington, and that he was the fourth time made lord treasuror of England, about the eighteenth yeare after that he was made bishop of Excester, who died in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and fiue, as hath Ypodigma.

Iohn Gilbert bishop of saint Dauids in Wales was lord treasuror in the thirteenth and fouretéenth yeares of the reigne of the deposed king Richard the second. Of whome, because there is somewhat spoken before, we will intreat the lesse of him in this place. Iohn Gilbert bishop of saint Dauids in Wales.

Iohn Waltham, of whome I haue spoken more in my discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie, in the life of William Courtneie was bishop of Salisburie, maister of the rolles in the sixt yeare of Richard the second, and kéeper of the priuie seale, after which he was treasuror of England, in the fiftéenth, sixteenth, seauentéenth, and part of the eightéenth of Richard the second, for he died in Michaelmas terme in the said 18 yeare of Richard the second, in the yere of Christ 1395, others saie 1394, of whome thus writeth Walsingham: Hoc anno (which was 1395) obijt Iohannes de Waltham episcopus Sarum & regni thesaurarius, qui tantùm regi complacuerit, vt etiam (multis licèt murmurantibus) apud monasterium inter reges meruit sepulturam. Iohn Waltham bishop of Salisburie.

Roger Walden sometime secretarie to the king and treasuror of the towne of Calis (in the twelfe yéere of Richard the second) was made lord treasuror in the eightéenth of the same king, about the yéere of our Lord 1365, in which office he continued the two and twentith of the said Richard the second. He was elected and made bishop of Canturburie, but after reiected and deposed, and therevpon was by pope Innocent the seuenth made bishop of London on the tenth of December, in the yéere of Christ 1404, being the sixt yeere of Henrie the fourth, in the which bishoprike he continued about one yere, and died in the yeere 1406, being buried at saint Bartholomews priorie in Smithfield, who of a poore man (as saith Walsingham) was made lord treasuror of England. Roger Walden bishop of London.

G. bishop of S. Dauids was lord treasuror of England in the two and twentith yere of Richard the second, which bishop I suppose to be Guie de Mone, whom the booke Ypodigma and Thomas Walsingham call bishop of S. Dauids, and saie that he died in the yéere of our redemption 1407, writing in this sort: Eodem anno Guido de Mone Meneuensis episcopus præsentis lucis sensit eclipsim, qui dum vixit magnorum malorum causa fuit. G. bishop of saint Dauids in Wales.

William Scroope knight, vicechamberleine to Richard the second was lord treasuror, he bought of William Montacute earle of Salisburie the Ile of Man, with the crowne thereof. He was one of those to whom king Richard the second let the kingdom to farme, he was lord treasuror of England in the 21 of Richard the second, and was after created earle of Wilshire in the said 21 yere of the same William Scroope earle of Wilshire.

Richard the second, in the yéere of Christ 1397. He was after beheded at Bristow in the 23 and last yeere of the then deposed king Richard. Of which William Scroope and others thus writeth that worthie poet sir Iohn Gower in his historie of Richard the second, commonlie taken as part of his worke intituled Vox clamantis.

* Henrie Bollingbroke comming into England and deposing Richard the second.

* Dux probus audaci vultu, cum plebe sequaci
Regnum scrutatur, si proditor inueniatur,
Sic tres exosos, magis omnibus ambitiosos,
Regni tortores, inuenerat ipse priores,
Ense repercussi pereunt, Gren, Scrop, quoque Bussi,
Hi qui regales fuerant cum rege sodales,
Scrop comes & miles, cuius Bristolia viles
Actus declarat, quo mors sua fata pararat.
Gren quoque sorte pari, statuit dux de capitari
Bussi conuictus, similes quoque sustinet ictus,
Vnanimes mente, pariter mors vna repente,
Hos tres prostrauit gladius, quos fine vorauit,
Sicut & egerunt alijs, sic hi ceciderunt,
Quo dux laudatur, regnúmque per omne locatur.

Sir Iohn Northberie,

Sir Iohn Northberie made lord treasuror in the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare that God tooke on him the forme of a seruant, a thousand thrée hundred nintie and nine, and continued in the same in the third yeare of Henrie the fourth in which yeare he was also keeper of the priuie garderobe in the tower.

Henrie Bowet.

Henrie Bowet made bishop of Bath, about the yeare of our redemption 1401, being also about the second yeare of Henrie the fourth, in which bishoprike he continued eight yeares, and was after at the kings instance in the yéere of Christ a thousand foure hundred and seuen, about the eight yeare of Henrie the fourth remooued to Yorke. This man was lord treasuror of England in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of our redemption 1403, in which place he continued not aboue a yéere, if so long.

William lord Rosse.

William lord Rosse, the sonne of Thomas lord Rosse, did possesse the honorable place of the lord treasuror of England, in the fift yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being about the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred and foure, and shortlie after gaue place to the lord Furniuall. He married Margaret daughter of Fitzallen lord Matrauars, he had issue Thomas lord Rosse slaine in France, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred twentie and one, about the ninth yeare of Henrie the sixt, and manie other children.

Thomas lord Furniuall.

Thomas lord Furniuall kept the place and office of the lord treasuror of England, the sixt, seuenth, and some part of the eight yeare of king Henrie the fourth, as in Michaelmasse tearme of the same eight yeare, falling in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand foure hundred and six, after which this lord Furniuall (who had the custodie of the castell and honour of Wigmoore, being in the kings hands by reason of the wardship and minoritie of Edmund Mortimer earle of March) was (as it séemeth) remooued from the treasurorship, in whose roome succeeded the bishop of London. To these lord Furniuals did Furniuals inne of Holborne sometime apperteine as their mansion house, being now an inne of chancerie for yoong students of the law and atturneies, and belonging vnto Lincolns inne in Chancerie lane.

Nicholas Bubwith bishop of London.

Nicholas Bubwith made bishop of London in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six: being the eight yéere of Henrie the fourth, must be that bishop of London (as farre as I can yet conceiue) who was lord treasuror of England

England in Michaelmas tearme in the said eight yeare of Henrie the fourth: which office it seemeth that he held not long, for in Easter terme after in the same eight yeare, the office of the tresuror remained in the kings hands, and the accompts of the same terme go vnder the same title of being in the kings hands.

Sir Richard Scroope lord of Bolton (wherof is so much spoken before) was as I suppose the second time treasuror of England in this ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth: wherevnto I am induced by this reason; that first the king would not keepe that office so long in his hands as almost amounted vnto two yeares, but that he would bestow the same vpon some other: secondlie, for that I read that this Richard Scroope father to William Scroope earle of Wilshire beheaded (by this Henrie the fourth before he came to the crowne) at Bristow (in the last yeare of Richard the second, and in the first of this kings reigne) was after the death of the said William made treasuror of England, and so died in honour: thirdlie for that I cannot sée how he might be treasuror in anie yeare since the death of the said William, vntill this ninth yeare of Henrie the fourth: and lastlie, for that I cannot in anie record or other author find anie other man mentioned to supplie that place in this yeare: for which causes I haue attempted to bestow him here, and that rightlie, for anie thing that I can yet learne. Sir Richard Scroope lord Scroope of Bolton.

Sir Iohn Tiptost or Tibetot knight, did possesse the place and office of the lord treasurorship of England in Michelmas terme, in the tenth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and eight. Sir Iohn Tiptost knight.

Henrie lord Scroope of Masham, and of Flaxfléet, was made lord treasuror of England, in the eleuenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and ten, as hath Walsingham. In which office he continued vntill the death of king Henrie the fourth, which happened in the fouretéenth yeare of the same king, and in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and twelue, after the account of England: but one thousand foure hundred and thirteene after the account of such as doo begin the yeare at Ianuarie. He rebelled against king Henrie the fift, and was beheaded at Southampton in the third yeare of K. Henrie the fift, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and fifteene the last of Iulie. Of which Henrie so conspiring against Henrie the fift, I find these verses in a written booke of parchement, intituled Extractum breue de chronica Thomæ Helmham, prior Lenton de tempore regis Henrici quinti. In which verses by the capitall letters are set down the names of the principall conspirators, and the yeare of our Lord wherein the same was doone, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and thirtéene: the lesser Romane capitall letters in the third verse seruing for the yéere of Christ, and for the name Zorc deriued of this word Cor in the fourth verse, and the English capitall letters onelie seruing for the names of the persons in this sort couched togither for the common capacitie: Henrie lord Scroope.

Mox rex nauigium parat vt mare transeat armis,
Scrop furit Henricus proditione fremens,
SCrVtans [a]ConspIrat RIMatVr OLenCla PLebi,
[b]Rumpe Iugo COR Auens Res Dabit Ultra Sonum,
[c]EIA Ruit Gens Auita Malis Opus Hoste Triumphat,
Vota voluntatis sic sacre Christe tuæ.
Versibus his quinque prætactis traditionem
Lector scire potes: hinc repetendo stude.
Hi tres, Richardus Zorc, Henri Scrópque, Thomas Gray,
In regem surgunt proditione pares:
Munere Francorum corrupti terga dedere,
Iusto munus habet vindice quisque suum.

[a] This C serueth for the name of Scrope and the yeare of Christ.
[b] Richard is spelled by the first letters of the fourth verse, and Zorc by changing the letters of the word Cor, and adding to it the letter z, which signifieth a yoke.
[c] By the first letter of the words of the fift verse set togither backward ariseth the name of Thomas Graie

Thomas erle of Arundell.

Thomas Fitz Allen earle of Arundell and Surreie was aduanced to the honorable office of the lord treasurorship of England, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and thirteene, being the first yeare of the reigne of the most victorious prince king Henrie the fift, in which office it seemeth that he continued the first, second, and third of Henrie the fift. He in An. Dom. 1405, being the seuenth of Henrie the fourth, on the next daie of the feast of S. Katharine, maried Beatrice the bastard daughter of the king of Portingale, by whom he had no issue, hauing his sisters his heires, and died in the yeare 1415, being the third yeare of Henrie the fift, and was buried in the college at Arundell.

Sir Roger Lech knight.

Sir Roger Lech (whom some call but not rightlie as I suppose sir Philip Lech being brother vnto the said sir Roger) was treasuror of England, in Michaelmas and Easter terme in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fift, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and sixteene. He was at the siege of Rone with this king Henrie, in the sixt yeare of his reigne, being also treasuror for the warres in that voiage.

Henrie lord Fitz Hugh.

Henrie lord Fitz Hugh was aduanced to the office of the lord treasurorship of England, in the fift yeare of Henrie the fift, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and seuenteene, in which office he continued (as I gather) vntill the death of the said king Henrie the fift, which happened in August, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred twentie and two.

Iohn Stafford.

Iohn Stafford clerke was made lord treasuror of England in the first yeare of king Henrie the sixt, being the yeare that the word became flesh 1422, in which office he continued in Michaelmasse terme, and fourth of the said king Henrie the sixt, falling in the yeare of Christ 1425, he was chosen bishop of Bath, in the third yeare of king Henrie the sixt, in the yeare 1424, he was chancellor of England, and remooued to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, of whome is mention made hereafter in the discourse of the chancellors of England, and touching whome I will for this time onelie set downe here what Matthew Parker writeth of him in the life of Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie. Archiepiscopus (saith he) in the yeare of our redemption 1424, Cantuariensis 12 Octob. clerum in ecclesia Paulina conuocauit, in ea Henricus Beaufort Winton, episcopus regni cancellarius, & Iohannes Stafford Bathoniensis electus episcopus regni thesaurarius, ad bellum Gallicum opem à clero petiuit, & interposita paucorum dierum deliberatione, Wilhelmus Lyndwood officialis curiæ Cantuariensis de arcubus, hoc responsum ab inferiori cleri synodo acceptum episcopis declarauit: non esse penes cleri procuratores potestatem subsidium concedendi. Nam cùm in dicta synodo in singulis diocœsibus constituti essent, clerus his solutionibus consentiendi licentiam expressè ademit: quia tantis tributis diu pendendis ad magnam inopiam & egestatem deuenit. Itaque cancellarius à superiori synodo ad inferiorem transiens, longa & diserta oratione, ac regis iam minoris necessitate, ac de instanti in Gallia bello egit, ac nequicquam suasit.

Walter lord Hungerford.

Walter lord Hungerford knight of the garter, the sonne of sir Thomas Hungerford knight, was made lord treasuror of England in the fourth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of Christ 1425, in which office he continued about six yeares, vntill some part of Michaelmas terme in the tenth yeare of king Henrie the sixt, falling in the yeare that the sonne of God tooke on him the forme of a seruant, one thousand foure hundred thirtie and one. He was also one of the councell to the said king, of whome is mention made by Matthew Parker in the life of Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie, in these words: Proximo anno (which was about the yeare of our Lord 1425) synodus sub eodem archiepiscopo, 15 Aprilis inchoata est. Qua Iohanne Kempo Eboracensi archiepiscopo & Waltero Hungerfordo milite, regijs conciliarijs (illo cancellario hoc thesaurario regni) regis nomine

nomine postulantibus regi decimam concessit. Ac eisdem his petentibus, triennio post in recenti synodo media decima regiæ clero data est. This lord treasuror maried Katharine the daughter and heire of Thomas Peuerell knight, by whome he had issue Walter lord Hungerford of Hatchberie knight of the garter that died without issue, sir Robert lord Hungerford of Hatchberie, Edmund Hungerford knight that died without issue, Margaret maried to sir Walter Rodneie knight, and Elisabeth maried to Philip Courtneie knight: which Robert lord Hungerford and Margaret his wife, Iohn Cheineie of Pim esquier, Iohn Meruine esquier and others did (by the kings licence granted vnto them in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth) build the hospitall of Hatchberie in Wilshire.

Iohn lord Scroope of Uxsall and Masham, made lord treasuror in the tenth yeare of king Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of our redemption 1431, in which office he continued vntill some part of the twelfe yéere of the said king, as I for this time doo gather. Of whom thus writeth Matthew Parker in the life of Henrie Chichelie archbishop of Canturburie, touching a synod holden in the yeare of our Lord 1430, at what time, of the clergie he saith that Iohannes Stafford Episcopus Bathoniensis cancellarius, & D. Scrope thesaurarius regni, necnon Wilhelmus Lyndwood, custos priuati sigilli, pro rege subsidium postularunt, & mediam decimam tandem ægrè impetrarunt. Iohn lord Scroope.

Rafe lord Cromwell, the son of Rafe Cromwell lord of Tatershall, possessed the place of the lordtreasurorship of England, in Easter terme in the twelfe yeare of the after deposed K. Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of Christ 1434, and so continued in that office about ten years, falling (as I suppose) in the yeare of our redemption 1444. This man being knight was created lord Cromwell by the said king Henrie the sixt, and was lineallie descended of one of the heires of Robert lord Tatershall, that maried one of the daughters and heires of William Dalbinie earle of Arundell. This Rafe lord treasuror died without issue, and made his testament in the yéere of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie and foure, being in the three and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the sixt, after whose death the inheritance came to the three aunts being his heires, wherof the first was maried to the lord Bardolfe slaine at Brancehome moore in Northumberland, the second was maried to sir William Fitzwilliams knight of the sepulchre, the third Elisabeth to sir Iohn Clifton knight, and after his death to sir Edmund Benested knight: of which lord Cromwell I find this note set downe by Leland: Dominus Radulphus Cromewell & Matildis vxor eius fundatores collegij sanctæ trinitatis de Tatershall, quúmque Roberti ordine dominierant de Tatershall, hos secutus est Radulphus Cromewell. Rafe lord Cromwell.

Sir Rafe Butler knight of the garter, lord Sudleie (descended from Iohn lord Sudleie, and William Butler baron of Wem, which maried Ione daughter and heire to Iohn Sudleie lord Sudleie) did possesse the honourable place of the lord treasurorship of England the seuenth of Iulie, in the two and twentith yeare of king Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fortie and foure, which office he kept about three yeares: for in the fiue and twentith yeare of the said king, was the bishop of Carleill lord treasuror. This Rafe lord Sudleie builded the castell of Sudleie, in the time of king Henrie the sixt, and of Edward the fourth, who in the time of the said Edward the fourth was committed to prison by the king; first sending for him to come to his presence. Wherevpon he going to the king, and resting on an hill, from whence he did behold Sudleie castell, said: It is thou, it is thou Sudleie castell and not I which am the traitor. After which comming to king Edward the fourth, he resigned the said Sudleie castell into the kings hands. Which castell came after to Iasper duke of Bedford, and is now in the yeare 1585 in the possession of Giles a Bridges lord Shandois. This Rafe being made baron in the twentith yeare of Henrie the sixt, maried Elisabeth the daughter Sir Rafe Butler lord Sudleie.

of sir Iohn Northberie, by whome he had issue Thomas his son that died without issue, leauing his two sisters to be his heires, whereof the eldest daughter called Elisabeth, was maried to sir Iohn Northberie, whose heire generall was maried to Iohn Halwell of Deuonshire, who had issue Ione his daughter and heire maried to Edward lord Braie, of whom the lord Cobham now liuing is descended. The other sister maried to sir Hamond, of whome descended the worthie gentleman Thomas Wooton of Bacton Maleherbe in Kent esquier is now liuing. The which Rafe lord Butler of Sudleie was Vexillifer, and high Butler of England, and steward in house to king Henrie the sixt.

Marmaduke bishop of Carleill.

Marmaduke bishop of Carleill was made lord treasuror of England in the fiue and twentith yeare of king Henrie the sixt, in which office he continued about two yeares, in the seuen and twentith yeare of king Henrie the sixt, being about the yeare of our redemption 1448, or as some haue 1449.

Iames Fines lord Saie and Sele.

Iames Fines created at Burie baron of Saie and of Sele, on the third of March in the fiue and twentith yeare of king Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of our redemption according to the English account 1446, was conestable of Douer castell and lord treasuror of England, in the eight and twentith yeare of the said king Henrie the sixt, and was from thence remooued (as some haue) in the nine and twentith yere of the said king, and was by the rebels of Kent Iacke Cade and his felowes taken out of the tower to the Guildhall, where he was arreigned before the maior and other the kings iustices, who desiring to be tried by his péeres, was by the rebels forceablie taken from the officers, and beheaded at the standard in Cheape. The maner whereof shall be more fullie set downe hereafter in my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurors. Which his beheading some doo attribute to the eight and twentith yeare of the said Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of our redemption 1450. He had issue sir William Fines knight, and one daughter maried to sir William Cromer knight shiriffe of Kent, beheaded at that time also with his father in law. Of which Cromer is Iames Cromer of Kent now liuing descended.

Iohn lord Beauchampe.

Iohn lord Beauchampe, a person of great woorthinesse, possessed the place of the treasurorship of England, the nine and twentith and thirtith yeares of king Henrie the sixt.

Iohn Tiptost.

Iohn Tiptost earle of Worcester possessed the place of the lord treasuror, in the one and thirtith and two and thirtith of king Henrie the sixt. Of whom is more mention made hereafter.

Iames Butler earle of Wilshire.

Iames Butler, the sonne of Iames earle of Ormond, being earle of Wilshire and Ormond, possessed the office of the lord treasuror of England in Easter tearme the three and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the sixt, falling in the yeare of our redemption 1455. Of whome is more spoken hereafter.

Henrie vicount Bourchier.

Henrie vicount Bourchier, borne of the noble house of the Bourchiers, the sonne of William Bourchier earle of Ewe in Normandie, was lord treasuror of England in the thrée and fortith yeare of the reigne of the deposed king Henrie the sixt, in which office he did not long remaine.

Iohn Talbot earle of Shrewsburie.

Iohn Talbot earle of Shrewsburie, the sonne of Iohn Talbot the first earle of Shrewsburie of that name, possessed the place of the treasurorship of England in the fiue and thirtith and six and thirtith yeares of king Henrie the sixt, and then gaue place to the earle of Wilshire. This earle was slaine at the battell of Northampton, in the eight and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of our saluation 1460. He maried Elisabeth the daughter of Iames Butler earle of Ormond, and had issue, Iohn earle of Shrewesburie, Iames Gilbert, Christopher, and George; Anne maried to sir Henrie Vernon, and Margaret: this man was buried in the priorie of Workesop.

Iames Butler, sonne to Iames the fourth of that name earle of Ormond, was the second time made lord treasuror of England, about the 37 yere of king Henrie the sixt, in which office he continued (as I suppose) in the eight and thirtith yeare of the said king. This man in the said eight and thirtith yeare of the king conueied himselfe awaie out of England into Dutchland (for feare of the nobilitie, as the duke of Yorke and others that rebelled against the king) sending backe his souldiers into England, which he had before assembled vpon the sea: but after he returned into England, and was againe put to flight at Mortimers crosse by Edward earle of March after king by the name of king Edward the fourth. He was made earle of Ormond in the nine and thirtith yeare and last yeare of king Henrie the sixt. He maried Eleanor the daughter of Edmund duke of Summerset, and died without issue, being beheaded at Newcastell in the yeare one thousand foure hundred sixtie one, in the first yeare of Edward the fourth. Iames earle of Wilshire.

Henrie vicount Bourchier was lord treasuror of England the second time, in the nine and thirtith and last yeare of king Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and sixtie. Who vpon the deposition of the said king Henrie the sixt by Edward the fourth, was also remooued from his office. Henrie vicount Bourchier.

Thomas Bourchier, made lord treasuror of England in the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred sixtie and one, continued not long in that office, but gaue place to Iohn earle of Worcester. Thomas lord Bourchier.

Iohn Tiptost earle of Worcester, the second time possessed the place of the lord treasuror of England, in the second and third yeare of king Edward the fourth. Of whom is more spoken before by me in my treatise of the conestables of England. Iohn earle of Worcester.

Edmund lord Greie of Ruthine, the sonne of Iohn lord Greie of Ruthine, did inioy the office of the lord treasurorship of England, in the fourth yeare of the noble prince king Edward the fourth, being the yere of our redemption 1464. This man secretlie in hart forsaking the part of king Henrie the sixt, for iniuries receiued at the same king Henries hands, aided the said Edward the fourth, and was the chiefe meanes whereby he atteined the crowne. In Michaelmas tearme in the said fourth yeare of the king, there was a sergeants feast held in Holborne in the bishop of Elies house, to which the maior and aldermen repaired, being bidden thither. But when the maior looked to be set to keepe the state in the hall (forgetting that he was out of his owne liberties, for the bishops palace was an exempt place) as it had beene vsed (saith Iohn Stow) in all places of the citie and liberties of the same, out of the kings presence: the lord Greie of Ruthine then treasuror of England vnknowne to the sergeants, and (against their wils as they said) was placed in the highest roome. Wherevpon the maior, aldermen, and commons departed. This Edmund dooth Matthew Parker, in the life of Thomas Bourchier archbishop of Canturburie, make to be treasuror in the third yeare of Edward the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1463; which may well inough stand with the former, being treasuror to Iohn earle of Worcester in the said third yeare of the king. For vpon the remooving of the said earle in the third yeare of Edward the fourth, came this lord Greie in place. The words of which Matthew Parker (with a note of the yeare of Christ 1463 in the margent) are in this order. Edwardus rex, duobus iam annis fœliciter gesto regno, parliamentum Westmonasterij tenuit, quo etiam tempore archiepiscopus (which was Thomas Bourchier the brother of Henrie Bourchier earle of Essex) & clerus in synodo conuenerunt. In hac synodo Iohannes comes Wigorniæ, Henricus comes Essexiæ, D. Edmundus Grey thesaurarius Angliæ, D. Humfridus Cromewell, D. Wenlocke, D. Iohannes prior sancti Iohannis, & Robertus Stillington legum doctor custos priuati sigilli, regis conciliarij, allatis literis regijs petierunt a clero decerni regi ad Scotos repellendos subsidium. Quod quidem gratissimis omnium animis tam munifico regi concessum est, qui superiori Edmund lord Greie of Ruthine after erle of Kent.

rieri anno ecclesiæ immunitates atque iura iniquis iudiciorum calumnijs (vti in Iohanne Stafford antea diximus) conuulsa & labefactata diplomate regio restaurauit.

Besides which, thus writeth Iohn Whethamsted, that learned abbat of saint Albons, of this lord Greie, declaring in what authoritie he was at first, in the daies of Henrie the sixt, and then in the reigne of Edward the fourth. His words be these. Anno 36 H. 6. venerunt tres viri monachi de cœnobio Cluniacensi, quibus ad audiendum eorum nuntium missi sunt episcopus Dunelmensis custos priuati sigilli, dominus Edmundus Greie de Ruthine, & secretarius regis, quibus isti viri dixerunt eorum aduentum esse ob tria. Primò ad aperiendum quomodo reges Angliæ & præcipuè Henricus secundus fuerunt tam magni benefactores ad eorum ecclesiam, vt potiùs pro nunc dicatur earum patronus ac præcipuus fundator. Secundò venerunt ad petendum possessionem & confirmationem bonorum illorum, quæ dicti progenitores eis contulerant, & per tempus non paucum iamdudum à manibus eorum detenta & distracta erant. Tertiò ad impetrandum liberam licentiam ad ingrediendum singula loca religiosa ab eorum cœnobio, dependentia, & quæ per nobiles progenitores regis posita fuerunt sub eorum regimine. Sed nihil hîc eis gratum fuit actum, ita vt tristes discederent. Out of the which words of Whethamsted maie other things be gathered, besides the dooings of the lord Greie: as that the kings of England, and speciallie Henrie the second, haue beene great benefactors and founders of the Charterhouse moonks: with manie mo matters conteined in the same, which I referre to the wise and learned reader, which made me the willinger to set downe his words so largelie.

Moreouer, the same Wethamsted, continuing the historie of Henrie the sixt, writeth of the battell of Northampton, wherein was this lord Greie, in this sort. In prælio Northamptonensi Edmundus Grey dominus Ruthine corpore licèt præsens (euen as the lord Stanleie was in the battell fought betwixt Richard the third and Henrie erle of Richmond, after king by the name of Henrie the seuenth) in campo domini regis Henrici sexti steterat, cor tamen eius non erat rectum in eo, néque omninò fidelis habitus aut inuentus fuit. Nam venientibus turmis dictis ad fossam circumuallationis, & ipsam non multùm promptè propter eleuationem verticis in parte vlteriore ascendere valentibus, occurrit ipsis dominus cum suis cõpijs obuiàm, porrigendóque ipsis dextram traxit eos per manus in campum Martium, iuxta votum suum. Thus much Whethamsted of Edmund Greie lord Ruthine, who was made earle of Kent in the fift yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1464.

This Edmund Greie being lord Hastings, Weisford, and Ruthine (before he had the honour of this earldome) did by his déed of indenture dated the 18 of Nouember, in the fiue and twentith yeare of king Henrie the sixt, falling in the yeare of our redemption 1446, giue to Iohn Pinchbecke prior of Duffield in Northamptonshire in almesse, during the life of the said prior, his field called Challocke, belonging to the manour of Challocke, to kéepe the obits of sir Iohn Greie, father to the said sir Edmund, and of dame Custance the widow of the earle marshall, and daughter of Iohn Holland duke of Excester and erle of Huntington, mother to the said sir Edmund, with masse, &c: and such other collects as the said Edmund should deliuer vnto the said prior. Out of this house of the Greies haue issued manie noble houses, and those of great antiquitie, whereof at this daie there yet remaineth two honourable houses: the one being Henrie Greie earle of Kent now liuing, a man of singular estimation in the countrie of Bedford where he now liueth, as well for the nobilitie of his race, being descended of this Edmund Greie lord treasuror of England, for the good gouernment and carriage of himselfe, and for the orderlie and wise managing of the affaires of that countrie, deseruing no lesse honourable place in the commonwealth than the honour of his race, and worthinesse of his behaviour doo well merit.

The lord Greie of Wilton.

The other house at this daie in honour, is the lord Greie of Wilton knight of the garter

garter, and sometime deputie of Ireland, a man of no lesse merit for his seruice abrode in the feats of armes, than is the other Greie for his seruice at home in the affairs of peace. But I will not saie all that I thinke and know of them both, least some more maliciouslie than trulie blemish me with the note of flatterie. For I protest I am so farre estranged from that, as I being not at all knowne to the one, and but slenderlie to the other, and neuer benefited by anie of them both, there is no cause why I should vse anie flatterie: and yet such force hath vertue, as it will shine euen in despite of malice. But againe to the matter. There haue out of this house of the Greies, besides manie noble houses, issued one duke of Suffolke, two marquesses of Dorset, and fiue earles of Kent.

The seuerall houses of the Greies.

Againe I thinke it not impertinent for the continuance of antiquities, and of deserts of honour, to mention how manie seuerall houses there haue bin of the nobilitie of these Greis, and in what time they liued. First there was Reignold Greie lord Greie of Codnor, in the time of king Stephan: the second was Reignold lord Greie of Rotherfield, in the time of Richard the second: the third Iohn Greie earle of Tankeruile in Normandie, in the time of Henrie the fift: the fourth this Edmund Greie lord Ruthine earle of Kent, and treasuror of England in the time of king Edward the fourth: the fift house Thomas Greie marquesse Dorset, in the time of king Edward the fourth: the sixt Edward Greie lord Lisle in the time of king Edward the fourth: the seuenth Edward Greie lord Powes, in the time of king Edward the fourth: the eight Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke, in the time of Edward the sixt. So that there were at one time, in one kings daies, which was the time of Edward the fourth, six noble men liuing of the name of Greies, which were the marquesse Dorset, the earle of Kent, the lord Lisle, the lord Powes, the lord Greie of Wilton, and the lord Greie of Rotherfield.

The Greies right honourable.

Wherefore to draw to an end of this lord treasuror, who hath occasioned me to be more liberall in treating of him and the Greies, than of any lord treasuror or noble name besides (for manie priuat reasons which I reserue to my selfe) I will yet speake more liberallie of him and the Greies in my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurors of England, and knit vp this Edmund Greie lord treasuror with the marieng of his wife Katharine, the daughter of Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland, by whome he had issue George Greie earle of Kent; Elisabeth, maried to Robert baron of Greiestocke; and Anne maried to Iohn lord Greie of Wilton.

Sir Walter Blunt knight.

Sir Walter Blunt knight, who was the first lord Montioie, possessed the place of the lord treasurorship of England, in the fift yeare of king Edward the fourth, which fell in the yeare that the word of the father tooke flesh in the wombe of the virgine 1465. Of this man is mention made in the booke of the law called Long Quinto of Edward the fourth. He maried the daughter of one Dirham, and had issue William, Iohn and Iames.

Sir Richard Wooduile.

Sir Richard Wooduile knight, chamberleine to the king, and constable of England, was made baron on the ninth of Maie in the second yeare of king Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of Christ 1424, and was after created earle Riuers in the fift yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1465, who thus aduanced was after lord treasuror in the sixt, seuenth, and eight of Edward the fourth. In which eight yeare of Edward the fourth, Thomas Cooke late maior of London, was accused of treason and arreigned for the same. Who after that he had béene manie times purged thereof, was yet at last found giltie, and by this lord Riuers then lord treasuror so handled, as that he could not be deliuered vntill he had paied eight thousand pounds to the king, and eight hundred to the quéene. This lord treasuror maried Iaquet the widow of Iohn duke of Bedford, daughter to Peter of Lucenburgh earle of S. Paule, by whom he had issue Richard earle Riuers, Antonie lord Scales in the right of his wife, Edward Wooduile knight slaine at the battell of S. Albine in

Britaine in the third yeare of Henrie the seuenth: Lionell bishop of Salisburie, Margaret maried to Thomas erle of Arundell, Margaret maried to William Herbert erle of Huntington, Anne first maried to William Burcher erle of Essex and after to George Greie erle of Kent, Iaquet maried to Iohn lord Strange, Elisabeth maried to sir Iohn Greie yoonger sonne to the lord Greie of Ruthine, and after the death of the said sir Iohn Greie to king Edward the fourth: and Katharine maried to Henrie duke of Buckingham. Besides all which I haue read of one Iohn, which was sonne to this earle Riuers, which Iohn maried the old duchesse of Norffolke, and was beheaded with his father: the truth wherof I leaue to further triall. This Richard erle Riuers the lord treasuror in the ninth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1469, was by Robert Hiltard, who named himselfe Robert of Ridesdale, taken in the forest of Dene as some haue, others saie at Grafton, and from thence brought to Northampton, where he was beheaded.

Iohn Longstrother. Iohn Longstrother, prior of saint Iohns Ierusalem in England, possessed the place of the lord treasuror of the realme, in the ninth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and nine, for in the same yeare he gaue place to the bishop of Elie.

William Greie bishop of Elie. William Greie bishop of Elie, was after the translation of Thomas Burcher from Elie to Canturburie aduanced to that see by Nicholas the fift then bishop of Rome, who gaue it to the said William being then procurator for king Henrie the sixt at Rome, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fiftie and foure. This man was lord treasuror in the ninth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare in which God became man one thousand foure hundred three score and nine, in which office he continued (as I gather) vntill the eleuenth of king Edward the fourth, or thereabouts. This Greie was borne of the noble house of the lord Greies of Codnor, as saith Bale, and trauelled into Italie to atteine great learning, where he heard the noble clerke Guarinus Veronensis read in Ferraria. He continued bishop of Elie foure and twentie yéeres, eleuen moneths and two daies, departing this life at Dunham the fourth of August, in the yere that the word of the father tooke flesh in the wombe of the virgine, one thousand foure hundred seuentie and eight, as I haue red; and was buried at Elie betwéene two marble pillers, hauing bestowed great summes of monie vpon the reparation of that famous belfrie of the church of Elie, and vpon other ornaments of the same church.

Henrie Bourcher. Henrie Bourcher erle of Essex did the third time possesse the honorable place of the lord treasuror of England, in the eleuenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, in which office he continued (as I gather) about twelue yeares, being all the rest of the life of the said Edward the fourth, who departed this world about the ninth daie of Aprill, in the yeare from the conception of the Meschiah one thousand foure hundred foure score and three, which Bourchier being made earle of Essex in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, in the yeare of Christ 1461, maried Elisabeth the daughter of Richard de Conisburgh earle of Cambridge the sister of Richard duke of Yorke, by whome he had issue William lord Bourchier, Thomas, Iohn, Henrie, and Humfreie knights.

Sir Richard Wood. Sir Richard Wood knight, whome some call sir Iohn Wood, being before vnder treasuror in the three and twentith yeare of king Edward the fourth, was in the same yeare of the same king made knight, about a moneth before the death of the said king Edward the fourth. This man did possesse the place of the lord treasuror of England (as I gather out of the record of Pellis exitus of that yeare) in the second yeare of the reigne of the vnnaturall, bloudie, and vsurping tyrant king Richard the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1484, which office I suppose that he kept, vntill the said Richard the third was slaine by Henrie earle of Richmond afterwards king of England by the name of Henrie the 7. And here I thinke it not amisse

amisse before I go anie further (although it be somewhat out of order, sith it is best to obserue Decorum, and vnorderlie to treat of vnorderlie officers vnder such an vnorderlie king as Richard the third was) to make report of sir William Hopton knight, whome some will haue to be treasuror in the first yeare of the reigne of the same king, in the yeare of Christ 1483, attending on him to his coronation. But trulie, sauing the correction of better séene antiquaries than my selfe, I can not as yet receiue him into the catalog of the lord treasurors of England, but rather suppose that he was treasuror of the houshold. Sir William Hopton.

Sir Reinold Braie knight (the sonne of Richard Braie physician as some haue noted to king Henrie the sixt) being seruant to Margaret countesse of Richmond mother to Henrie the seuenth, was for the fidelitie to his ladie, and good seruice in furthering king Henrie the seuenth to the crowne, receiued into great fauour with the said king, and made lord treasuror of England, as appeareth by the record of Pellis exitus made vnder his name in the first yeare of the reigne of Henrie the seuenth being the yeare of our redemption one thousand, foure hundred eightie and fiue: besides which office he had manie other offices and honors, part whereof were, that he was treasuror of the kings wars, that he was one of the executors to K. Henrie the seuenth, that he was made knight of the Bath at the coronation of the said king, and created a banneret at Blacke heath field. He died the eighteenth yeare of the Salomon of England king Henrie the seuenth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and three, and was honorablie buried at Windsore. Sir Reinold Braie knight.

Sir Iohn Dinham knight (the sonne of sir Iohn Dinham knight) a faithfull seruant to the house of Yorke aswell in aiding the duke of Yorke, as in seruing king Edward the fourth sonne to the said duke of Yorke; to whom the said Edward the fourth, in the second yeare of his reigne had giuen one annuitie of fortie pounds by yeare, did after the death of the said king Edward the fourth, in the second yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, possesse the place of the lord treasuror of England, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score and six, and so continued vntill in the sixteenth yéere of king Henrie the seuenth, and then gaue place to Thomas earle of Surreie, of which lord Dinham thus writeth Leland: Dominus Denham primus fuit fundator sancti Nicholai aliàs Hortland. He was created lord Dinham in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, shortlie after the coronation of the said king, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred thrée score and one, he died in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred, and the thirtith of Ianuarie was brought to the Greie friers in London and there buried; he maried Elisabeth the daughter of the lord Fitzwater, by whom he had issue George and Philip, and sir Thomas Dinham his base sonne that maried one of the daughters and heires of sir Iohn Ormond, which Thomas was buried at Ashrug three miles from Berkhamsted. Besides which children this lord Dinham or Denham, for so I find both written in chronicles, had by his legitimat wife diuerse daughters, which were Magaret maried to Nicholas baron of Carew, Ioane maried to the lord Zouch, Elisabeth maried to the lord Fitz Warren, and Katharine maried to sir Thomas Arundell or Cornewall knight. Sir Iohn Dinham knight.

Here I thinke it not amisse to saie somewhat of a note which I haue séene, that maketh Iohn Touchet lord Audleie treasuror, which note is this. Iohn Touchet lord Audleie treasuror of England, died the six and twentith daie of December, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score and ten, falling in the sixt yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, and had issue Iames lord Audeleie beheaded the eight and twentith of Iune, in the yeare of Christ 1497, being the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, he maried the daughter of sir Richard Dauell knight: thus much the note. But trulie for anie thing I can yet learne, I can not

perceiue when this Iohn Touchet should be treasuror, and so cannot perceiue where he should be placed in this catalog of the treasurors of England. But as I will not receiue him into anie place of this succession at this time; so I will not altogither reiect him, in hope that following time will informe me of the truth therein.

Thomas Howard erle of Surreie.

Thomas Howard the sonne of Iohn lord Howard (created the first duke of Norffolke of that name in the time of Richard the third) was at the same time also created earle of Surreie. This man (after the slaughter of his father at Bosworth field, when the tyrant Richard the third was slaine by Henrie the seuenth) was after receiued into such fauour with the said king Henrie the seuenth, that he was aduanced to be lord treasuror of England, in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred, which place he continued all the life of the said king Henrie the seuenth, who died in the foure and twentith yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and nine. After which for the good seruice he vsed in the time of Henrie the seuenth, king Henrie the eight also permitted him to keepe that office, which he possessed vntill the fiftéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred twentie and three.

This man was created duke of Norffolke on Candlemasse daie, in the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeere of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and thirtéene, at what time also his son Thomas Howard was made earle of Surreie. This duke was aduanced to that honour (in recompense of the death of the king of Scots, and for the good seruice that he did against that nation in the said fift yeare of Henrie the eight) with an augmentation of his armes, to beare the armes of Scotland in the bend of the arms of Howard. Touching which victorie and death of the king of Scots Buchanan lib. 13. writeth to this effect, that the said Thomas Howard (as a note of the conquest) gaue to his seruants his cognisance (to weare on their left arme) being a white lion (the beast which he beare before as the proper ensigne of that house) standing ouer a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes. This Thomas duke of Norffolke maried two wiues, his first wife was Elisabeth the daughter of sir Frederike Tilneie knight, by whom he had issue Thomas erle of Surreie after duke of Norffolke, Edward slaine at Bret admerall of England, and Edmund Howard, with Elisabeth maried to Thomas Bulleine earle of Wilshire, and Muriell married to Iohn Greie vicount Lisle. His second wife was Agnes daughter of sir Philip Tilneie knight, by whome he had issue William lord Howard of Effingham, with manie others. This Thomas duke of Norffolke died in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, and was buried at Thetford in Norffolke.

Thomas Howard.

Thomas Howard (sonne to the said Thomas duke of Norffolke) being earle of Surreie, possessed the place of the lord treasuror in the fiftéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare that Christ tooke flesh of the virgine Marie one thousand fiue hundred twentie and three; the which office he continued in the eight and thirtith yeare of the said king, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and six; in which yeare on the eight and twentith of Ianuarie, the said king Henrie died (so that this duke and his father were lord treasurors of England almost eight and fortie yeares.) But about some few daies more than a moneth before the death of the said king, that is, to saie, on the twelfe of December, this duke with his sonne Henrie earle of Surreie were committed to the tower, the one by water the other by land. Shortlie after which the said Henrie was beheaded at t wer hill, the nineteenth daie of Ianuarie; about nine daies before the death of the king. And the duke remained as condemned to perpetuall prison, till the beginning of the reigne of queene Marie, who then set him at libertie. He married for his first

wife Anne the daughter of king Edward the fourth, but had no issue by hir: after whose death he married Elisabeth daughter to Edward duke of Buckingham, by whome he had issue, Henrie earle of Surreie beheaded as before, Thomas vicount Bindon, and Marie married to Henrie Fitzroie duke of Richmont. He died about the beginning of the reigne of quéene Marie.

Edward Seimor earle of Hertford was after the death of king Henrie the eight made lord treasuror of England, in the first yeare of king Edward the sixt: being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fortie and six, in which yeare he was also made protector of England and duke of Summerset: of whom thus writeth Matthew Parker, calling him Regni camerarium, in the life of Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie in these words page 397. In testamento (meaning king Henrie the eight) Edwardo principi minori nouem annis nato hæredi suo sexdecim tutores, ex episcopis solos Thomam Cranmerum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum & Cutbertum Tonstallum Dunelmensem episcopum dedit. And a little after pag. 398. followeth: Verùm pluribus (vt diximus) ei minori (that was king Edward) a patre constitutis curatoribus, ne numero suo atque multitudine ad dissentiones faciles essent & procliues vnus electus est, qui ex consilijs reliquorum impuberis regis tutelam solus administraret. Is fuit Edwardus Seimerus comes Hertfordiensis, totius regni camerarius regísque auunculus. Qui suscepta tutela regis, totius regni atque dominiorum suorum protector & Somerseti dux nuncupatu atque creatus est. This duke of Summerset being treasuror of England continued in the same office vntill his death (as I gather) more than foure years, and was beheaded in the fift yeare of king Edward the sixt, being the yeare of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one. Edward Seimor

Sir William Paulet knight, marquesse of Winchester was made lord treasuror vpon the death of the duke of Summerset: in the fift yeare of king Edward the sixt, and the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one, which office he kept by the space of twentie yeares and more: a longer time than euer anie other treasuror had done before, except the two last dukes of Norffolke. This man being a man of extreme age (as atteining to the yeares of ninetie seuen) died lord treasuror of England (the tenth of March, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and one, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of the famous queene Elisabeth) at his manor of Basing. He in his life time did sée the children of his childrens children growne to the number of one hundred and three, a rare blessing of God to men of his calling. He married Elisabeth the daughter of sir William Capell knight, by whome he had issue Iohn Marquesse of Winchester, Thomas Chidiocke, and Giles; Alice married to Richard Stowell, Margaret married to sir William Berkeleie, Margerie married to Richard Waller, and Eleanor married to sir Richard Peckshall. Sir William Paulet.

Sir William Cecill knight of the garter and lord Burghleie, was aduanced to the honorable place of lord treasuror of England on the thirteenth daie of Iulie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, fiue hundred, seauentie and two, being the fouretéenth yeare of the reigne of our gratious quéene Elisabeth. This man was descended of the honorable familie of the Sitsylts of Wales, sometime lords of Beauport in the daies of Henrie the first, as appeareth by this pedegrée here inserted. Sir William Cecill.

1 In the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and one, Robert Sitsylt came with Robert Fitzhamon to the conquest of the countrie of Glamorgan, and after wedded a ladie, by whom he had Halterennes and other lands in Hereford and Glocestershires: he had a sonne called Iames Sitsylt. *D. Powell in hist. Cambriæ pa. 142, 143, &c.* Robert Sitsylt.

2 Iames Sitsylt tooke part with Mawd the empresse against king Stephan, and was slaine at the siege of the castell of Wallingford Anno quarto Stephani, hauing then vpon him a vesture, whereon was wrought in néedle worke his armes or en- Iames Sitsylt.

signes,

signes, as they be made on the toome of Gerald Sitsylt in the abbeie of Dore, which are afterward trulie blazed, in iudgement giuen by commission of king Edward the third, for the ancient right of the same armes. This Iames had a sonne called Iohn Sitsylt, and foure daughters.

Iohn Sitsylt. 3 Iohn Sitsylt, the sonne of Iames, was after the death of his father, in the same warres with Roger earle of Hereford, and constable of England, and being taken prisoner at the siege of Lincolne, Anno. 6. Stephani, he paid for his ransome foure hundred marks, and therefore sold his lordship of Beauport, and all his lands in the countie of Glocester: he tooke to wife a ladie called Mawd de Frenes and had issue Eustace.

Eustace Sitsylt. 4 Eustace Sitsylt the son of Iohn was wedded to Elianor the daughter of sir Walter Pembridge knight, and had by hir Baldwin and Iohn; and foure daughters, whereof one of them was the wife of sir Thomas Fitzneale knight.

Baldwin Sitsylt. 5 Baldwin Sitsylt the sonne of Eustace, was made knight by king Henrie the second, in the warres that the king had against the Welshmen, he was also killed in the same warres, at the siege of the castell of Cardiffe, his father being aliue; he tooke to wife the daughter of Maurice de Brompton, and had by hir Gerald Sitsylt, Eustace Sitsylt, Henrie Sitsylt, Iohn Sitsylt, and Walter Sitsylt; and two daughters, Catharine and Elianor. Catharine was the wife of Hugh Muredake, and Elianor was the wife of Walter Wallis. This Baldwin Sitsylt knight tooke to his second wife, Margerie the daughter of Stephan Radnor knight, and had by hir, Stephan Sitsylt, Roger Sitsylt, Hugh Sitsylt, and Dauid Sitsylt; and three daughters, the first was Mawd and she was a Nun, the second was Ione and she was the wife of Iohn de Solers, the third daughter Anne was the wife of Owen ap Meredith. This man gaue certeine lands in the towneship of Kigestone, vnto the moonks of Dore, and granted vnto the same moonks freedome of common and pasture, and other liberties in his woods.

Gerald Sitsylt. 6 Gerald Sitsylt, the first sonne of Baldwin Sitsylt knight, tooke to wife Mabill the daughter of Sir William Moigne knight, and had by hir three sonnes, Gerald Sitsylt that died a child, Robert Sitsylt that maried and had children, and Owen Sitsylt a moonke of the abbeie of Dore. He had also three daughters, Catharine, that was wedded to sir Griffin ap Yoreford, and after to Dauid ap Euan, and the third time to Geffreie de Bret, sonne of sir Walter Bret knight. Anne the second daughter of Gerald Sitsylt was wedded to Robert the sonne of Richard Bromewich. And Ellen the third daughter of Gerald Sitsylt, was the wife of Iohn Abrahall, father of sir Iohn Abrahall knight.

Robert Sitsylt. 7 Robert Sitsylt, the sonne of Gerald tooke to wife Alicia daughter of sir Robert Tregois knight, and had by hir Iames Sitsylt his first sonne, Gerald the second sonne, Thomas the third sonne, and Baldwin the fourth sonne; and Margaret the first daughter, and Elisabeth the second daughter.

Iames Sitsylt. 8 Iames Sitsylt the sonne of Robert, tooke to wife Isabell the daughter of sir Iohn Knell knight, and had by hir Iames and Gerald twins; Iames died yoong: he had also Robert Sitsylt, and Iohn Sitsylt; and fiue daughters, that is to saie, Alicia wedded to Walter Monington, Grace wedded to Roger sonne of William Blunt, Elianor wedded to Thomas Paine, Margerie wedded to Morgan ap Meredith, and Sislie married to Howell ap Blethin, and after to sir Hugh Bruge.

Gerald Sitsylt. 9 Gerald Sitsylt, sonne of Iames, tooke to wife Margaret, daughter of Stephan Dalaber, and by hir had Iohn Sitsylt; and after he wedded Bridget the widow of sir Simon Ward knight, and had by hir Iames Sitsylt, and the third time married the daughter of Martine Hopton, and had by hir Martine Sitsylt, Henrie Sitsylt, and Dauid Sitsylt, and Ione a daughter. And the fourth time the same Gerald Sitsylt tooke to wife Iane the daughter of Robert Emerton, and had by hir

hir one sonne named Stigand Sitsylt, that was slaine in the warres of Striuelin in the time of king Edward the second, and had no issue, as the register of the abbie of Dore maketh mention.

10 Iohn Sitsylt, the sonne of Gerald, tooke to wife Sibill the daughter of Robert of Ewyas, and had by hir sir Iohn Sitsylt knight, George Sitsylt, and a daughter named Margaret, that was the wife of sir Robert Baskeruile knight, who had by hir sir Iohn Baskeruile knight; and by his second wife he had sir Richard Baskeruile knight, that tooke to wife Iane the daughter and heire of George Sitsylt second sonne of this Iohn Sitsylt, and had by hir sir Iohn Baskeruile knight. *Chron. de Dor.* Iohn Sitsylt.

11 Sir Iohn Sitsylt knight, tooke to wife Alicia, the sister of the said sir Roger Baskeruile, and sir Roger married his sister, as is aforesaid. This sir Iohn Sitsylt had Iohn Sitsylt and Roger Sitsylt. Sir Iohn Sitsylt.

* In the time of the warres that king Edward the third made against Scotland, at a place called Halidon hill néere Barwike anno 6. of Edward the third, there arose a great variance and contention betweene sir William de Facknaham knight, on the one side approuant, and this sir Iohn Sitsylt knight, on the other side defendant, for an ensigne of armes, that is to saie; The field of ten barrets siluer and azure, supported of fiue scutcheons sable charged with so manie lions of the first rampants incensed geuls, which ensigne both the parties did claime as their right. But as both parties put themselues to their force to mainteine their quarrell, and vaunted to mainteine the same by their bodies; it pleased the king that iustice should be yéelded for triall of the quarrell, without shedding of bloud: and so the bearing of the ensigne was solemnelie adiudged to be the right of the said sir Iohn Sitsylt, as heire of blood lineallie descended of the bodie of Iames Sitsylt, lord of Beauport slaine at the siege of Wallingford, as before is declared. The finall order and determination of which controuersie is laid downe by Iohn Boswell gentleman, in his booke intituled The concords of Armorie, fol. 80. This sir Iohn Sitsylt had a charge of men at arms, for the custodie of the marches to Scotland, in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the third. *D. Powell.*

12 Iohn Sitsylt, the sonne of sir Iohn Sitsylt knight, tooke to wife Ione daughter of sir Richard Monington knight, and had by hir Iohn Sitsylt (that died, his father being aliue) and Thomas Sitsylt. Iohn Sitsylt.

13 Thomas Sitsylt married Margaret the daughter and heire of Gilbert de Winston, and had by hir Philip Sitsylt, and Dauid Sitsylt. This man was a great benefactor to the moonks of Dore, and forgaue them great sums of monie which they did owe him. Thomas Sitsylt.

14 Philip Sitsylt married Margaret, the daughter of Iohn Philips, and had by hir Richard, Iohn, and Margaret. Philip Sitsylt.

15 Richard Sitsylt or Cecill married Margaret the daughter of Philip Vaughan, and had by hir Philip Cecill, Margaret Cecill, Iohn Cecill, Dauid Cecill, and Iames or Ienkin Cecill. Richard Sitsylt.

* These pedegrées and descents I gathered faithfullie out of sundrie ancient records and euidences, wherof the most part are confirmed with seales autentike thereynto appendent, manifestlie declaring the antiquitie and truth therof; which remaine at this present in the custodie of the right honourable sir William Cecill, knight, of the noble order of the garter, lord Burghleie, and lord high treasuror of England, who is lineallie descended from the last recited Richard Sitsylt, father to Dauid Cecill, grandfather to the said sir William Cecill now lord Burghleie. And at this daie William Sitsylt or Cecill esquier coosen german to the said lord Burghleie, remooued by one degrée onelie, is possessed of the foresaid *D. Powell.* The descent of sir William Cecill now lord treasuror.

house

house of Halterennes in Ewyas land as the heire male of the house of Sitylts, and is descended of Philip Cecill, elder brother to the said Dauid.

Fr. Thin. This sir William Cecill lord Burghleie, liuing at this instant in the yeare of Christ, one thousand, fiue hundred, eightie and six, to the great support of this commonwealth, dooth worthilie inioy the place of the lord treasuror of England, of whome (for auoiding the note of flatterie) I may not saie that good which we the subiects of England doo féele by his meanes, and all the world dooth sée in his rare and wise gouernment. And therefore leauing what may be said of him for his honorable deserts, from his countrie, his prince, and his countriemen, as well for rare gouernement at home, as for graue managing of the matter of state abroad, I beseech the almightie Lord to lengthen his yeares with perfect health and happie successe of all his good desires, to answer the worth of those his honourable deserts. Thus knitting vp this discourse of the treasurors, with no lesse honorable person of the temporaltie in this our age, than I began the same discourse with a rare person of the spiritualtie in that their age: this being knowne as singular in policie as the other was supposed to be in prelacie, I here set end to that which with much labour of bodie, trauell of mind, and charge of pursse, I haue brought to this forme what so euer it be. Thus this much by Francis Thin touching the treasurors of England]

The earle of Northumberland beheaded

The 22 of August Thomas Persie earle of Northumberland late of Topclife, who had beene before attainted by parlement of high treason, as one of the principall conspirators in the late rebellion, and now brought out of Scotland, whither he had fled, was beheaded at Yorke about two of the clocke in the afternoone, on a new scaffold set vp for that purpose in the market place. In this moneth of August sir Thomas Smith, one of the quéenes maiesties priuie councell carefullie tendering the reformation of Ireland, sent his son Thomas Smith esquier thither with a certeine number of Englishmen to inhabit the Ards in Vlster, after the maner of a colonie vsed by the Romans.

Englishmen sent to Vlster in Ireland.

An. Reg. 15. A strange star appeared; the bignesse therof, and of what continuance.

The eighteenth of Nouember in the morning was séene a star northward verie bright and cléere, in the constellation of Cassiopeia, at the backe of hir chaire, which with thrée chéefe fixed stars of the said constellation made a geometricall figure losengwise, of the learned men called Rhombus. This starre in bignes at the first appeering séemed bigger than Iupiter, and not much lesse than Venus when she séemeth greatest. Also the said starre neuer changing his place, was caried about with the dailie motion of heauen, as all fixed starres commonlie are, and so continued (by little and little to the eie appearing lesse) for the space of almost sixtéene moneths: at what time it was so small, that rather thought by exercises of oft vewing might imagine the place, than anie eie could iudge the presence of the same. And one thing is herein cheefelie to be noted, that (by the skill and consent of the best and most expert mathematicians, which obserued the state, propertie, and other circumstances belonging to the same starre) it was found to haue beene in place celestiall far aboue the moone, otherwise than euer anie comet hath béene séene, or naturallie can appéere. Therefore it is supposed that the signification therof is directed purposelie and speciallie to some matter, not naturall, but celestiall, or rather supercelestiall, so strange, as from the beginning of the world neuer was the like.

Earle of Darbie deceased.

The foure and twentith of Nouember Edward earle of Darbie, lord Stanleie, and Strange, of Knocking, lord and gouernor of the Iles of Man, knight of the noble order of the garter, and one of the quéens maiesties priuie councell deceased at his house called Latham in Lancashire. His life and death deseruing commendation, and crauing memorie to be imitated, was such as followeth. His fidelitie

vnto

vnto two kings and two queenes in dangerous times and great rebellions, in which time, and alwaies as cause serued, he was lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, and latelie offered ten thousand men vnto the quéenes maiestie of his owne charge for the suppression of the last rebellion. His godlie disposition to his tenants, neuer forcing anie seruice at their hands, but due paiment of their rent. His liberalitie to strangers, and such as shewed themselues gratefull to him. His famous housekéeping, and eleuen score in checkroll, neuer discontinuing the space of twelue yeares. His féeding especiallie of aged persons twise a daie thrée score and od; besides all commers thrise a weeke appointed for his dealing daies; and euerie good fridaie these fiue and thirtie yeares one with another two thousand seauen hundred, with meat, drinke, monie, and monie worth. There was neuer gentleman or other that waited in his seruice, but had allowance from him, to haue as well wages as otherwise for horsse and man. His yeerlie portion for the expenses of his house foure thousand pounds. His cunning in setting bones disiointed or broken, his surgerie and desire to helpe the poore, his deliuerie of the George and seale to the lord Strange, with exhortation that he might kéepe it so vnspotted in fidelitie to his prince as he had, and his ioie that he died in the quéenes fauour. His ioifull parting this world, his taking leaue of all his seruants by shaking of hands, and his remembrance to the last daie.

The life and death of the foresaid earle of Darbie.

Rare qualities in a noble man.

The eight and twentith of Nouember Iohn Hall late of Battell in Sussex gentleman, and Oswold Wilkinson late of Yorke and gailor of Yorke castell (being before arreigned and condemned of treason) were drawne from the tower of London to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. This yéere a great and sharpe frost almost continuallie lasted, from before the feast of All saints, till after the feast of the Epiphanie of our Lord, with sometime great and déepe snowes, and sometime raines, which fréesed as fast as the same fell to the ground: wherethrough at Wrotham in Kent, and manie other places, the armes and boughs of trées being ouercharged with ise, brake off, and fell from the stockes of the same trées. Also the wind continued north and east, till after the Ascension daie, with sharpe frosts and snowes, whereby followed a late spring.

Hall and Wilkinson executed.

Great Frost and a sharpe winter.

1573

The twelfe of Ianuarie William lord Howard, baron of Effingham, lord priuie seale, knight of the noble order of the garter, and one of the priuie councell deceased at Hampton court. The eightéenth of Ianuarie William lord Summerset earle of Worcester began his iourneie towards France, to the christening of the kings daughter there in stead of the quéenes maiestie of England, who sent with him a font of gold for that purpose, weieng thrée hundred and six and twentie ounces. The said earle with manie of his companie were robbed vpon the sea by pirats of much of their baggage, and thrée or foure of their men slaine. In France he and his traine were honorablie receiued. At the christening he gaue the child to name Elisabeth. They returned into England the seauen and twentith of Februarie.

Lord priuie seale deceased.

Earle of Worcester sent into France.

Earle of Worcester robbed on the sea.

In the moneth of Februarie, thorough sundrie heinous complaints brought to the quéenes maiestie and hir councell of pirats that kept the narrow seas, dooing manie robberies, as also the robbing of the earle of Worcester (as is aforesaid) hir highnesse, by the aduise of hir honourable councell, tooke order with the lord admerall of England, that he should send to the seas, ships and men to scowre the narow seas, and to apprehend so manie pirats ships as might be met with. And for the better dooing thereof, it pleased hir maiestie to send one of hir owne ships, named the Swallow to be the admerall, vnder the charge of William Holstocke, of London esquier, comptrollor of hir highnesse ships, who had with him the Gillian, the barke Garet, and the barke of Yarmouth, and thrée hundred and

The narrow seas scowred.

three score able mariners, gunners, and souldiors in the said three ships, and one barke which scowred the narrow seas, from the north foreland, as farre westward as Falmouth in Cornewall, and tooke twentie ships and barks of sundrie nations, to wit, English, French, and Flemmings (but all pirats) and in fashion of warre. He apprehended in those ships and barks to the number of nine hundred men of all nations, and sent them to ward to Sandwich, Douer, Wight, and Portesmouth (whereof three of them that robbed the earle of Worcester were shortlie after executed at Wight.) Also the said William Holstocke did rescue and take from the aboue said pirats ships, fiftéene other merchants ships laden with merchandize, that were their prises, being of sundrie nations, and set at libertie the said fiftéene merchants ships and goods: which doone, he returned to Portesmouth, and there ended his voiage in March.

Pirats on the west seas.

Pirats executed.

A man hanged in saint Georges field.

The fourth of March, a man was hanged in chains in saint Georges field beyond Southworke of London, for murthering the gailor of Horsham in the same field.

The earle of Kent deceased.

The seuentéenth of March deceassed Reinold Greie of Ruthin, earle of Kent, at Herneseie, and was buried at saint Giles without Creplegate. About the same time died Edmund lord Shandois.

George Sanders murthered at Shooters hill.

The fiue and twentith of March being wednesdaie in Easter wéeke, and the feast of the Annuntiation of our ladie, George Browne cruellie murthered two honest men néere to Shooters hill in Kent, the one of them was a wealthie merchant of London named George Sanders, the other Iohn Beane of Woolwich, which murther was committed in manner as followeth.

A discourse of the murther practised and committed.

On tuesdaie in Easter wéeke (the foure and twentith of March) the said George Browne receiuing secret intelligence by letter from mistresse Anne Drurie, that master Sanders should lodge the same night at the house of one master Barnes in Woolwich, and from thense go on foot to saint Marie Crale; the next morning he laie in wait for him by the waie, a little from Shooters hill, and there slue both him and Iohn Beane seruant to master Barnes. But Iohn Beane hauing ten or eleuen wounds, and being left for dead, by Gods prouidence did reuiue againe: and créeping awaie on all foure, was found by an old man and his maiden, and conueied vnto Woolwich, where he gaue euident marks of the murtherer.

Roger Clement alias trustie Roger.

Immediatly vpon the déed doing, Browne sent mistresse Drurie word thereof by Roger Clement (among them called trustie Roger) he himselfe repaired foorthwith to the court at Greenewich, and anon after him came thither the report of the murther also. Then departed he thense vnto London, and came to the house of mistresse Drurie, where though he spake not personallie with hir, after conference had with hir seruant trustie Roger, she prouided him twentie pounds that same daie, for the which she laid certeine plate of hir owne, and of mistresse Sanders to gage.

Browne the murtherer reléeued with monie.

On the next morning being thursdaie (hauing intelligence that Browne was sought for) they sent him six pounds more by the same Roger, warning him to shift for himselfe by flight, which thing he foreslowed not to doo. Neuerthelesse, the lords of the queens maiesties councell caused so spéedie and narrow search to be made for him, that vpon the eight and twentith of the same moneth he was apprehended in a mans house of his owne name at Rochester, and being brought backe againe to the court, was examined by the councell: vnto whome he confessed the deed (as you haue heard) and that he had oftentimes before pretended and sought to doo the same, by the instigation of the said mistresse Drurie, who had promised to make a marriage betwéene him and mistresse Sanders (whom he seemed to loue excessiuelie) neuerthelesse he protested (though vntrulie) that mistresse Sanders was not priuie nor consenting therevnto.

He confesseth his offense vpon his examination.

Vpon his confession he was arreigned at the Kings bench in Westminster hall the eighteenth of Aprill, where he acknowledged himselfe guiltie, and was condemned as principall of the murther, according to which sentence he was executed in Smithfield,

field, on mondaie the twentith of Aprill: at which time also vntrulie (as she hir selfe confessed afterward) he laboured by all meanes to cléere mistresse Sanders of committing euill of hir bodie with him, and then floong himselfe besides the ladder. He was after hanged vp in chains néere vnto the place where he had doone the fact. In the meane time mistresse Drurie and hir man being examined, as well by their owne confessions, as by falling out of the matter, and also by Brownes appeachment thought culpable, were committed to ward. And after mistresse Sanders being deliuered of child, and churched (for at the time of hir husbands death she looked presentlie to lie downe) was vpon mistresse Druries mans confession, and other great likelihoods, likewise committed to the tower, and on wednesdaie the sixt of Maie she was arreigned with mistresse Drurie at the Guildhall.

George Browne hanged in Smithfield, and afterward in chains on Shooters hill.

The effect of their indictment was, that they by a letter written had béene procurers of the said murther: and knowing the murther doone, had by monie and otherwise reléeued the murtherer: wherevnto they pleaded not giltie. Howbeit they were both condemned as accessaries to master Sanders death, and executed in Smithfield the thirtéenth of Maie, being wednesdaie in Whitsunwéeke, at which time they both confessed themselues guiltie of the fact. Trustie Roger mistresse Druries man was arreigned on fridaie the eight of Maie, and being there condemned as accessarie, was executed with his mistresse at the time and place aforesaid. Not long after, Anthonie Browne brother to the fornamed George Browne, was for notable felonies conueied from Newgate to Yorke, and there hanged.

Anne Sanders, Anne Drurie, and trustie Roger hanged in Smithfield.

Anthonie Browne hanged at Yorke.

The tenth of Aprill seauen pirats which among others had béene taken on the north seas, were lead from Southworke to Wapping, and fiue of them were there hanged: the other two had their pardon at the gallowes. The seauentéenth of Aprill a chandelers wife without Aldersgate of London, who had practised hir husbands death by poisoning and otherwise, was set on the pillorie in Cheape, with three other women, who had béene of hir counsell: two of them were with hir there whipped.

Pirats hanged at Wapping

Foure women on the pillorie.

The seauenth of Iune, betwéene the houres of one and two of the clocke in the after noone, a great tempest of haile and raine happened at Tocester in Northamptonshire, wherethrough six houses in that towne were borne downe, and foureteene more sore perished with the waters which rose of that tempest. The hailstones were square, and six inches about. One child was there drowned, and manie sheepe with other cattell, which when the water was fallen, manie of them were lieng on the high hedges where the waters had left them. The sixteenth of Iune, Thomas Woodhouse, a priest of Lincolnshire, who had laine long prisoner in the Fleet, was arreigned in the Guildhall of London, and there condemned of high treason, who had iudgement to be hanged and quartered, and was executed at Tiburne the ninetéenth of Iune.

Haile in Northamptonshire.

Thomas Woodhouse.

The sixtéenth of August, Walter earle of Essex, accompanied with the lord Rich, and diuerse other gentlemen, imbarked themselues in seuerall ships at Leirpoole, and the wind sitting verie well, tooke their voiage towards Ireland. The earle after manie and great dangers on the sea, at length woone Copemans Iland, from whence in a pinnesse of capteine Perses he was brought safe to Knockfergus. The lord Rich with the like danger landed at Castell Killife, where being met by capteine Malbie, maister Smith, and master Moore pensioners, he was conducted to Inch abbaie maister Malbies house, where he had in a readinesse on the morrow morning a hundred and fiftie horssemen for their safegard to Knockfergus, beside fiftie Kerns which went a foot through the woods: there was among these a thirtie bowes with a bagpipe, the rest had darts. Sir Brian Makephelin had preied the countrie, and taken awaie what was to be carried or driuen, but on the sixt of September he came to Knockfergus, to the earle of Essex, and there made his submission: the number of kine were estéemed thirtie thousand, besides sheepe and swine.

Erle of Essex and the lord Rich with other sailed into Ireland.

Bowes, bagpipes and darts among the Irish.

After him Ferdorough Macgillasticke the blind Scots sonne, Rose, Oge, Macwilline did the like: and diuerse other sent their messengers to the earle, to signifie that they were at his lordships disposition as the baron of Dongarrow, Condenell, Odonell, and the capteine of Kilulto. The earle of Essex hauing the countrie of Claniboie and other, the quéens maiestie of England directed hir letters to the lord deputie of Ireland, willing him to make by commission the earle of Essex capteine generall of the Irish nation in the prouince of Vlster, and to diuide the countrie woone, Claniboie, and else where, &c. The eleuenth of October, Peter Burchet gentleman of the middle temple, with his dagger suddenlie assailed, cruellie wounded, and meant to haue murthered a seruiceable gentleman named Iohn Hawkins esquier, as he with sir William Winter, and an other gentleman rode towards Westminster, in the high stréet neare to the Strand, beyond the Temple-barre of London: for which fact the said Burchett being apprehended and committed to the tower, was afterward examined concerning the fact. Who answered that he tooke the said maister Hawkins for an other gentleman: and being further examined, he was found to hold certeine erronious opinions, for the which he was sent to the Lollards tower. From thence being called into the consistorie of Paules church, before the right reuerend father Edwine bishop of London, and others, and by them examined, he stood in his opinions, till the sentence of death as an heretike was readie to haue béene pronounced against him on the fourth of Nouember: but through the earnest persuasions of diuerse learned men, who tooke great paines in that matter, he renounced, forswore, and abiured his opinions for erronious and damnable, promising neuer to returne to them, and also willinglie to doo and performe all such penance as the bishop his ordinarie should inioine him.

Erle of Essex capteine general of Vlster in Ireland.

Peter Burchet wounded maister Hawkins.

Peter Burchet found to be an heretike.

Peter Burchet abiured his heresie, and submitted himselfe to doo penance.

The ninth of Nouember, the said Peter Burchet was remoued from the Lollards tower, to the tower of London, where on the next morrow about noone, whilest one that had kept him companie was gone downe, and locked the doore after him, leauing an other with him called Hugh Longworth, who stood at the window reading in the bible, the said Burchet walking vp and downe in the chamber, tooke a billets end out of the fire, and knocked the said Longworth on the head, and left not till he had striken him starke dead: for the which on the next morow he was arreigned and condemned at Westminster, and then returned to Summerset house, where he remained that night: and on the next morrow being the twelfe of Nouember, he was brought to the gibet, where (after his right hand being striken off, and nailed to the gibbet) he was hanged nigh the place where hée wounded master Hawkins. This yeare about Lammas, wheat was sold at London for thrée shillings the bushell: but shortlie after it was raised to foure shillings, fiue shillings, six shillings: and before Christmas to a noble, and seuen shillings, which so continued long after: béefe was sold for twentie pence, and two and twentie pence the stone, and all other flesh and white meats at an excessiue price, all kind of salt fish verie deare, as fiue herrings two pence, &c: yet great plentie of fresh fish, and oft times the same verie cheape: pease at foure shillings the bushell, otemeale at foure shillings eight pence: baie salt at thrée shillings the bushell, &c. All this dearth notwithstanding (thanks be giuen to God) there was no want of anie thing to them that wanted not monie.

Peter Burchet killeth his keeper.

Peter Burchet hanged.

An. Reg. 16.

Dearth without scarsitie, and afterwards plentie to them that had monie.

1574.

The fourth of Aprill being Palme sundaie, there was taken saieng of masse in the lord Morleis house within Algate of London, one Albon Dalman priest, and the ladie Morleie with hir children, and diuerse others were also taken hearing of the said masse. There was also taken the same daie and houre for saieng masse at the ladie Gilfords in Trinitie lane, one Oliuer Heiwood priest: and for hearing of the said masse, the said ladie Gilford with diuerse other gentlewomen. There was also taken at the same instant in the ladie Browns house in Cowlane for saieng masse, one Thomas

Priests saieng masse apprehended.

Thomas Heiwood priest, and one Iohn Cowper priest, with the ladie Browne, and diuers other were likewise taken being hearers of the said masse. All which persons were for the same offenses indicted, conuicted, and had the law according to the statute in that case prouided. There was also found in their seuerall chappels, diuerse Latine bookes, beads, images, palmes, chalices, crosses, vestments, pixes, paxes, and such like.

A monstrous fish (but not so monstrous as some reported) for his eies being great, were in his head and not in his backe.

The ninth of Iulie at six of the clocke at night, in the Ile of Thanet besids Ramesgate, in the parish of saint Petervnder the cliffe, a monstrous fish or whale of the sea did shoot himselfe on shore, where for want of water, beating himselfe on the sands, he died about six of the clocke on the next morning, before which time he roared, and was heard more than a mile on the land. The length of this fish was twentie two yards, the nether iaw twelue foot the opening: one of his eies, being taken out of his head, was more than six horsse in a cart could draw, a man stood vpright in the place from whence the eie was taken. The thicknesse from the backe whereon he laie, to the top of his bellie (which was vpward) was fouretéene foot, his taile of the same breadth: betweene his eies twelue foot, three men stood vpright in his mouth, some of the ribs were six foot long, his toong was fiftéene foot long, his liuer two cart lode, into his nosetrils anie man might haue crept: the oile being boiled out of the head was * parmasitie, the oile of his bodie was whitish and sweet of tast.

* Sperma ceti.

Obsequie at Pauls for the French king.

The seuenth of August a solemne obsequie was kept in saint Paules church at London for Charles the ninth king of France, who deceassed on the twentie day of Maie last before passed.

Agnes Bridges and Rachell Pinder at Pauls crosse for counterfeiting to be possessed.

On the fiftéenth daie of August being sundaie, Agnes Bridges, a maiden about the age of twentie yeares, and Rachell Pinder, a wench about eleuen or twelue yeares old, who both of them had counterfetted to be possessed by the diuell (wherby they had not onelie maruellouslie deluded manie people, both men and women, but also diuerse such persons as otherwise séemed to be of good wit and vnderstanding) stood before the preacher at Paules crosse, where they acknowledged their hypocriticall counterfetting, with penitent behauiours, requiring forgiuenesse of God and the world, and the people to praie for them. Also their seuerall examinations and confessions were there openlie read by the preacher, and afterwards published in print for the further posteritie hereafter to beware of the like deceiuers.

A lad of eighteene yeares old drowned in a chanell in London.

The fourth of September in the after noone, such a storme of raine happened at London, as the like of long time could not be remembred, wherethrough the chanels of the citie suddenlie rising, ran with such a forceable course towards the common sewes, that a lad about the age of eightéene yeares, minding to haue lept ouer the chanell neere vnto Dowgate, was borne ouen with the streame, and by the same caried from the conduit there towards the Thames, with such a swiftnesse, that no man with staues or otherwise could stay him, till he came against a cart wheele that stood in the watergate, afore which he was drowned and starke dead.

No maiors feast at the Guildhall.

This yeare the maior of London went by water to Westminster, and there tooke his oth; as hath béene accustomed: he kept no feast at Guildhall, although great prouision had béene made for that purpose, but dined at his owne house with his brethren the aldermen: the companies dined at their seuerall halles. This was doone by the speciall appointment of the quéenes maiesties councell, to auoid infection of the plague, liked to haue increased by comming togither of such a multitude. This wéeke from the two and twentith, vnto the eight and twentith of October, deceased in the citie and liberties, conteining an hundred and eight parishes, of all diseases, one hundred threscore and six, of the which number threscore and fiue were accounted to die of the plague.

Tearme adiourned.

Michaelmas tearme, which had beene adiourned by proclamation, began at Westminster on the sixt of Nouember. The same sixt day in the morning, there happened two great tides at London, in the riuer of Thames,

the

Two tides in one houre.

the first by course, the other within one houre following, which ouerflowed the marshes, with manie vaults and cellers neare adioining.

Fierie impressions maruellous.

The fourteenth of November being sundaie, about midnight following, diuerse strange impressions of fire and smoke were séene in the aire to procéed foorth of a blacke cloud in the north toward the south, which so continued till the next morning that it was daie light. The next night following, the heauens from all parts did séeme to burne maruellous raginglie, and ouer our heads the flames from the horizon round about rising did méet, and there double and roll one in another, as if it had béene in a cleare fornace. The eightéenth daie at night blew verie stormie and tempestuous winds out of the south, as hath not béene knowne the like out of that quarter, especiallie after midnight, till the next morning that it was daie light. These are to be receiued as tokens of Gods wrath readie bent against the world for sinne now abounding, and also of his great mercie, who dooth onlie thus but to shew vs the rod wherwith we dailie deserue to be beaten.

An. Reg. 17.

Tempestuous winds out of the south.

This yeare at London after harnest, the price of wheate began by little and little to fall, from seuen shillings to three shillings the bushell, at which price it staied (little or nothing rising or falling) all the yeare after: but baie salt was raised from three shillings to foure shillings, fiue shillings, and six shillings the bushell, the like whereof had neuer béene seene or heard within this realme. The 24 day of Februarie, being the feast of saint Matthie, on which daie the faire was kept at Tewkesburie, a strange thing happened there. For after a floud which was not great, but such as therby the medows néere adioining were couered with water, in the after noone there came downe the riuerof Seuerne great numbers of flies and béetels, such as in summer euenings vse to strike men in the face, in great heapes, a foot thicke aboue the water so that to credible mens iudgement there were séene within a paire of buts length of those flies aboue a hundred quarters. The mils there abouts were dammed vp with them for the space of foure daies after, and then were clensed by digging them out with shouels: from whence they came is yet vnknowne, but the daie was cold and a hard frost.

Baie salt deare.

1575.

Flies in Februarie the number strange.

An earthquake in sundrie places of England, and what effects it wrought.

The six and twentith of Februarie, betwéene foure and six of the clocke in the after noone, great earthquakes happened in the cities of Yorke, Worcester, Glocester, Bristow Hereford, and in the countries about, which caused the people to runne out of their houses: for feare they should haue fallen on their heads. In Tewkesburie, Bredon, and other places, the dishes fell from the cupboords, and the bookes in mens studies from the shelues. In Norton chappell, the people being on their knees at euening praier, the ground moouing, caused them to run awaie in great feare that the dead bodies would haue risen, or the chappell to haue fallen: part of Ruthen castell fell downe with certeine bricke chimneies in gentlemens houses. The bell in the shire hall at Denbigh was also caused to toll twise, by shaking of the hall, &c.

Anabaptists bare fagots at Pauls crosse.

On Easter daie, which was the third of April, about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, was disclosed a congregation of anabaptists, Duchmen, in a house without the bars of Aldgate at London, wherof seauen and twentie were taken and sent to prison; and foure of them bearing fagots recanted at Paules crosse, on the fifteenth daie of Maie in forme as followeth.

THE FORME OF RECANTATION OPENLIE MADE BY THE SAID ANABAPTISTS.

WHEREAS I. I. T. R. H. being seduced by the diuell the spirit of error, and by false teachers his ministers, haue fallen into certeine most detestable and damnable heresies, namelie:

I That

1. That Christ tooke not flesh of the substance of the blessed virgine Marie: The anabaptists heresies
2 That infants of the faithfull ought not to be baptised:
3 That a christian man may not be a magistrat or beare the sword or office of authoritie:
4 That it is not lawfull for a christian to take an oth:

Now by the grace of God, and through conference with good and learned ministers of Christ his church, I doo vnderstand and acknowledge the same to be most damnable and detestable heresies, and doo aske God here before his church mercie for my said former errors, and doo forsake them, recant, and renounce them, and abiure them from the botome of my heart, professing that I certeinlie beléeue: Recanted.

1 That Christ tooke flesh of the substance of the blessed virgine Marie:
2 That infants of the faithfull ought to be baptised:
3 That a christian man may be a magistrat, or beare the sword or office of authoritie:
4 That it is lawfull for a christian man to take an oth.

And further I confesse, that the whole doctrine and religion established and published in this realme of England, as also that which is receiued and preached in the Dutch church here in this citie, is sound, true, and according to the word of God: whervnto in all things I submit my selfe, and will most gladlie be a member of the said Dutch church, from henceforth vtterlie abandoning and forsaking all and euerie anabaptisticall error. This is my faith now, in the which I doo purpose and trust to stand firme and stedfast to the end. And that I may so doo, I beseech youall to praie with me, and for me, to God the heauenlie father, in the name of his sonne our sauiour Iesus Christ. The like recantation was made by them afterwards in the Dutch church.

The seauenteenth of Maie about midnight following, the reuerend father in God Matthew Parker doctor of diuinitie archbishop of Canturburie deceased at Lambeth, and was there honorablie buried, on whose toome (being of blacke marble) is written this most worthie epitaph here following: Matthew Parker archbishop of Canturburie deceased.

Sobrius & prudens, studij excultus & vsu, *Walter Haddon.*
Integer & veræ religionis amans,
Matthæus vixit Parkerus, fouerat illum
Aula virum iuuenem, fouit & aula senem,
Ordine res gessit, recti defensor & æqui,
Vixerat ille Deo, mortuus ille Deo est.

Matthew Parker liued soberlie and wise,
Learned by studie and continuall practise,
Louing, true, of life vncontrold,
The court did foster him both yoong and old,
Orderlie he dealt, the right he did defend,
He liued vnto God, to God he made his end.

¶ This reuerend father examined throughlie the English translation of the holie bibles, wherein he partlie vsed the helpe of his brethren bishops, and other doctors, and caused the same to be newlie printed in the largest volume, for the due furniture of manie churches then wanting. Also making diligent search for the antiquities of the Britons, and English Saxons, to the end those monuments might be carefullie kept he caused them to be well bound and trimlie couered: and such wherof he knew verie few examples to be extant (among the which was Matthew Paris, Matthew Florilegus, and Thomas Walsingham) he caused to be printed. The famous palace of his see at Canturburie, by long continuance decaied and consumed with fire, he renewed, builded, and fullie restored with the charges of more than fourteene hundred pounds. He founded a grammar schoole in Rochdale in the countie of Lancaster. *Ex. St.* 1182. Matthew Parker a lerned antiquarie, and what monuments of his loue to learning he left behind him. Founder of a grammar schools.

To

A benefactor to Corpus Christi college.

To Corpus Christi college in Cambridge he procured thirteene scholarships, and bare the charges of making and furnishing two chambers for scholars, and the inward librarie of the same college. Item he gaue to the outward and inward librarie of the said college a goodlie companie of printed bookes, and a great number of written books of great antiquitie and much value. Item he procured to the said college the patronage of saint Marie Abchurch in London. Item he hath founded two felowships in the said college, and procured one charter of mortmaine to the summe of one hundred pounds by yeare. Item he hath giuen to the same college of siluer plate double gilt three hundred nine ounces, and three quarters, and surrendred to them a lease with the improuement of foureteene pounds and eight shillings yeerelie for seuentéene yéeres. Item one hundred pounds to the maintenance of a fier in the hall from Halomas to Candlemas; and by his last will and testament fiue hundred pounds. Item to diuerse scholars chambers within the said college diuerse bedsteads, with sufficient bedding and books to remaine for euer. Item he hath founded for euer fiue sermons to be preached in diuerse places of Norffolke euerie yéere in Rogation weeke: and fortie shillings to be diuided at Norwich to the poore and others. Item to the citie of Norwich one bason and ewer of siluer and double guilt of one hundred seauentie and fiue ounces. Item to the towne of Matsall in Norffolke for euer an annuitie of fiftie shillings to be diuided to the poore with a sermon in Rogation weeke. Item to Gunuill and Caius college one scholarship, with a standing cup, and a pot of siluer double guilt of fiue and fiftie ounces and three quarters, and one nest of goblets with a couer siluer and guilt; with a number of good bookes to their librarie. Item to Trinitie hall one scholarship, a standing cup and a pot of siluer and guilt of three and fiftie ounces a nest of goblets siluer and guilt with a couer; and bookes to their librarie. Item to the vniuersitie librarie fiftie old ancient written bookes, and fiftie printed bookes.

Sermons perpetuallie founded at his charges in Norffolke; and what other particular gifts he bestowed to good purposes.

Of this prelat, to his further commendation the aforesaid doctor Haddon, in the second booke of his poems maketh very honorable mention, comprising in six verses the ensignes of his ancestors, with those also which were accessarie by the gratiousnesse of the prince, who preferred him to his prelacie. In the same verses also is comprehended as it were an harmonie or consent of most godlie qualities answerable vnto the ensignes that he bare; as thus:

De insignibus eiusdem Matthæi.

Sunt antiquorum claues monumenta parentum,
Venit ab augusto principe stella triplex.
Sic benè conspirant virtus, doctrina, potestas,
Et placidæ pacis semina læta serunt.
Sed tamen ad finem decurrunt gaudia vitæ,
Ac homo puluis erit, puluis vt antè fuit.]

Anabaptists banished.

The 21 of Maie being Whitsun éeuen, one man and ten women anabaptists Dutch, were in the consistorie, of Paules condemned to be burned in Smithfield: but after great pains taken with them, onlie one woman was conuerted, the other were banished the land. On the first of Iune the nine women being led by the shiriffs officers, and the man also tied to a cart and whipped, were all conueied from Newgate to the waters side, where they were shipped awaie neuer to returne againe.

Fiue persons of the familie of loue stood at Paules crosse.

The twelfe of Iune stood at Paules crosse fiue persons Englishmen of the sect termed the familie of loue, who there confessed themselues vtterlie to detest as well the author of that sect H. N. as all his damnable errors and heresies.

Anabaptists burned in Smithfield.

The two and twentith of Iulie two Dutchmen anabaptists were burned in Smithfield, who died in great horror with roring and crieng.

Thunder and haile, whereof insued great hurt.

The thirtith of Iulie in the afternoone was a great tempest of lightening and thunder, wherethrough both men and beasts in diuerse places were striken dead. Also at that time fell great abundance of haile, whereof the stones in manie places were found to be six

or seuen inches about. The fourth of September being sundaie about seuen of the clocke in the morning, a certeine glasse house, which sometime had béene the crossed friers hall neere to the tower of London burst out on a terrible fire: wherevnto the lord maior, aldermen and shiriffes with all expedition repaired, and practised there all means possible, by water buckets, hookes and otherwise to haue quenched it. All which notwithstanding, whereas the same house in a small time before had consumed great quantitie of wood by making of fine drinking glasses; now it selfe hauing within it neere fortie thousand billets of wood were all consumed to the stone walles, which walles greatlie defended the fire from spreading further, and dooing anie more harme. The glasse house burned.

The six and twentith of September, a pulters wife in the parish of Christs church within Newgate of London was deliuered and brought to bed of foure children at one burthen, all females or maiden children, which were christened by the names of Elisabeth, Marie, Margaret, and Dorothie: and the same daie moneth the mother was buried, but all the foure children liuing, and in good likeing, were borne to church after hir. ¶ On Michaelmas éeuen at night the like impressions of fire and smoke were séene in the aire to flash out of the northeast, north and northwest, as had béene on the fiue and twentith of Nouember last before passed. A woman brought a bed of foure children at one burthen.

The tenth of October manie French, and some Englishmen, but all pirats of the seas, were arreigned at the admeraltie court in Southworke, where to the number of two and twentie were condemned, and had sentence of death pronounced against them. The maior of London went by water to Westminster, and there tooke his oth as hath beene accustomed: he kept no feast at the Guildhall, but dined at his owne house with his brethren the aldermen and others. The companies dined at their seuerall halles, &c. This was doone as in the yéere last before passed, to auoid the infection of the plague, which might haue increased by comming togither of greater numbers of people. That wéeke, from the two and twentith vnto the eight and twentith of October, deceased in the citie and liberties of all diseases one hundred thirtie and two, of the which number six and thirtie were accounted to die of the plague. The next wéeke following ending the third of Nouember (thanks be giuen to God therefore) there deceased of all diseases but one hundred and ten, and of them of the plague but six and twentie. To the number of two and twentie pirats condemned and iudged to die. No maiors feast at the Guildhall, and whie? The plague asswaged in London.

¶ The eleuenth of Februarie Anne Aueries, widow, forswearing hir selfe for a little monie that she should haue paid for six pounds of tow at a shop in Wood-stréet of London, fell immediatlie downe spéechlesse, casting vp at hir mouth in great aboundance, and with horrible stinke, the same matter which by natures course should haue béene voided downewards, till she died. A terrible example of Gods iust iudgement vpon such as make no conscience of swearing against their brother. The fiftéenth of Februarie, Edmund Grindale sometime bishop of London, late archbishop of Yorke, was in the chapterhouse of S. Paules church at London elected archbishop of Canturburie. The fift of march in the night through a great flaw of wind then in the northeast, a tilt bote with about the number of one and thirtie persons, men and women, comming from Grauesend toward London, were all drowned; one boie excepted. The thirtith of Maie Thomas Gréene goldsmith was drawen from Newgate of London to Tiburne, and there hanged, headed, and quartered, for clipping of coine both gold and siluer. *1. St. pag.* 1185. God punisheth periurie. Archbishop elected. Tilt bote drowned. Gréene hanged.

The fiftéenth of Iune Martine Frobisher being furnished of aduenturors, with two small barkes and one pinnesse departed from Blackewall, vpon his voiage for the discouerie of a passage to Cataia by the northwest seas. Vpon the first of Iulie he had sight (as he iudged) of Fréesland, but durst not approch the same, by reason of the great yce that laie alongst the coast. Not far from thense he lost his pinnesse and one of his barkes, who mistrusting the danger of tempests Frobishers first voiage for the discouerie of Cataia.

A rumor that capteine Frobisher was cast awaie.

Quéene Elisabeths foreland.

returned home, with report that their generall Martine Frobisher was cast awaie, which worthie capteine notwithstanding continued his course northwest, beyond anie man that hath heretofore discouered, and the twentith of Iulie had sight of a high land, which he named Quéene Elisabeths foreland; and after that another foreland with a great passage, diuiding (as it were) the two maine lands asunder: this place he named Frobishers streits. After he had passed sixtie leagues further, he went ashoare, found the same to be inhabited with sauage people, caught one of them into his barke, and returning, arriued in England in the moneth of August following. One of his companie brought from thense a péece of a blacke stone, much like to a seacole in colour, which being brought to certeine goldfiners in London, to make a saie thereof, found it to hold gold, and that verie richlie for the quantitie.

A woman burnt at Tunbridge for poisoning hir husband.

The ninteenth of Iulie a woman was burnt at Tunbridge in Kent for poisoning of hir husband: and two daies before a man, named Oxleie, was hanged at Maidstone for being accessarie to the same fact. The tenth of August a rare péece of worke and almost incredible, was brought to passe by an Englishman borne in the citie of London named Peter Bales, who by his industrie and practise of his pen, contriued and writ within the compasse of a penie in Latine, the Lords praier, the créed, the ten commandements, a praier to God, a praier for the quéene, his posie, his name, the daie of the moneth, the yeare of our Lord, and the reigne of the quéene. And on the seuentéenth of August next following at Hampton court he presented the same to the quéenes maiestie in the head of a ring of gold, couered with a christall, and presented therewith an excellent spectacle by him deuised for the easier reading thereof: wherewith hir maiestie read all that was written therein with great admiration, and commended the same to the lords of the councell, and the ambassadors, and did weare the same manie times vpon hir finger.]

Rare workemanship shewed in the compasse of a penie by the handwriting of an Englishman.

An. Reg. 18. 1576.

This yeare, by reason of the troubles in the low countries, the English merchants susteined great losses diuers waies. For the men of warre that kept the seas, aduowing themselues to be reteined with the prince of Orenge, vnder colour to serch for their aduersaries goods, oftentimes boorded the English ships as they met with them on the seas, smallie to the profit of them to whome the same ships and goods apperteined. Some they staied and tooke awaie with them. And at length there was a generall restraint made by the prince of Orenge, that no English ships should passe to or fro the towne of Antwerpe by the riuer of Scheld, such being arrested and deteined at Flishing as were comming downe that riuer, and other likewise that were bound vp the same time towards Antwerpe.

English merchants susteine great losse by sea, and why?

The English merchants complaine to the quéene of their wrongs.

The English merchants, féeling themselues thus molested and damnified at sundrie seasons, exhibited their complaints to the quéenes maiesties councell, who accordinglie dealt from time to time with the prince of Orenge and his deputies for redresse, but speciallie now vpon this generall restreint. And although great difficultie appeared in the matter, aswell for contenting of the aduenturors of Flishing, as for that there had beene foure ships belonging to the prince arrested and staied at Falmouth: at length yet such English ships as were kept and holden at Flishing were released and sent home; but not till two of the English merchants aduenturors* men of good calling and estimation (hauing first as hath bin said made a certeine maner of protest) were faine to enter into bond for the loane of a summe of monie, and were therewith kept at Flishing till the contract in that behalfe might be performed. Whervpon the quéenes maiestie, misliking that hir subiects should be thus hardlie dealt with, armed and set foorth certeine of hir ships, which going to the seas to see that hir subiects might trauerse the same in safetie, tooke diuerse of the Flishingers vessels, and brought them into the English streames. The Flishingers herewith on the other part tooke and arrested other of the English ships,

These foure ships were staied for satisfaction of one Simons ship, out of the which a Flishinger had taken certeine tuns of Canarie wines.

*Martin Caltrop and William Godhard.

so that the troubles séemed rather to increase than to be in any wise appeased: although afterwards by sending to and fro, the matter was taken vp, and such order had as was thought to stand verie well for the suertie, commoditie, and good liking of the English merchants. The troubles increase.

But in the meane time, and before this could be brought to passe, through a disordered mutinie which chanced among the Spanish souldiers, it so fell out, that the states of those low countries agréed with the prince of Orenge, and set themselues wholie against the Spaniards. Wherevpon the yoong count de Egmont, the marquesse de Hauerie entered the towne of Antwerpe, with a power of souldiers for the States, and meant to haue kept that towne against the Spaniards that held the castell. But they doubting to be inclosed and shut vp by some siege, got more of their fellowes to them, entred the towne by force, and spitefullie killing no small number of people, sacked the towne, and put aswell the townesmen as others that were merchants resident there to their ransoms. Amongst other our Englishmen escaped not altogither frée, so as diuerse were spoiled of that they had, and the whole number put to their ransome; although vpon the sending ouer of doctor Wilson hir maiesties ambassador, so much of the ransome as remained vnpaid was promised to be remitted. This was the fourth of November, 9500 one with another slain, drowned and burned.

Thus were our merchants euill intreated on each hand, by reason of those ciuill tumults in the low countries, aswell this yeare as in the former yeares past, and small hope would be of better successe there, if some end should not be had of that ciuill dissention, which hath so long continued betwixt the king of Spaine and his subiects in those countries, not onelie to the hinderance of themselues, but also of others that haue to trade among them, speciallie for traffike sake and intercourse of merchandize. But at length they haue compounded their controuersies, and are growen to a full agréement and perfect conclusion of peace, which God grant may take place so effectuallie, as may turne to the quietnesse and publike commoditie not onlie of those countries but of their neighbors, whereby merchants and passengers may in suertie passe to and fro without disturbance, so as no occasion be giuen of breach of leagues and amities betwixt princes and countries, but that the same may be mainteined to Gods glorie, and the suertie of the christian commonwealth. A conclusion of peace betweene the parties before diuided.

In this yeare the right honorable Walter Deuereux earle of Essex and Eu, earle marshall of Ireland, vicount Hereford and Bourcher, lord Ferrers of Chartlie, Bourcher and Louaine, knight of the most noble order of the garter, fell sicke of a loosenesse of his bodie the one and twentith of August being fridaie, and for the space of two and twentie daies togither he was so grieuouslie tormented therwith, that finallie on saturdaie the two and twentith of September he departed out of this transitorie life, passing from hence to the ioies of heauen, as by his godlie end all that were about him gaue testimonie. The losse of this noble man was greatlie béemoned, aswell by the English as Irish, for the noble courage, vertuous qualities, and tender zeale to the aduancement of the commonwealth which appéered in him. Walter Deuereux earle of Essex departeth this life.

¶ So that it were a fowle fault in the highest degree, not to laie vp some commemoration of so worthie and well deseruing a gentleman, both of prince and people, in perpetuall records: which I will doo by Gods grace none otherwise than I am lead by such matter, yea memorable matter, as I find in a funeral sermon, made by the reuerend father in God Richard bishop of saint Dauis, at the buriall of this right honorable earle of Essex, in the parish church of Caermerthin in Wales, where the said bishop taking for his text these words of S. Iohn, in the 14 of the reuelation, Audiui vocem de cœlo, dicentem: Beati mortui, &c. I heard a voice from heauen, saieng: Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, &c. After he had discoursed vpon the text as the spirit of God gaue him vtterance, he descended at last *Abr. Fl. ex concione funebri, vt patet in contextu.*

to a particular treatise tending wholie to the praise of this right noble man; saieng in sort as followeth.

The place of the erls birth: what losse all England hath of him.

Behold the heauie hand of God for our sins, vpon all the whole countrie in the death of this noble man, which is not onelie a messenger of Gods wrath towards this towne and countrie (wherein he was borne) but also in verie deed a great losse to the whole realme. And although this countrie, who shall misse so noble and so worthie a ruler and magistrate, that bore them so great affection, so readie to benefit all, and hurt none, and for the high calling he was of so able to pleasure and to doo good: although I saie this countrie by the death of this noble earle is most earnestlie and effectuallie cited to appeere before the Lord, and to fall to a reckoning: yet doo I beleeue that the queenes maiestie, hir highnesse councell, and all the nobilitie of the realme may hereby receiue admonition, and cause of further circumspection and aduigilancie. For such valiant and couragious noblemen are the bulworks and walles of defense of the whole realme. They saie the realme is walled about, bicause it is inuironed with the sea: but I hold rather with their iudgements, that make the fidelitie and true harts of the subiects and especiallie of such of the nobilitie that haue made themselues (by Gods especiall grace) expert to gouerne and rule vnder hir maiestie, aswell in warre as peace, the strong towers of defense both of hir maiestie and hir highnesse realme. This noble earle was one of these number: for I beleeue there is no prince in the world, that had a more faithfull noble subiect, than hir maiestie had of him in his time. And for the notable valiantnesse, experience, and vertues that were in him, I am persuaded that hir maiestie (if he had liued) might haue vsed his seruice to be a terrour to all enimies, forren or domesticall. And now that I may speake somewhat of his great nobilitie, his excellent, vertuous, and worthie qualities: first I thinke I may saie thus much in generalitie, that it was easie for a man of anie iudgement, that should behold his countenance and behauiour, to find in him nobilitie, maiestie and honor, planted by the especiall gift of God, euen from his mothers wombe. When I consider the nature of nobilitie with the causes efficient and finall, it seemeth vnto me that nobilitie may be compared vnto a riuer or a floud, which in the originall issueth out of foure principall wels, and all the foure rise out from the compasse of one hill. The welles of nobilitie are prudence, fortitude, iustice and temperance: the hill whence they spring is the feare of God, or true religion.

What noblemen are the wals of the realme.

The praise of the earle for sundrie considerations.

Comparison of true nobilitie vnto a riuer or floud, &c.

Although this worthie earle by progenie was of noble bloud, whose ancestors were of great honour, which of it selfe, if a man degenerat not too far from his forefathers, deserueth honorable acceptation in this world: yet was he not therewith satisfied, as it may appeere by his studie and trauell in his life time: for he seemed to be of that iudgement that Alphonsus king of Aragon (of whome we read in stories) was of. When a certeine man tooke in hand to set out the laud and praise of his nobilitie, he stood much in recitall that he was a king, a kings sonne, a kings nephue, a kings brother, and such like titles. The king interrupting his tale answered, that he neuer esteemed much of that kind of glorie: and that it was the praise and commendation of his ancestors, who by vertue and worthie qualities had deserued such high callings and honour, and not of him: and that his praise stood not in that which might fall vnto him by testament, but in the imitation and performing of the noble acts, prowesse, and valiantnesse of his forefathers. This noble earle likewise, not answered to his expectation in that he was a noble man by bloud and inheritance, gaue himselfe wholie all the daies of his life to purchase and win the nobilitie that springeth immediatlie from the verie originall founteins of the same, as partlie I will put you in remembrance of. We will begin with prudence, which may be thus defined.

Panor. lib. 20. de rebus gestis Alphonsi.

The disposition of the earle to inlarge and augment his nobilitie.

Prudence

Prudence is a power or facultie of the mind giuen of God, whereby man is made wise, prouident and circumspect, and whereby man atteineth knowledge, cunning, and expertnesse in all matters that the children of men haue to deale with in this world. This noble earle was of great wisedome, deepe iudgement, graue consideration, and so blessed with vnderstanding, experience, and manifold vertues and gifts of God, that he was right worthie to serue hir maiestie in princelie and weightie affaires, both in warre and peace. He was of such prudent and excellent discretion, that he had a speciall grace to interteine all states of men, superiour, equall, and inferiour, with such comelinesse and decencie, that for ciuilitie, humanitie, maners, and honorable behauior, he was a paterne and an example for nobilitie to imitate and to follow. In his youth he bestowed not the time in vanitie, idlenesse, or voluptuousnesse; but in atchiuing and winning of such sciences, properties and vertues, which might beautifie and increase his nobilitie, and preuailed therin so effectuallie, that he became excellent in all kinds of knowledge and qualities, meet, commendable, or necessarie for a man of honour. Concerning diuine matters, I haue in my time conferred with his lordship, and therefore can saie somewhat therein: and amongst others, one thing is notable, which in conference I receiued at his mouth. He affirmed this in effect, that there was nothing in the world that could blemish and abase the heroicall nature of nobilitie so much, as to haue the eies of vnderstanding so closed and shut vp, that a man in honour should not be able to discerne betwixt true religion, and the hypocriticall false religion; betwixt the right worshipping of God, and idolatrie; betwixt the traditions of men and Gods word: but remaine subiect to lies and superstition, and to call bad good, and good bad: and concluded that to be frée from this seruile state, was a necessarie point of true nobilitie.

Prudence a noble vertue wherewith this erle was indued.

How he bestowed his youthful yeares.

The bishops report of him vpon his own knowledge.

He therefore in his time had diligentlie trauelled in the scriptures, and so furnished himselfe with principles of christian religion, that he was able readilie to discerne sermons and disputations, and to find out who had veritie on their side: and also probablie to speake with authoritie of scripture in matters of controuersie. His vnderstanding by the especiall worke of the holie ghost was so illumined, that he claue and drew to true christian religion, as the adamant stone cleaueth and draweth to stéele. His lordship therefore furthered and fauoured all preachers of Gods word, so that whosoeuer will iudge of the successe of Christs religion by humane reason, must confesse that the gospell hath lost a mightie protector, and an earnest defender. But God in setting out of his word, vseth to worke beside the expectation of man, and beyond the reach of reason. I haue yet further to speake of his lordship, that I beliéeue there be verie few noble men in England, more readie and expert in chronicles, histories, genealogies, and pedegrées of noble men, and noble houses, not onlie within the realme, but also in forren realmes, than this noble earle was in his time. He excelled in describing and blasing of armes, and in all skill perteining thereto: and to be short, his vnderstanding and capacitie was so liuely and effectuall, that it reached to all kind of matters that a perfect nobleman shall haue to deale withall in this world.

The erle perfect in the scriptures and matters of religion.

He was a fauourer of preachers.

His expertnesse in chronicles histories, &c.

Fortitude is another founteine from whense nobilitie floweth, of Cicero In Tusculanis quæstionibus thus defined: Est affectio animi qua grauia patiendo legibus obtemperatur: It is an affection of the mind whereby to satisfie the lawes a man is content to suffer hardnesse; he meaneth mans lawes, and not Gods law. It séemeth therefore that it may be thus more euidentlie and fullie defined: Fortitude is an affection of the mind, wherby a man is made hardie and couragious to suffer difficulties and dangers, auoiding on the one side rashnesse, and expelling on the other side feare, to performe that which Gods law and honestie prescribeth and commandeth. Although by this definition we find, that the effect of fortitude resteth much in banishing of feare of bodilie hurts: yet dooth it agrée verie well with the feare of God.

Fortitude a noble vertue wherewith this earle was indued.

Iethro

Exod. 18, 21. Iethro therefore counselling Moses to choose men to gouerne vnder him, saith; Prospice viros fortes, timentes Deum; Séeke out men indued with fortitude, fearing God, &c. Whereby we perceiue, that fortitude and the feare of God varie not, but are linked togither. Déepe was the floud of nobilitie that this valiant earle had fetched out of this founteine. For in this togither with the well of prudence, he found that excellent knowledge of chiualrie, the cunning to lead an armie, to guide and to rule soldiors, that experience of stratagems and warlike policies, that notable magnanimitie and inuincible courage, whereby he induced and ouercame so manie dangers and perils, for the which he is renowmed in England and Ireland, and shall neuer be forgotten. He was by nature the sonne of Mars; and by practising feats of war and exercise aforehand he had made himselfe in manner a perfect warrior, afore that euer he came to the wars; and was for prowesse, magnanimitie, and high corage to be compared to the old Romane capteins, that be so much in stories commended. This fortitude is no lesse necessarie for nobilitie in time of peace than in time of war. For it belongeth vnto them to minister iustice betwixt partie and partie, without respect of persons, which cannot be performed without the assistance of this vertue. I haue good cause to thinke of this noble earle, that there was no subiect in England, that could feare or corrupt him from executing of iustice. He was to the proud and arrogant a lion, and to the méeke and humble a lambe, neither is there anie contrarietie in this: for true nobilitie discerneth a due and conuenient time and place to vse both the one and the other.

The earles chiualrie, martiall knowledge and prowesse aduanced.

Fortitude néedfull both in time of peace and warre.

Iustice is the third well of nobilitie, it is a constant and a perpetuall will to giue euerie man his owne. This is a diuine vertue, pretious, and commendable in all men, and especiallie in the nobilitie, who by reason of authoritie may doo iniurie without remedie for the same. We sée by experience that great is the number of them that would oppresse, if they had authoritie: we see also the iniuries that are doone dailie by them that haue colour of authoritie, be it neuer so simple. But examine the life of this earle who will, and I beléeue there is no man liuing that can iustlie complaine of anie iniurie or wrong doone by him. I once in my time heard him not a litle offended with one of his men that was complained vpon; saieng that his seruant could doo him no greater dishonour, than by pretense of his authoritie to doo anie poore man wrong. Iob in the time of his authoritie and wealth, was commended to be a iust and a righteous man. And in the explication of part of that iustice Iob hath these words, Fui oculus cæco, vice pedum claudo, &c: I was the eies to the blind, and I was the féet to the lame, I was a father to the poore, and when I knew not the cause I sought it out diligentlie, I broke the chawes of the vnrighteous man, and plucked the preie out of his téeth. Here we find that whosoeuer will doo iustice, must not onelie doo no wrong, but must also with all his might, succour and comfort the helplesse and oppressed. In this part of iustice there was neuer noble man more forward than this good earle. He was the comfortable refuge of all such as were in aduersitie, or oppressed by power.

Iustice a noble vertue, wherwith this erle was indued.

The bishop reporteth of the earles iustice vpon his owne knowledge.

Iob. 29, 15.

The paterne of a good erle indeed.

Of Titus Vespasianus emperor of Rome we read, that he answered one of his freends, admonishing him to hold his hands, and not to make his liberalitie and gentlenesse common to all men, saieng; that it becommeth not a prince to let anie man part from him with a heauie heart. This worthie earle was of like mind: for he was so full of humanitie and compassion, that he would be loth to let anie distressed part from him without some comfort and ease. In so much that in him (if euer in anie man) this adage, Homo homini Deus, A man a god to man, was as truelie performed, as in tyrants the contrarie adage, that is, Homo homini lupus, A man a woolfe to man. Wee read in chronicles of emperors, kings, and noble men, which for their bountifulnesse, gentlenesse, affabilitie, and goodnesse, deserued some honorable addition to their names; as amongst the emperors Antoninus pius, Anthonie the vertuous; amongst

Suetonius.

The humanitie, courtesie, affablenesse, and other vertues of this earle.

the

the British kings, Elidorus pius, Elidor the godlie; and amongst noble men, in the time of king Richard the second, sir Thomas Montacute the good earle of Salisburie; and in the time of king Henrie the sixt, sir Thomas Beauchampe the good earle of Warwike. This noble earle for the verie like qualities hath trulie deserued to be called, the good earle, the vertuous earle, and the valiant earle of Essex.

Temperance is the founteine of nobilitie; it is a vertue whereby a man obserueth a moderation, and a reasonable meane in the vse of all things perteining to bodie and mind: it is the mother of all other vertues, without which, the rest are blemished and disgraced. In the Dutch chronicles that tell of the liues of emperors, the first qualitie that is noted, is temperat or not temperat, as an argument of the rest of his life and doings: for he is thought vnworthie to rule others that cannot rule himselfe. This noble earle had a speciall grace, and an excellent gift of God in obseruation of this vertue, whether you respect diet, or the suppression of all vicious affections. I haue diuerse times noted in him, when vnderstanding was brought vnto him of some Thrasonicall contumelious word, spoken by some glorious inferior aduersarie against him, he would neuer be stirred to anie perturbation of mind thereby, but with graue wisedome and magnanimitie contemne it and smile, deriding the vanitie and waiwardnesse of that cankered stomach that vomited such sowre rotten infection: for he did effectuallie consider that it became no better a noble hart to take in and receiue wranglings, brallings, chafings, and anger, than it is conuenient to dawbe a golden piller with mire and claie. Salomon was of that mind, and therefore saith; Be not thou hastie to be angrie, for anger resteth in the bosome of fooles. I haue had occasion by that I noted in his lordship to call to remembrance this saieng of Christ; A good man out of the good tresure of his hart bringeth foorth good things: and the euill man out of the euill treasure of his hart bringeth forth euill things. For though occasion were ministred, yet should you neuer heare him vtter anie opprobrious words, no not against his aduersarie, so pure and immaculate did he studie to preserue the nobilitie of his mind. There be some that count themselues worthie honor and estimation, when they teare God in pieces with chasing and horrible oths: which this noble earle detested and abhorred, as a matter not onelie vndecent, but also repugnant to the nature of true nobilitie, attributing due reuerence to the name of the Lord, and thereby prooving the founteins of his nobilitie to spring out of the hill of the feare of God.

Temperance, a noble vertue wherewith this erle was indued.

The bishops report of the earle vpon his owne knowledge.

Eccles. 7. 9.

Luke 6. 45.

The earle could not awaie with swearing, chafing, nor anie disordered dealing, &c.

But what was his religion, what faith God had blessed him withall, what godlie disposition he was of, and how abundantlie God had inriched him with his holie spirit; the confession of his faith, his speeches, naie rather his sermons in his sickenesse afore his death shall testifie for euer. For I receiued by the relation of such as are worthie credit, and were present about him, although not all, yet manie of his learned godlie saiengs at that time. Concerning his saluation, he reposed his affiance and sure trust in the bloud of Iesus Christ. He forgaue all the world, and by inuincible faith apprehended, laied hold, and imbrased remission of his sinnes, in the merits of the sacrifice of Christs bodie offered vpon the crosse for the sinnes of the world. Trentals, masses, diriges, pardons, and such other papisticall trifles he vtterlie contemned, as wicked and blasphemous against the death and passion of Christ. He fared like the children of Israell in the wildernesse, which when they were stinged with serpents euen to death: yet when they lookt vp to the brasen serpent, they were made whole, safe, and sound. So this noble earle grieued with the remembrance of his former vnthankfull life (as he iudged) immediatlie directed the eies of his mind to the passion of Christ, and foorthwith felt such health of soule, that he was filled with ioie in the holie Ghost, and all his delight was in meditation of the ioie of the world to come, and the fruition of the presence of God for euer: insomuch that

The disposition and deuotion of this earle in the time of his sickenesse.

Numbers 21. 9.

The heauenlie contemplation of this earle drawing to his end.

fiue

fiue or six daies before he died, he shewed himselfe more like an angell from heauen, than a man compassed with flesh and bloud.

A woonderfull gift of the holie Ghost and most worthie to be chronicled.

My lord the archbishop of Dublin (as I was informed) could mooue him in no question or article perteining to saluation, that he was not readie in, and learnedlie, and godlie resolued: yea, and made such answers in all things, that my lord of Dublin had them in great admiration, and affirmed that his spéeches at that time should serue him for sermons as long as he liued. How trulie he relinquished the vanities of this world, and how effectuallie he thirsted after the ioies of the life to come, his godlie admonitions ministred vnto such as visited him, and his heauenlie lessons and exhortations to his seruants, shall testifie for euer: for they were such that his seruants report they shall neuer forget, and such as they shall be the better for whilest they liue. Thus haue I briefliè and partlie declared vnto you, both the life and death of this worthie magistrate, to the end we should consider how seriouslie God dooth call vs to a reckoning by the losse of such a good magistrat. Now a word or two to shew who they be that die in the Lord, and then an end. They principallie are said to die in the Lord which suffer death vnder the beast, for confession of Christs religion, for they properlie die in the Lords cause. Such are the martyrs, as well of the primitiue church vnder the cruell emperours, as the inartyrs of all ages since vnder antichrist of Rome. They also die in the Lord which though they die not by the crueltie of the beast, yet they die in the faith of Iesus Christ, and are therefore blessed.

How his seruants were affected at his last spéeches.

Who they be that die in the Lord.

A spéech conclusorie of the bishop directed to the earle departed.

Of this number was this godlie earle, as I haue before declared. Wherfore I will conclude and direct my spéech for two or thrée words to this good earle. O noble earle of Essex, in thy time the pearle of nobilitie: the mirrour of vertue and worthie qualities: the child of chiualrie: the beautifull floure of England: the pretious iewell and comfort of Wales: the trustie staie of Ireland. Thy life was most honourable: thy worthinesse incomparable: thy death pretious in the sight of God: for thou diedst in the Lord a right inheritour of the euerlasting kingdome of heauen Wherefore by authoritie of the heauenlie oracle that saint Iohn was commanded to write, thou art to be pronounced blessed for euer. Our sins haue shortened thy life, so that we could inioie the same no longer. Thou hast notwithstanding bequeathed thy bodie to be buried amongst vs here in Wales. Of verie dutie therefore O noble earle, thy toome shall be with vs in reuerence, estimation, and honor; the fame and name of thy nobilitie, valiantnesse, vertue, and woorthinesse shall neuer be forgotten; but shall liue and be kept with vs in memorie from generation to generation while the world standeth. Thus far the words of the bishop vttered in a sermon preached in the ears of no meane audience, either for reputation or number. Now then briefliè considering wherein true and perfect noblenesse consisteth, and that the heroicall vertues with their naturall vse were most firmelie fixed in his heart, and practised by his hand: there is great reason to mooue euen his enimies (if it were possible for so good a gentleman to haue anie) to confesse in him most absolute nobilitie; and that this epitaph alluding to his right honorable ensignes, is deseruedlie to be recorded; being an abstract of that notable epitaph intituled Epitapium genealogicum in obitum illustrissimi Gualteri comitis Essexiæ, & Euiæ, & comitis marischalli regni Hiberniæ, vicecomitis Hereford & Bourghcher, domini Ferrers de Chartleie Bourghcher & Louein, & prænobolis ordinis garterij militis, qui obijt Dublinij 21. Septemb. 1576. ætatis suæ 36 sepulti apud Maridunum 26 Nouemb. &c.

The earle eternallie blessed.

Si quisquam claret veterum splendore parentum,
Aut famam meritus morum probitate perennem,
Profiteatur in hijs nomen Essexius heros:
Qui præclara virûm gestat monumenta tot vnus,
Quot farò licuit multis gestamina ferre,

Qui

Qui intrepidè ob patriam tot mille pericula passus,
Quot rarò poterint vlla aulica corpora ferre.
Aureolus partus * matris, patriæ decus ingens,
Quo non exultat moderante Herefordia sola,
Aut Trinobantum, titulo probitatis honorem
Plebs referens: strenuum validúmue Britannia sola
Sensit, in aduersos Boreales, dum bene gessit:
Tota sed heroem cognouit marte feroci
Eugeniæ tellus Hibernica bella probantem.
Regia cum proprijs expendens, bella per annos,
Dura gerit binos, & multa pericula tentans,
Vltoniæ fines vultu dextráque quieti
Perficit, hinc comitis donatur nomine belli:
Nec tamen is potuit gladio finire labores.
Mors nemini parcens Dublinia funera fletu
Trans mare transuexit, Maridunica sydera voluens,
Clotho colum tenuit post septem lustra per annum,
Quinque dies Lachesis post hæc sua fila trahebat,
Térque dies septem septeno mense, videns heu
Atropos, eximij fulgentia lumina clausit:
Quatuor ast pueris illustria stamina spondent.
In tribus regnis titulos gestabat honoris,
Nam comitem Euensem cognouit Gallia fortem,
Aureus heroem demonstrat circulus Essex,
Ob bello vires comes est is martis Hibernus.
Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,
(Armipotens Gualtere) dedit probitásque laborem,
Perpetuámque labor vitam, sic vita salutem.

* Nempe Doro thee filie Georgij comitis Huntington: marito suo Richardo Deuereux patre viuente animam exhalante.

This epitaph with the said earles whole genealogie or pedegree comprised in heroicall verse, and ioined with the funerall sermon, was presented to the right honourable lord Robert now earle of Essex and Ew, vicount of Hereford and Bourchier, lord Ferrers of Chartleie Bourchier and Louaine, at such time as he was the quéenes maiesties ward; with an epistle of the presenter: which bicause it is a veine of godlie deuise, and tending to a verie honorable purpose, deserueth here to be placed, answering the president heretofore set out in print, as foloweth

THE EPISTLE OF E. W.

PREFIXED BEFORE THE GENEALOGICALL EPITAPH, AND FUNERALL SERMON PUBLISHED AT THE INTERRING OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD WALTER EARLE OF ESSEX, &c.

MY lord, your absence latelie from the funerals of my lord your father, was lamented by such in Wales as would gladlie haue beheld the liuelie image of him in you; and if the tendernesse of your yeares (vnmeet for so tedious and so vnseasonable trauell) had not by necessitie disappointed their hope, then should the lamentable speech of the graue and reuerend father, the bishop of saint Dauies (expressed

The death of the earle much lamented.

(expressed with abundance of dolour and tears) haue left in you a déepe impression of griefe for the intollerable losse of so honourable a parent. But it maie be iudged that God hath turned your absence to your more benefit; sith the importunacie of such as loue and honour you, and who couet to haue your fathers vertues descend with his inheritance, hath obteined the publishing of that learned sermon: wherin you maie at good leasure view in the just report of his life and death the paterne and forme of true nobilitie.

The heroicall description of true nobilitie.

The heroicall description that the bishop maketh of nobilitie, comparing it vnto a mounteine, from which foure famous riuers must issue (the mounteine true religion, the riuers, prudence, iustice, fortitude, and temperance) is a rule to you: first to follow your father in truth of religion, then to be as he was, wise, just, valiant, and temperat. The naturall and vnforced courtesie and affabilitie that was in your father, and that excellent mixture of disposition and aptnesse, both for warre and peace, dooth promise to the world a singular perfection in you hereafter. For as your grandfather (who died in his yoong yeares) did make shew of much more honour than was in the noble vicount his father: and this our earle by famous actions did altogither eclipse the vertuous hope conceiued of your grandfather: so considering that God in nature continueth as it were the race by outward shew of good parts in you, and that you haue more aduantage of education, both by the place where you liue, and by the honour and wisdome of your patrons than your grandfather or father had; we can not but hope of a further degree of excellencie in you to ouershine the goodnesse both of your father and grandfather.

A persuasorie reason to mooue the yoong earle now liuing to an excellent imitation of his ancestors.

Some people there be that can hardlie discerne betweene honour and profit, that doo ouermuch thinke of the disaduantage offered you by the earle your father, in diminishing some part of his patrimonie in his forren seruices; and will wish you perhaps with a contrarie course to deserue more of your heire, and woorse of the world. But as I wish in you a liberall frugalitie vnder this rule and protestation, that nothing can be profitable that is not honest: so to deserue well (as your father did) of your souereigne and countrie in matters apperteining to hir maiesties obedience, rather throw the helue after the hatchet, and leaue your ruines to be reparcd by your prince, than anie thing to degenerat from honourable liberalitie. And as in attempting great things, it is good to be circumspect, and with iudgment wiselie to foresée the end before you begin: so hauing entered into anie honourable attempt that maie be iustlie grounded vpon reason, follow the same with such inuincible constancie in all extremities as your father did, for so shall you iustlie, deserue like testimonie as hir maiestie gaue to him in hir gratious letters: namelie, that he was a rare iewell of hir realme, and an ornament of hir nobilitie.

Notable counsell to the earle to deserue well of his souereigne and countrie.

The quéenes testimonie of the earle.

True religion and wisdome (vpon whome iustice dependeth) doo procéed from God by grace, and therefore by inuocation, praier, and studie to be obteined: but the other vertues, as fortitude, temperance, courtesie, affabilitie, liberalitie and constancie, be peculiar to your house, descending by nature, and grafted as it were in your principles. So that to degenerat into the lothsome contraries of these, and in steed of the habit of vertue, to disguise your selfe with vice, shall be harder to you, and more impossible for the contrarietie of your nature, than to atteine in good things to the perfection of excellencie. And to the end that you may know what you are by birth and bloud, and that you should not by ignorance or lacke of knowledge of your selfe, doo anie thing vnworthie the noble houses from whense you are descended: a welwiller of yours hath ioined to this sermon (amongst other epitaphs conteining your fathers due praises) his statelie descent in well digested Latine verses: not to puffe you vp with anie swelling vanities, but to giue you a reason how you beare your armour and badges

Vertues naturallie incident to the erle by course of descent.

To what end the epitaph genealogicall was added to the funerall sermon.

badges of honour, and to remember you what errour you enter into, if you should blemish the vertues of your noble ancestours, or to doo anie thing (as I said) vnworthie your birth and calling.

Lastlie my lord, haue alwaies before your eies the feare of God, and the counsell of the earle your father at his death: namelie, that you should euer be mindfull of the moment of time, assigned both to your father and grandfather, the eldest hauing atteined but to six and thirtie yeares, to the end that vpon consideration of the short course of life that you in nature are to looke for, you might so imploie your tender yeares in vertuous studies and exercises, as you might in the prime of your youth become a man well accomplished to serue hir maiestie and your countrie, as well in warre as peace: wherevnto he commanded you to bend all your indeuours, and with those conditions heaped his blessings vpon you. I praie therefore that God will increase those conditionall blessings, and the causes of them in you, to the end that hir maiestie may thinke of you hereafter as of a true seruant and humble subiect, one of the pillers of hir estate, hir maiesties kinsman by manie aliances, and the sonne of a most noble father.

The old earls counsell at his death to the yoong earle now aliue touching the shortneste of life.

Your L. at commandement E. W.

Thus much concerning the two earles, the father departed, and the sonne suruiuing, of whose procéeding in the steps of his father, there is no doubt but within few yeares the world shall haue iust cause (as there is present hope) to beare witnesse: whome in all his attempts we will leaue to such fortunat successe, as God the giuer thereof shall vouchsafe to prouide and afford.]

The tenth of Nouember a proclamation was published for the frée traffike of merchants to be restored as had béen accustomed in times past betwixt the kingdoms and countries of the quéenes maiestie of England and the king of Portingall, which traffike had been discontinued by reson of certeine staies and arrests made of diuerse subiects on both parts, with their goods and ships. But now it was accorded in name of both their maiesties, that all maner of both their subiects of what kingdome or countrie so euer they be, from the fiftéenth of the said moneth, might vse the like mutuall traffike for merchandizes, and in the same places: that is to saie, hir maiesties subiects in the kingdomes of Portingale and Algarbia, and in the Iles of Medera and Azore: and likewise the subiects of the king of Portingale in England and Ireland, as they were lawfullie accustomed before the said arrests. This restitution of the said traffike to remaine from the said fifteenth daie of Nouember in this yeare one thousand, fiue hundred, seauentie and six, during the space of thrée yeares next insuing. At the end of which terme, if by the said princes in the meane time it be not otherwise prouided for continuance of the said traffike to indure perpetuallie, no new arrests shall be made of anie things brought into the kingdoms and Iles aforesaid, of either of the said princes during the time of the said thrée yeares. It was further agréed by the said princes for the more sure preseruation of the amitie and friendship betwixt them, their said realmes and subiects, that neither of them shall receiue anie pirat or rouer into anie of the ports or créeks of either of their realmes, dominions, and countries, which may or shall haue committed anie pirasie or robberie vpon either of their subiects, nor shall shew anie fauour, giue anie aid or succor, or suffer anie to be giuen directlie or indirectlie to the said rouers or pirats. Neither shall they during the time of the said amitie, in either of their kingdoms, or anie place of their dominions, fauour, interteine, receiue or reteine, nor suffer to be fauoured, interteined, receiued, or reteined by anie of their subiects, anie rebels, traitors, or fugitiues, subiects to either of them.

A proclamation for the free traffike of merchants as before, &c.

Thus farre haue I continued this collection of the English histories, noting breefelie in these later yeares, such things as I find in the abridgement of Richard Grafton, and in the summarie of Iohn Stow, increased somewhat (as may appeare) in places with such helpes as haue come to my hand; humblie beseeching the reader to accept the same in good part, and to pardon me where I haue not satisfied his expectation: sith heerein I must confesse, I haue nothing contented myselfe, but yet at the request of others haue doone what I could and not what I would, for want of conference with such as might haue furnished me with more large instructions, such as had beene necessarie for the purpose.

THE

CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND,

FROM

THE YEARE OF OUR LORD 1576,

WHERE RAPHAELL HOLINSHED LEFT;

SUPPLIED AND CONTINUED TO THIS PRESENT YEARE 1586:

BY IOHN STOW, AND OTHERS.

A DISCIPLE of Socrates, by name Aristippus, a man suerlie of a verie sharpe iudgement and pleasant wit, when he was demanded what profit he tooke by the studie of wisedome, made this answer: Forsooth this profit, that with all sorts of men I can frankelie and boldlie speake. Which answer might well be of that mans making; bicause he bare a mind indifferentlie free, as well from hope as feare: for he serued no man, nor yet flattered anie person, nor otherwise behaued himselfe than his hart gaue him. Of the same mind it were to be wished that all storie-writers were: for then should Chronicles approch next in truth to the sacred and inuiolable scripture, and their vse not onelie growe more common, but also of greater account. And right good reason whie. For therein is conteined the rich and pretious treasure of time, the wisest counsellor vnder the cope of heauen. And that saw Thales the philosopher well inough, who being asked what of all was the eldest? answered, God: what of all the fairest? the world: what of all the greatest? place: what of all the swiftest? the mind: what of all the strongest? necessitie: and what of all the wisest? time. Time in Greeke is called χρόνος, whereof the word Chronicles ariseth, termed τὰ χρόνικα, that is, obseruations of time: so that if nothing in wisedome dooth excell time, then who can but wax wise by reading and perusing the obseruations of time, which are méerelie and simplie Chronicles? Chroniclers therefore deserue a reuerence of dutie, whome time hath called and culled out as it were by the hand, to vse their ministerie and seruice for the disposing and distributing of the riches of his wisedome to all ages that successors may be taught by their predecessors, wit by their follie, fealtie by their disloialtie, obedience by their rebellion, vnitie and peace by their dissention, plainnesse by their doublenesse, sobrietie by their vntemperance, courtesie by their churlishnesse, pitie by their vncharitablenesse; finallie all goodnesse by their badnesse: for the which (as we may see by a sea of examples in this booke) sith they were greeuouslie punished, it is our gaine by their smart to be admonished.

For

For surelie heerein standeth a speciall vse of chronicles, that whilest some of fending against the lawes of God, of nature, and of nations, doo draw vnto themselues deserued vengeance: others by loue allured, or by feare inforced, seeing their rufull fals, and auoiding the meanes, may happilie escape the paine. This frute hitherto hath this historie of chronicles affoorded, no lesse heereafter by the continuation following is like to be performed: besides manifold matters of recreation, policie, aduentures, chiualrie, &c: abundantlie ministred; and all vnder the golden reigne of blessed queene Elisabeth, the sweet floure of amiable virginitie:

Cui vitam, studiúmque Deus, regníque coronam
Perpetuet, beet, & tranquillo prosperet vsu:
Pôstque hanc exactam vitam, studium atque coronam,
Cœlesti vita, studio, diademate donet.

A. F.

THE CONTINVATION OF THE CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND

FROM THE YEARE OF OUR LORD 1576,

TO THIS PRESENT YEARE 1586, &c.

THE tenth day of Nouember, in the citie of Worcester, a cruell and vnnaturall brother (as an other Cain) murdered his owne naturall and louing brother, first, smiting his braines out of his head with an ax, and after cutting his throte to make him sure, and then buried him vnder the earth of a chimneie, thinking thereby (though wrongfullie) quietlie to haue inioied his brothers goods long before in his possession: but not long after this secret murther comming to light, the murderer was rewarded according to his deserts, and to the terror of such vnnaturall murdering brethren. The seuententh of March, through a strange tempest which hapned in the North, neere to a towne called Richmond, not onelie cotages, trées, barnes, and haiestakes, but also the most part of the church called Patrike Brumton was ouerthrowen, with most strange sights in the aire, both fearefull and terrible.

I. Stow. An vnnaturall brother murthereth his naturall brother, but the vnnaturall brother was hanged as he well deserued. An. Reg. 19. A tempest in Richmondshire.

1577

In the moneth of Aprill, the decaied stone house called the tower vpon London bridge was begun to be taken downe, and the heads of traitors that were woont there on poles to be fixed, were remoued thense, and set on the gate at the bridge foot toward Southworke. The seuentéenth daie of Maie, Richard Robinson goldsmith was drawne from the tower of London to Tiburne, and there hanged for clipping of gold. The one and thirtith daie of Maie, Martin Frobisher with one ship and two barks furnished for that purpose, sailed from Harwich in Essex towards Cataia by the northwest seas, and entered the streicts beyond quéene Elizabeths foreland, about thirtie leagues, where he went on shore, and finding store of the blacke stone, which the goldfiners had said to hold gold, and therefore called the same gold ore, he fraught his ship and barke, caught a man, a woman, and a child of that countrie, and then on the foure and twentith of August returning from thense, arriued at Milford hauen in Wales on the twentith of September next following.

Tower on London bridge taken downe. Robinson hanged for clipping of gold. Second voiage to Cataia.

The fourth, fift, and sixt daie of Iulie, the assises being holden at Oxford, there was arreigned and condemned one Rowland Ienkes, for his seditious toong, at which time there arose amidst the people such a dampe that almost all were smouldered, verie few escaping that were not taken at that instant: the iurors died presentlie, shortlie after died sir Robert Bell lord chiefe baron, sir Robert de Olie, sir Willam Babington, maister Wineman, master de Olie high shiriffe, master Dauers master Harecombe, master Kirle, master Phetipace, master Gréenewood, master Foster, master Nash, sergeant Baram, master Stephans, &c. There died in the towne of Oxford three hundred persons, and sickened there, but died in other places two hundred and od, from

Strange sickenesse at Oxford.

the sixt of Iulie to the twelfe of August, after which daie died not one of that sickenesse, for one of them infected not an other, nor anie one woman or child died thereof.

Al. Fl. ex relatu W. B. impress. 1577.

¶ Of this sickenesse there passed a report in print, published vnder the name of W. B. who (as he saith himselfe) was present with sir William Babington, and therefore was able, and did (as he thought good) set downe the certeintie of that heauie accident, for the satisfaction of such friends of his as desired to know the vndoubted truth. And the same W. B. setting downe the opinion, that diuerse conceiued of this venemous maladie, saith that some supposed it to be of two sorts; howbeit (saith he) it is not so. For those that bled till they died, stroue so much with their sickenesse, that the bloud issued outat their vents: but yet had perfect memorie, euen to the yéelding of their breath, as was verie well perceiued by sir William Babington, who neuer ceased to call vpon God in his great agonie, &c. This reported W. B. as a certeine truth, to stop the flieng rumors of those that (as he saith) haue spoken vntrulie in this behalfe, and published their owne fantasies.]

Tempest in Suffolke.

On sundaie the fourth of August, betweene the houres of nine and ten of the clocke in the forenone, whilest the minister was reading of the second lesson in the parish church of Bliborough a towne in Suffolke, a strange and terrible tempest of lightening and thunder strake thorough the wall of the same church into the ground almost a yard déepe, draue downe all the people on that side aboue twentie persons, then renting the wall vp to the reuestre, cleft the doore, and returning to the steeple, rent the timber, brake the chimes, and fled toward Bongie a towne six miles off. The people that were striken downe were found groueling more than halfe an houre after, whereof one man more than fortie yeares and a boie of fiftéene yeares old were found starke dead: the other were scorched. The same or the like flash of lightening and cracks of thunder rent the parish church of Bongie, nine miles from Norwich, wroong in sunder the wiers and wheeles of the clocks, slue two men which sat in the belfreie, when the other were at the procession of suffrages, and scorched an other which hardlie escaped. The tower on London bridge being taken downe, and a new foundation drawne, sir Iohn Langleie lord maior of the citie of London laid the first stone on the eight and twentith daie of August, in the presence of the shiriffes of London and the two bridgemasters, which new tower was finished in the moneth of September, Anno 1579.

The tower on London bridge new builded.

An. Reg. 20. Cutbert Maine executed.

An example of sorcerers, and such as séeme to worke wonders to deceiue men of their monie.

The thirtith daie of Nouember, Cutbert Maine, was drawne, hanged, and quartered at Lanceston in Cornewall for preferring Romane power. The seuentéenth of Ianuarie, one Simon Penbrooke dwelling in saint Georges parish in Southworke, being a figureflinger, and vehementlie suspected to be a coniurer, by commandement of the ordinarie iudge for those parties, appeared in the parish church of saint Sauiors in Southworke, at a court holden there. Which Simon being busied in intertaining a proctor, and hauing monie in his hand, leaned his head vpon a pew wherein the proctor stood: which after he had doone a certeine space, the proctor began to lift vp his head to sée what he ailed, and found him departing out of life, and streightwaie the said Simon fell downe, ratling a little in the throte, and neuer spake word after. This was doone euen as the iudge came into the church, who said it was the iust iudgement of God towards those that vsed sorcerie, and a great example to admonish other to feare the iustice of God. After, his clothes being opened, there were found about him fiue diuelish bookes of coniuration, and most abhominable practises, with a picture of tin of a man, hauing three dice in his hand with this poesie: Chance dice fortunatlie; and diuerse papers of such like matters, as he had dealt in for men, such men I meane as are mentioned in Leuiticus the twentith chapter and sixt verse; If anie soule turne himselfe after such as woorke with spirits, and after soothsaiers, to go a whooring after them (saith the Lord) I will put my face against that soule, and will cut him off from among my people.

The

The third daie of Februarie, Iohn Nelson for denieng the quéenes supremasie, and such other traitorous words against hir maiestie, was drawne from Newgate to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. And on the seuenth of the same moneth of Februarie, Thomas Sherewin was likewise drawne from the tower of London to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered for the like offense. Nelson and Sherewood executed.

The fiue and twentith of Februarie, Iohn de Loy a Frenchman, and fiue English gentlemen, was conueied from the tower of London towards Norwich, there to be arreigned and executed for coining of monie counterfeit. And on the ninth of March, seuen pirats were hanged at Wapping in the ouze beside London. Counterfetters of coine executed. Pirats hanged.

The ladie Margaret countesse of Lennox deceased on the tenth of March, at hir house in the parish of Hackneie besides London, and was buried at Westminster on the third of Aprill. The one and thirtith and last of Maie, Martine Frobisher with fifteene saile of good ships, manned, vittelled, and otherwise well appointed, departed from Harwich in Essex on his third voiage towards Cataia. And on the one and thirtith and last daie of Iulie, after manie attempts, and sundrie times being put backe by Ilands of ice in the streicts, he recouered his long wished port, and came to anchor in the Ilands, newlie by hir maiestie named Meta incognita, where (as in the yeare before) they fraught their ships with the like stone or gold ore out of the mines; and then on the last of August returning thense, arriued safelie in England about the first of October. 1578 Frobishers third voiage.

The two and twentith of Ianuarie being thursdaie, about seuen of the clocke at night, Iohn Cassimere countie Palatine of Rhene, duke of Bauare, landing at the tower of London, was there by diuerse noble men and others honourablie receiued, and conueied by cresset light and torch light to sir Thomas Greshams house in Bishops gate street, where he was receiued with sounding of trumpets, drums, fiefs, and other instruments of musicke, and there both lodged and feasted till sundaie next, that he was by the nobilitie fetched and conueied to the court at Westminster, where after he had talked with hir maiestie, he returned vnto Summersets house at the strand, and was there lodged. In the weeke following he hunted at Hampton court. On sundaie the first of Februarie he beheld a valiant iusting and running at the tilt at Westminster. On the next morrow in the same place he saw them fight at barriers with swords on horsse backe. On tuesdaie he dined with the lord maior of London; on wednesdaie with the duchesse of Suffolke, at hir house called the Barbican in Red crosse street; on thursdaie, at the Stilliard, &c. On sundaie the eight of Februarie, the quéene made him knight of the garter, by deliuering to him the collar, and putting the garter on his leg at White hall. And on the fourteenth of Februarie, he departed from London to Rochester homewards, with great rewards giuen to him by the quéenes maiestie, the nobilitie, men of honour, the lord maior of London, and other citizens of that citie. An. Reg. 21. The receiuing of Cassimere.

The same moneth of Februarie; to wit, on the fourth daie, and in the night next following, fell such abundance of snow, that on the fift daie in the morning, the same snow was found in London to lie two foot déepe in the shallowest, and otherwise being driuen by the wind, verie boisterous in the northeast banks one ell or a yard and a half déepe. In the which drifts of snow, farre deeper in the countrie, manie cattell, and some men and women were ouerwhelmed and lost. It snowed till the eight daie of that moneth, and frised till the tenth, and then followed a thaw with continuall raine a long time after, which caused such high waters, and great flouds, that the marishes and low grounds being drowned for the time, and the water of the Thames rose so high into Westminster hall, that after the fall thereof, some fishes were found to remaine in the said hall. 1579. Déepe snow. Great land waters.

The seuentéenth of Februarie, an Irishman for murdering of a man in a garden of Stepenheth parish, was hanged in chaines on the common called Mile end gréene. A murtherer hanged on Mile end gréene.

This common was sometimes yea in the memorie of men yet liuing, a large mile long (from White chappell to Stepenheth church) and therefore called Mile end greene, but now at this present, by greedie (and as seemeth to me vnlawfull) inclosures, and building of houses, notwithstanding hir maiesties proclamation to the contrarie, it remaineth scarse half a mile in length. The twentith daie of Februarie deceased sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seale of England, who was honourablie buried vnder a sumptuous monument or toome (by him in his life time erected) in S. Pauls church of London, on the ninth daie of March. This sir Nicholas Bacon in his life time gaue for six scholers, to be found in Bennets college in Cambridge, to each of them three pounds six shillings and eight pence the yeare for euer.

Lord keeper deceased.

Ab. El. collect. ex epitaph. dicti prænobilis.

¶ The said sir Nicholas Bacons toome aforesaid, bearing certeine representations of his wiues and children in imagerie worke, is adorned with a notable epitaph wherein is pithilie described the meanes whereby he grew to be noble, as also immortall. The same being conteined in these verses following, and iustifiable by the verie epitaph, whereof this is a true transcription, and great pitie but it shuld be perpetuall.

On the south side these verses.

Hîc Nicolaum ne Baconum conditum
Existima illum, tam diu Britannici
Regni secundum columen; exitium malis,
Bonis asylum; cæca quem non extulit
Ad hunc honorem sors; sed æquitas fides,
Doctrina, pietas, vnica, & prudentia.
Non morte raptum crede, qui vnica
Vita perennes emerit duas: agit
Vitam secundam cœlites inter animus,
Fama implet orbem, vita quæ illi tertia est:
Hac positum in ara est corpus olim animi domus,
Ara dicata sempiternæ memoriæ.]

On the north side these.

Great snow in the moneth of Aprill.

This yeare in the moneth of Aprill, to wit on the foure and twentith daie, fell such a snow betweene the hours of foure of the clocke in the morning, and nine of the clocke before noone of the same daie, that in London the same snow was found to lie one foot deepe.

Sir Thomas Bromleie lord chancellor.

The 25 daie of Aprill, sir Thomas Bromleie knight was made lord chancellor of England.

THE CHANCELLORS OF ENGLAND,

COLLECTED OUT OF SUNDRIE ANCIENT HISTORIES.

The collection of *Francis Thin.*

THE creation of this sir Thomas Bromleie lord chancellor, hath occasioned me to treate of the chancellors of England, a matter which I haue beene the willinger to set downe, because I would minister cause to others (who haue long wanted of their cunning in this matter) to impart to the world some of their great knowledge herein, to the benefit of their countrie. But since I doubt that they will not: accept this in good part till that come. And as I may, and perhaps doo (in this) somewhat more largelie (than in the iudgement of others shall seeme answerable to the most receiued opinion, touching the chancellors) treat of the antiquitie of them; so yet I haue no mind to erre, or to leade anie other into error. Wherefore, if things be not in perfection vpon this first rough hewing (as nothing is at the first so exquisit, as time dooth not after amend it) yet disdaine it not, sith this may giue more light than before

before was knowen. And I determine God willing, either to amend, or to confesse and auoid in the large description of their liues, whatsoeuer imperfections haue now distilled out of my pen, either for mistaking or misplacing of name, person, or time; and so to the matter.

It hath beene some question amongst the best antiquaries of our age, that there were neuer anie chancellors in England, before the comming of Edward the confessor out of Normandie, whome they suppose to haue brought the same officer with him from thense into this realme. But sith I am with manie reasons and ancient authorities led to beleue the contrarie; I will imbrace the contrarie opinion therevnto, and hold in this discourse (as the order thereof shall proue) that there were chancellors before saint Edwards time; for the confirmation whereof and for the authoritie of them; for the etymologie and originall of the name, and for the continuance of their office, thou shalt find an ample discourse in my booke purposelie written of the liues of the chancellors, whervnto I wholie refer thée: who I hope shall within these few yeares be partaker thereof, and in the meane time giue thee this tast of the age and names of the chancellors, and vicechancellors, and such keepers of the great seale, as serued in place of chancellors. For euerie one that was keeper of the great seale, was not intituled chancellor, no more than euerie chancellor was intituled the keeper of the great seale. But because the one did serue in the vacancie of the other (so that after a certeine sort, the keeper of the great seale was vicechancellor, and possessed the place, though not the name of a chancellor; as in our age, sir Nicholas Bacon did: we therefore haue set downe the names of the one and the other, as they followed in succession of time, after this manner.

Turketill chancellor to Ethelbald, who began his reigne about the yeare of Christ 718, which Turketill gaue six manours to the abbeie of Croiland, as I haue séene noted. Turketill.

Saint Swithin bishop of Winchester was chancellor, and chiefe of councell to the great monarch king Egbert, though some attribute him to Edgar, which Egbert began his reigne about the yeare of Christ 802. Saint Swithin.

Wlfinus, chancellor to king Athelstan, who began his reigne in the yeare of our redemption nine hundred and foure and twentie. Wlfinus.

Adulphus, chancellor to king Edgar, who began his reigne in the yeare that the word became flesh, nine hundred fiftie and nine: of this man speaketh Hugo Petro Burgensis; and Leland calleth this Adulph Cancellarium & archigrammatum: chancellor or chiefe secretarie. Adulphus.

Alsius or Aelsius the second abbat of Elie, chancellor to king Etheldred, who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ nine hundred seuentie and eight, this man, being by Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, consecrated abbat at the appointment of the said king Ethelred or Egelred, and being then abbat of Elie, when Ethelred gaue foorth his commandement that the abbat of Elie should then, and for euer be chancellor. I doubt not to place him here amongst the chancellors: the proofe of which matter I haue here Verbatim set downe, out of the second booke of the historie of Elie. Statuit (which was Ethelred) atque concessit quatenus ecclesiam de Eli, ex tunc & semper in regis curia cancellarij ageret dignitatem, quod etiam alijs sancti videlicet Augustini & Glesconiæ ecclesijs constituit, vt abbates istorum cœnobiorum vicissim adsignatis succedendo temporibus, annum trifariè diuiderent, cum sanctuarijs & cæteris ornamentis ministrando: &c. *Hist. Eliens. lib.* 2. written in the time of K. Stephan.

Leofricus Bathonicus chancellor to Edward the confessor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fortie and fiue, and some yeares before: this man was bishop of Cridington in Cornewall, which sée was after translated to Excester. Leofricus.

Wlfinus, or Wulfinus chancellor to Edward the confessor, in the latter end of the said yeare of Christ one thousand fortie and fiue, being the third yeare of his reigne; Wlfinus.

this man cannot be he which some would haue to be Wlfinus the abbat of Westminster. For that Wulfinus died one and fortie yeares before this Wulfinus the chancellor; sith that Wulfinus was made abbat of Westminster, about the yeare nine hundred fiftie and eight, and died in the yeare one thousand and foure; being bishop of Shireburne. Yet I will not at this time iudiciallie resolue, although I suppose it true, whether this Wlfinus the chancellor, and Wulfinus the bishop of Lichfield, witnesse to a déed, wherein Edward the confessor granted certeine liberties to Leofwine, abbat of the abbeie of Couentrie, built by Leofrike erle of Mercia, be all one man or no. Againe, there is an other man which was abbat of saint Albons called Wulfinus, which for affinitie to the name of this man I thought onelie to touch in this place.

Resenbaldus. Resenbaldus, or Rembaldus, for I take them both by manie and ancient authorities to be all one man, was chancellor to Edward the confessor, and seale bearer, witnesse amongest others, to manie déeds which I haue séene of the confessors; some dated in the yeare one thousand three score and six, and some otherwise. He was buried at Cirencester, or Cicester.

Mauricius. Mauricius chancellor to William the Conqueror in the yeare of our Lord one thousand thrée score and seuen, being the first and part of the second yere of William the Conqueror.

Osmundus. Osmundus, after bishop of Sarum, chancellor to William the conqueror, in the yere one thousand three score and seauen, and after in the yere one thousand thrée score and fiftéene, about the ninth yeare of the kings reigne.

Arfastus. Arfastus bishop of Helmane, who translated his sée from Helmane to Tetford, was chancellor to William the conqueror, in the yéere of Christ one thousand thrée score and eight, being in the second and third yere of the Conqueror, and also in the yere one thousand seuentie and seuen, being about the tenth yeare of William Conqueror.

Hirmanus. Hirmanus that was first made bishop of Suring or Wilton, and translated his sée from Wilton to Shirburne, and from thense to Sarum; he is that Hirmanus which I suppose was chancellor to William the Conqueror, and called Hirmanus, and that wrote the life and miracles of saint Edmund king of the Eastangles.

William Velson. William Velson borne of a noble house, chapleine and chancellor to William the Conqueror (as hath Robertus Montensis) succéeded Arfastus in the bishoprike of Tetford, to whom by the gift of William Rufus succeeded in that sée Herbertus Losinga abbat of Ramseie, which translated the bishops see to Norwich; of which Losinga were (as hath Matthew Westminster) these verses here set downe compiled:

Surgit in ecclesia monstrum genitore Losinga,
Simonidum secta, canonum virtute resecta,
Petre nimis tardas, nam Simon ad ardua tentat,
Si præsens esses, non Simon ad alta volaret,
Proh dolor! ecclesiæ nummis venduntur & ære,
Filius est præsul, pater abbas, Simon vterque.
Quid non speremus, si nummos possideamus?
Omnia nummus habet, quid vult facit, addit & aufert,
Res nimis iniusta, nummus sit præsul & abbas.

William Gifford. William Gifford bishop of Winchester was chancellor in the time of the Conqueror and of William Rufus, and of Henrie, who made him bishop of Winchester in the yeare one thousand and one hundred, and was consecrated in the yéere of Christ one thousand one hundred and seuen: though it seemeth that Robert Bluet came in place of this William Gifford, remoued about the fourth of the same Rufus from his office of chancellorship, as I suppose will be well proued, but after placed againe in that office. Of the death of this William is much contrarietie, for Matthew Westminster

placed

placed it thrée seuerall yéeres, the eight and twentith and nine and twentith yeare of Henrie the first, and againe in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred fortie and two, being the seuenth yeare of king Stephan.

Robert Bluet, Bloet, or Bloscit made chancellor in the yéere of Christ one thou- Robert Bluet.
sand and ninetie, being the fourth yeare of William Rufus, he was made bishop of Lincolne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand ninetie and two: but as it appeereth to me by some authoritie that I haue seene, he did execute that office being bishop of Lincolne: he died at Woodestocke in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and thrée, being about the thrée and twentith yere of the reigne of Henrie the first, whose epitaph Henrie Huntington reciteth in this manner:

Pontificûm Robertus honor, quem fama superstes
Perpetuare dabit, nec obiturus obit:
Hic humilis, diues (res mira) potens, pius vltor,
Compatiens, mitis, quùm pateretur erat,
Noluit esse suis dominus, studuit pater esse,
Semper in aduersis murus & arma suis:
In decima Iani mendacis somnia mundi
Liquit, & euigilans vera per hennè vidit.

Ranulphus in the time of William Rufus, which might be that man which was Ranulphus.
after chancellor in the time of Henrie the first.

Waldricus chancellor to Henrie the first, about the yeare of our Lord one thou- Waldricus.
sand one hundred and thrée, being the third yeare of his reigne.

Herbertus chancellor in the fourth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our Herbertus.
saluation one thousand one hundred and foure (as appeareth by an anonymall pamphlet in written hand) of whom I am not yet resolued whether this were Herbertus Losinga bishop of Norwich or no.

Roger bishop of Salisburie, whome Henrie the first called a méet chapleine to serue Roger.
souldiors, was chancellor to king Henrie the first, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and one, being the first yéere of king Henrie the first, and in the yéere one thousand one hundred and seuen, about the seuenth yeare of the said Henrie the first, being chosen bishop in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred and two, and consecrated in the yeare one thousand one hundred and seuen.

Galfridus Rufus bishop of Durham, witnesse to a déed wherein Henrie the first Galfridus.
confirmed to the priorie of Christs church a peece of ground without Aldgate called Knighton guild, in the presence of Geffrie chancellor, Geffrie Clinton, and William Clinton: he was also chancellor in the two and twentith yéere of Henrie the first, and so vntill the thrée and thirtith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the first, and then was made bishop of Durham, which Geffrie died about the yere of our redemption one thousand one hundred fortie and one.

Ranulphus, called by Matthew Westminster Arnulphus, chancellor to Henrie the Ranulphus.
first, and Richard the chapleine, keeper of the great seale, being at one time. This Ranulph was chancellor in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred and sixtéene, being the sixtéenth of king Henrie the first, in which office I suppose that he continued, vntill the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and thrée, being the thrée and twentith of the said Henrie, in which yeare this chancellor (for so is he then called) fell from his horsse and brake his necke on a hill not far from Dunstable, where the king kept his Christmasse.

Reginald chancellor to king Henrie the first, as Leland hath set him downe, writ- Reginald.
ing in this sort in his notes of Montacute abbeie: Reginaldus cancellarius, so named (béelike) of his office, he was a man of gret fame about king Henrie the first: he fell

to

to religion, and was prior of Montacute, and inlarged it with great buildings and possessions, &c.

Roger. Roger bishop of Salisburie againe chancellor in the latter end of the reigne of king Henrie the first, and in the beginning of king Stephan, in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred thirtie and six, which Henrie the first died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred thirtie and fiue, being the fiue and thirtith yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie. This Roger died in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred thirtie and nine, being about the fourth yeare of king Stephan.

Godfreie. Godfreie chancellor to Henrie the first (as I gather out of Matthew Parker in the life of William Corbell or Corbris) the six and thirtith archbishop of Canturburie, to which dignitie this William was aduanced in the thrée and twentith yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1123, of which Godfreie the said Matthew further writeth in this sort, speaking of the said William the archbishop returned from Rome with the pall: Deinde Alexandrum Lincolniensem episcopum Cantuariæ, Godefredum regni cancellarium Bathoniensem episcopum Londini consecrauit. Concerning which Godfreie we will speake more hereafter, in the liues of the chancellors, onelie at this time setting downe that this Godefredus was the quéenes chapleine, and could not be that Galfridus before named, which was bishop of Durham; for this Godefredus died six yeares before that Galfridus, for this bishop of Bath died in the yeare of our Lord 1135, being the last of king Henrie Beauclerke, and the first of king Stephan; and that bishop of Durham died in the yeare of our Lord 1141, being about the sixt yeare of the said king Stephan; and this Godfreie was the second bishop of Bath and Wels after the vniting of those two cities to one bishoprike by Iohn de Towres, the first bishop of those two places in the yeare of our Lord 1092, being about the fift yeare of William Rufus.

Alexander bishop of Lincolne. Alexander bishop of Lincolne (as may be after a sort gathered out of Wilhelmus Paruus lib. 1 cap. 6.) being cousine or nephue to Roger bishop of Salisburie was chancellor: the words of which W. Paruus be these: Eidem (that was to king Stephan) quoque sublimato in regem, se (that was Roger bishop of Salisburie) talem exhibuit, vt obsequiorum gratia præclaram apud illum habere fiduciam videretur. Tantis ille beneficijs ingratus, & in ipsum episcopum (cuius opera nunquam episcopalia fuere) vltor diuinitùs ordinatus, eundem tanquam exigui hominem momenti primo carcerati custodia, postmodum etiam cibi inopia, & nepoti eius (qui cancellarius fuerat regis) intentato supplicio ita coarctauit, vt duo illa præclara castella (which were the castels of Vise otherwise called de Deuises, and the castell of Shirburne) in quibus thesauri eius erant repositi resignaret. Thus much Wilhelmus Newburgensis, the truth whereof I leaue to other to consider, sith the words of those authors may be diuerslie expounded, either that this Alexander was chancellor, or his sonne, or else the sonne of Roger bishop of Salisburie. But be it any or none of them, as the truth shall hereafter be made plaine, yet bicause I haue mentioned Alexander in this place, I thinke it not amisse to set downe such verses as Henrie Huntington hath recited of this Alexander, which are:

This was about the beginning of the fourth yéere of K. Stephan, being An. Do. 1138, but Mat. Paris giueth it to An. Dom. 1139: who saith, Collo filij eius qui cancellarius fuit laqueum annectens, &c. And Henrie Huntington agreeth wholie with W. Paruus.

Splendor Alexandri, non tam renitescit honore,
Quàm per eum renitescit honor, flos námque virorum,
Dando tenere putans thesauros cogit honoris,
Et gratis dare festinans ne danda rogentur,
Quod non dum dederit non dum se credit habere
Oh decus! oh morum directio! quo veniente,
Certa fides, hilaris clementia, cauta potestas,

Lene

Lene iugum, doctrina placens, correctio dulcis,
Libertásque decens, venere pudórque facetus.
Lincolię gens magna priùs, hęc maxima semper,
Talis & iste diu sit nobis tutor honoris.

Robert chancellor of England in the time of king Stephan, but I find not in what yeare, bicause the charter is without date, neither can I learne what he was, bicause I know not his surname. Robert.

Philip chancellor to king Stephan, about the fourth yeare of his reigne, being about the yeare of our Lord 1139, witnesse to manie déedes which king Stephan made to the moonks of Elie, and to Nigellus the bishop of that sée. Philip.

Reinold abbat of Walden, whome I haue séene in one anonymall briefe written chronicle to bè termed chancellor: but in what time he liued, or what other name he had I doo not yet know, but by the course of the historie much about this time. Reinold.

Iohn chancellor of England in the time of king Henrie the second, but what he was or in what yeare of king Henrie he liued I doo not know, and therefore leaue it to him that both can and ought to giue life to these persons whom he imprisoneth in the east castell of London; not doubting but in time he will doo his countrie good, and correct other men; though now he be so streict laced, as that he will not procure anie furtherance of other mens trauels. Iohn.

Thomas Becket made chancellor (as some write) in the first yeere of the reigne of king Henrie the second, others saie in the fourth yeare: but the best authors agrée that he gaue ouer the seale in the yeare of Christ 1162, being the eight yeare of the victorious prince the said Henrie the second against the will of the prince, he died in the yeare of our redemption 1170, as these verses doo prooue, being such as the curiositie of that superstitious age would permit: Thomas Becket.

Pro Christo, sponsa Christi, sub tempore Christi,
* In templo Christi, verus amator obit,
Anno mileno, centeno, septuageno,
Anglorum primas corruit ense Thomas.
Quis moritur? præsul: cur? pro grege: qualiter? ense:
Quando? natali: quis locus? ara Dei.

* Christes church in Canturburie.

Rafe Warneuile archdeacon of Rone and treasuror of the church of Yorke, was made chancellor about the yeare that the word became flesh 1173, being about the eightéenth yeare of king Henrie the second: of this man speaketh Matthew Paris and Matthew Westminster. Rafe Warneuile.

Walterus de Constantijs archdeacon of Oxford after bishop of Lincolne, in the yeare of our redemption 1182, from whense he was aduanced in the yeare 1184, being the one and thirtith yéere of king Henrie the second vnto the archbishoprike of Rone, of this man is more spoken in my discourse of the protectors of England. Walterus de Constantijs.

Geffreie the bastard sonne to king Henrie the second, after that he had surrendered the bishoprike of Lincolne, whereof he was neuer consecrat bishop, but kept the place and receiued the reuenues, was made chancellor much about the six and twentith yeare of king Henrie the second, being the yeare of Christ 1180: yet be there some that saie he resigned the bishoprike in the seuen and twentith yeare of king Henrie the second, in the yeare of Christ 1181. The difference whereof groweth (as I suppose) for that some accompt the beginning of the yeare of our Lord from the first of Ianuarie, as all other nations of Europe doo; some from the birth of Christ, as we in England did long time since the conquest; and some from the fiue and twentith of March, on which it is supposed that the world began first to be created: which last accompt we in England (and the Scots as hath Lesleus) doo kéepe, togither with them of Genoa or Gene in Italie, contrarie to the order of all other nations. The beginning of which maner of accompt amongst vs I cannot Geffreie

not as yet certeinlie learne: but I suppose it began much about the time of king Edward the third, for all the former historiographers begin the yeare from the birth of Christ.

William Longchamp. William Longchampe the proud bishop of Elie, legat of England for the bishop of Rome, chiefe iustice of the south and west parts of England, and deputie of that part of the realme, when Richard the first went to the warres of the holie land, was made chancellor in the said first of king Richard, being the yeare of our redemption 1189: of the sumptuous feast of whose inthronization thus writeth Ferthulphus (or Ferculphus) by the waie of comparison:

Præuisis alijs, Eliensia festa videre,
Est quasi præuisa nocte videre diem.

He died in the yéere of Christ 1197, going to Rome, in the abbeie of Pimie, being of the charterhouse order. About which time in the sixt yeare of Richard the first, there was a vicechancellor called Malus Catulus.

Eustachius. Eustachius deane of Salisburie, was chancellor of England, being elected bishop of Elie the third ides of August, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1196, being the ninth yeare of king Richard the first, of whome thus writeth Matthew Parker, in the life of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, contrarie to that which others affirme, writing that Eustachius succeeded William Longchampe in the office of chancellor, and in the bishoprike of Elie. The words of Matthew Parker in the life of Hubert be these: Hubertus deposito magistratu ciuili, ecclesiæ curæ totus vacabat, consecrauítque postea Robertum de Salopesbi episcopum Banchorensem, & Eustachium qui in cancellarij munere ei successit Eliensem episcopum, Westmonasterij debita accepta ab vtróque subiectionis professione.

Hubert Walter or Walter Hubert. Hubert Walter or Walter Hubert, for such a transmutation of the name is vsed by authors, being first bishop of Salisburie and then archbishop of Canturburie, was made chancellor shortlie after the coronation of king Iohn, which was in the yeare that the virgine brought foorth Christ 1199, at what time a certeine noble man said vnto him in scorne, I haue often seene of a chancellor made a bishop, but I neuer before saw an archbishop made a chancellor.

Simon. Simon or rather Hugh, of which is more herafter, archdeacon of Welles in the first yeare of king Iohn (after as I suppose that Hubert had left the office being so disgraced and abased as he thought) was witnesse to a déed in which king Iohn granted to the citizens of Yorke a guildhall, hanse and other liberties, as I haue seene noted in the copie of the same charter, for which cause I haue heere set it downe as an other man, although in truth I am fullie resolued that this Simon and the Hugh following were all one person, leauing it yet for euerie mans iudgement.

Hugh de Welles. Hugh de Welles archdeacon of Welles, witnesse to the déed in which king Iohn, in the sixt yeare of his reigne, confirmed to the monasterie of Westminster, Gistslep or Istlep in Oxfordshire, in which house Edward the confessor was borne, he was made bishop of Lincolne about the tenth yeare of king Iohns reigne, in the yeare of our Lord 1209, and died in the yeare of our Lord 1235.

Walter Braie. Walter Braie chosen bishop of Chester, in the yeare of our Lord 1210, was bishop of Worcester and after bishop of Yorke, a man of extreame age, was made chancellor in the seuenth yeare of king Iohn as one anonymall chronicle saith, to hold that office during his life. Others saie that he was made chancellor in the yeare of Christ 1209, being the tenth yeare of king Iohn after Hugh de Welles. But I suppose he surrendred that patent to hold it during his life, when he came to be bishop of Yorke. Of this man is more spoken in my treatise of the protectors of England.

Richard de Marischo. Richard de Marischo, whom Matthew Paris termeth Tholenarius, as it were tolegatherer or treasuror if you list, being archdeacon of Northumberland, was chancellor

cellor in the fourth yeare of king Iohn, as appeareth by a déed that I haue séene: and further he was made chancellor in the 15 yeare of king Iohn, in which office he continued to the 17 yeare of the said king, and as some doo write during king Iohns life, and died about the calends of Maie in the yeare of our redemption 1226, in the tenth yeare of the long reigne of king Henrie the third, as some haue. But the booke of Durham saith, that he was made bishop of that sée by Gwado the legat, and consecrated by Walter Braie bishop of Yorke, in the yeare of our redemption 1214, being about the sixtéenth yeare of king Iohn, and died suddenlie at Peterborrow the first daie of Maie, in the yeare of Christ 1226, being the tenth yeare of king Henrie the third, after that he had béene bishop of Durham nine yeares, of whom a moonke of Durham made this epitaph in formall deuise as you see following:

Culmina qui cupi tis laudes pompásque siti tis
Est sedata si simè pensare veli
Qui populos regi memores super omnia si
Quòd mors immi non parcit bonore poti
Vobis præposi similis fueram bene sci
Quod sum vos eri ad me currendo veni

And here sith I am entered into the surname of Marischus, I will set downe what I found ingrauen on the wall of the doore of the chapter house of the monasterie of Bath (almost defaced with the wether) written in Gréeke Saxon characters. Hîc iacet Alexander de Alueto, & Ernbuerga vxor eius, & Fulco de Alueto filius eorum: & Lucia de Mariscis filia eorum, & Iordanus de Mariscis filius eiusdem Luciæ, & Wilhelmus de Mariscis filius eiusdem Iordani. Which name of the Marishes, Marshes, or Moores, if it like them to expound it, as I doubt not but manie will quiddle therevpon, was as great a name in Ireland as it was in England.

Rafe Neuill was confirmed (as it séemeth) chancellor by the whole consent of the nobilitie, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1226, being about the tenth yeare of king Henrie the third, after which he was made bishop of Chichester in the eleuenth yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1227, or as hath Matthew Westm. he was made bishop of Chichester in the yeare of Christ 1223, being before chancellor. After which the king in the two and twentith yeare of his reigne, offended with Neuill, tooke from him the great seale, and deliuered it to Gefreie of the temple, as hath Matthew Paris, and to Iohn de Lexinton: although that the said Neuill remained still chancellor, and receiued the profits thereof, to whom the king would after haue regiuen the seale in the yeare of Christ 1239, being the thrée and twentith yeare of the said king Henrie, but Neuill would not receiue it. This man died in the yeare of Christ 1243, being the seuen and twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, at his palace at London not far from the new temple. Rafe Neuill bishop of Chichester.

Geffreie the Templer and Iohn de Lexinton were made keepers of the great seale. But shortlie after this Geffreie had the seale taken from him, bicause he grew in mislike of the nobilitie in continuall prouoking them to anger. Geffreie the Templer.

Hugh Pateshall chanon of Paules is by Matthew Paris fol. 656, called chancellor in the thrée and twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, which I much doubt to be true. Of this man shall be more said in the treasurors of England. Hugh Pateshall chanon of Paules.

Simon the Norman kéeper of the great seale in the three and twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1229: he had the seale shortlie after taken from him, and was banished the court, bicause he would not seale the patent, whereby Thomas earle of Flanders might take foure pence for custome of euerie sacke of wooll that came out of England into Flanders. This Simon died in the yeare of Christ 1249, being the thrée and thirtith of king Henrie the third. Simon the Norman.

Richard Grasse or Grossus abbat of Euesham (the said Simon expelled) had the keeping Richard Grasse abbat of Euesham.

keeping of the great seale in the thrée and twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, he kept the seale thrée yeares, and being chosen bishop of Chester, he resigned the same in the yeare of Christ 1242, being the six and twentith yeare of king Henrie the third: he died (being wise and learned in the canon and ciuill law) in the same yeare in Gascoine, in a citie called in Latine Riola or Regula, where he was buried.

Iohn de Lexinton. Iohn de Lexinton was againe made keeper of the seale in the six and twentith yéere of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1242, to execute that office, Rafe Neuill being in life and still chancellor, but in the kings disgrace, shortlie after which this Neuill died. This Iohn Lexinton died 1257, being the 41 yeare of Henrie the third.

Ranulfe Briton. Ranulfe Briton (as I read) is said to be chancellor and treasuror of the chamber, about the seuen and twentith yeare of Henrie the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1242. I suppose that he onelie had the keeping of the great seale as the rest had before him, during the life of Rafe Neuill, and so I leaue him to the iudgement of others, sith Matthew Paris continuallie nameth him treasuror and once chancellor, who suddenlie died after dinner beholding plaiers at dise, in the yeare of Christ 1246, being the thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third: of whom thus writeth the said Matthew Paris in his greater historie fol. 954. Ranulphus Brito quondam domi familiarissimus regi & reginæ (multis posthabitis nobilibus) & eiusdem cancellarius specialis, quum post mensalem refectionem aleatores certatim inspexisset colludentes, lætalis apoplexiæ inexpectato vulnere corruit sugillatus.

Syluester de Euersden. Syluester de Euersden receiued the great seale the nine and twentith yeare of Henrie the third, being the yeare that the son of God became flesh one thousand two hundred fortie and six: he was viceschancellor and consecrated bishop of Carleill (being a man most cunning in the custome of the chancerie) in the yeare of Christ 1247, being the one and thirtith yeare of Henrie the third.

Iohn Mansell. Iohn Mansell treasuror of Yorke, parson of Maidstone in Kent, and parson of Wigan, chancellor of Paules, master or ruler of Beuerleie, chiefe iustice of England, one of the priuie councell to Henrie the third, his chapleine, ambassador into Spaine, and a worthie souldier, crossed to go to Ierusalem, who at one feast had two kings, two quéenes, and I know not how manie noble men, and whose spirituall liuings were about foure thousand marks of yerelie reuenues (as I haue gathered) he was at the will and instance of the king made kéeper of the great seale as vicechancellor (for Matthew Paris saith, Custodiam sigilli regij accepit cancellarij vices acturus & officium) about the one and thirtith of king Henrie the third, in the yeare that God tooke on him the forme of a seruant 1247, he built a house of regular canons at Romneie two miles from the sea. To this man king Henrie the third, in the thirtith yeare of his reigne, did grant that his towne of Wigan should be a burrow.

Iohn de Lexinton. Iohn de Lexinton, being after chiefe iustice of the forest from the riuer of Trent southward, was againe kéeper of the great seale, vntill some part of the two and thirtith yeare of Henrie the third, in the yeare of Christ 1248.

Iohn Mansell. Iohn Mansell againe kéeper of the great seale, who at Woodstocke in the two and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the third, did receiue the great seale of the said Iohn Lexinton, which he kept (as I suppose and that with some good proofe) vntill the thrée and thirtith yeare of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption 1248. Of which Iohn Mansell thus writeth an old anonymall chronicle concerning the barons warres: Sed & Iohannes Mansell multarum in Anglia ecclesiarum rector seu potiùs incubator, reddituum quoque quorum non erat numerus possessor magnificus, ita quòd ditior eo clericus non videbatur in orbe episcopali, puta dignitate minimè insignitus, metu baronum aufugit & latenter vltra mari de turri London, in qua rex Angliæ & regina sua tunc temporis tenuerunt se. Quem quum Henricus

filius

filius regis Alemaniæ fugientem insequeretur, & ipse capitur quum applicuisset Bononiæ à magistro Gerando de Fenes procuratore vt putabatur reginæ, &c.

Radulphus de Diceto was chancellor (as I read and suppose) much about this time: but for certeintie I refer the same to the large booke of their liues, where he shall not faile to haue his right time and place. Radulphus de Diceto.

William of Kilkennie, being a modest, wise, and faithfull man, learned in the canon and ciuill lawes, was made keeper of the great seale, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and fiftie, being the foure and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. He was elected to the bishoprike of Elie, as saith the historie of Elie, the eighteenth kalends of September, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and fiue, being about the nine and thirtith yere of Henrie the third. But others saie that he being then vicechancellor, was electêd bishop of Elie in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fiftie and foure, being the eight and thirtith yeare of Henrie the third, after that he had faithfullie and to his great commendation vsed and borne the great seale, he was consecrated to that bishoprike in the yere of Christ 1255, and died in the yere 1256 being about the one and fortith yeare of king Henrie the third, whose heart was buried at Elie. William of Kilkennie.

Henrie de Wingham was made chancellor in the nine and thirtith yeare of Henrie the third, and continued in the one and fortith and two and fortith yeare of Henrie the third, in which yeare (as some haue) and in the 43 of Henrie the third (as others haue.) He was chosen bishop of Winchester, vpon condition that he should giue place to Athelmer halfe brother to king Henrie the third, and son to Hugh Brune earle of March, and of Eleanor king Henrie the thirds mother, being banished by the barons, if that he should againe returne into England, and then leaue the bishoprike of Winchester vnto him, which he did vpon the comming againe of the said Athelmer into England, and for that cause was after chosen bishop of London, being chosen thereto in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, being the three and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the third, and still chancellor, and is buried in Paules on the south side of the quier (next to Eustachius bishop of London) in a monument of marble, with this inscription on the wall to tell who it was: Hîc iacet Henricus de Wingham quondam episcopus huius ecclesiæ, qui multa bona contulit ministris ecclesiæ sancti Pauli. Henrie de Wingham.

Walter Merton chancellor in the foure and fortith yere of king Henrie the third, being the yeare 1260. Walter Merton.

Nicholas of Elie made chancellor by the barons, in the said yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred and sixtie, and Walter Merton displaced. But king Henrie the third, disdaining to haue officers appointed him by his subiects, did in the moneth of October following, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and sixtie, or rather one thousand two hundred sixtie and one, depriue the said Nicholas, and replaced the said Walter Merton. Nicholas of Elie.

Walter Merton bishop of Rochester the second time made chancellor as before appeareth. Walter Merton the second time.

Iohn de Chesill archdeacon of London and treasuror of England, was made keeper of the great seale, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and foure, being the eight and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. This man was consecrated bishop of London in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and foure, the third kalends of Maie, as hath Matthew Westminster: he died in the yeare that the word of the father became flesh one thousand two hundred seuentie and nine, the fourth ides of Februarie, in the seueuth yeare of the scourge of the Scots and Welshmen. Iohn de Chesill.

Thomas de Cantelupe, borne of the noble house of the lords Cantelupes (the son of *Vita Thomæ Cantelupi.*

William Cantelupe and Millesent, which as saith Leland drew hir originall from the countesses of Yorke) being archdeacon of Stafford, was doctor and after bishop of Hereford in the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie and six, and before that made chancellor, after the feast of saint Peters chaire, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and fiue, being the nine and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. He died beyond the seas comming from the court of Rome, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and eight, being the sixt yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first, or more truelie (as others haue) in the yeare one thousand two hundred eightie and three, being the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the first, whose bones were brought to Hereford.

Walter Gifford bishop of Bath. Walter Gifford bishop of Bath and Welles, whome manie doo call William, did inioy the state of the chancellor, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred sixtie and six, being the fiftith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third: he was translated from Bath to Yorke, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, being the nine and fortith yeare of the same Henrie the third, and died the seuenth kalends of Maie in the twelfe yeare of his bishoprike, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and seuen, being the sixt yeare of king Edward the first, or (as hath Nicholas Triuet) in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and nine, being the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first.

Geffreie Gifford. Geffreie Gifford was chancellor also in the one and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and seuen. This man was bishop of Worcester about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine, where he sat foure and thirtie yeares, foure moneths, and foure daies, and died in the yeare one thousand three hundred and foure, being about the two and thirtith yeare of king Edward the first.

Iohn de Chesill. Iohn de Chesill was the second time honoured with the place of the chancellor, in the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand two hundred sixtie and eight, being the three and fiftith yeare in which king Henrie the third of that name did hold the scepter of England.

Richard de Middleton. Richard de Middleton, so surnamed of the place where he was borne, was aduanced to the office of the chancellorship, in the said three and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, in the moneth of Iulie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and eight, and was also (as appeareth by a charter which I haue seene) witnesse to the same deed, in the foure and fiftith yeare of the said king Henrie, who (as farre as I can gather) died in August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and one, being the six and fiftith yeare of the long gouernment of king Henrie the third. There was a writer of England that wrote many volums of this name liuing at this time, whom I doubt not (for anie thing that I can yet learne) to be the same man which was chancellor.

Iohn de Kirbie. Iohn de Kirbie, after the death of Richard Middleton, was made keeper of the great seale in the said six and fiftith yere of king Henrie the third. Whether this were the same Iohn Kirkbie, which after was bishop of Elie, and treasuror of England, I haue not as yet to determine, although I rather hold the affirmatiue than the contrarie.

Walter Merton. Walter Merton the third time made chancellor of England, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand two hundred seuentie and three, being the first yeare of the reigne of that famous prince king Edward the first of that name: he was bishop of Rochester, and built Merton college in Oxford, and died in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seauentie and eight, being the sixt yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first.

Robert

Robert Burnell the eleuenth bishop of Bath and Wels (after the vniting of those two sées in one by Iohn de Toures in the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and two) was made bishop of Bath in the yeare of our Lord (as saith Euersden) one thousand two hundred seuentie and foure, and chosen archbishop of Canturburie in the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie and eight, but reiected by the pope: he was chancellor in the second yeare of the said Edward the first, in which place it séemeth that he long continued: of whom thus writeth an anonymall chronicle; Dominus Edmundus comes Cornubiæ fundauit nouum studium ordinis Cisterciensis apud Oxonias, & monachos de Thame primò ibidem introduxit, & dedit eis prima donatione manerium de Erdington, & fecit dedicare locum abbatiæ tertij idus Decembris: per dominum Robertum Burnell episcopum Bathon & Welles, cancellarium regis, & posuit fundamentum nouæ ecclesiæ eodem die Northosneiæ. This bishop was required with the son of Edward the first, and Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, in the time of Edward the first, to be deliuered for pledges for Lheweline prince of Wales for his safe returne, if he came to the parlement, wherevnto he was summoned by the said king Edward. In the time of this chancellor the court of chancerie was kept at Bristow. This man died in the yéere of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and three, being the one and twentith yere of the reigne of king Edward the third. Robert Burnell.

Iohn de Langhton made chancellor of England in the yéere of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninetie and three, being the one and twentith yeare of the scourger of the Scots, king Edward the first, in which office he remained vntill the thirtith of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and two. He was made bishop of Chichester about the six and twentith or rather the seauen and twentith yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninetie and eight, or rather one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine: and in the said yeare one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine he was before chosen bishop of Elie, but reiected by the pope, who made him archdeacon of Canturburie: from which Langhton this Edward did take the great seale in the thirtith yeare before said, and deliuered it to Iohn Drokensford. Iohn de Langhton. Matthew Parker.

Iohn Drokensford kéeper of the wardrobe was made keeper of the great seale in the thirtith yere, as before, in which office he continued from about the fiftéenth daie of August vntill Michaelmas. Iohn Drokensford.

William de Greinfield, deane of Chichester, and canon of Yorke, was aduanced to the place of the chancellor, in the yeare that God became man one thousand three hundred and two, being about the thirtith yéare of the said king Edward the first, which office was giuen vnto him at saint Radigunds (as saith Anonymus M.S. He was after chosen bishop of Yorke, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred and thrée: who in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and eight buried the bodie of the said king Edward the first at Westminster, though that king died in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand thrée hundred and seauen. This bishop died about the yere of our saluation one thousand thrée hundred and fifteene (being about the sixt yeare of king Edward the second) at Cawood, after that he had béene bishop nine yeares, eleuen moneths, and two daies, and was buried in saint Nicholas porch of Yorke, receiuing his consecration at Rome in the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred and fiue (after that he had béene there two yéeres) of pope Clement. This Greinfield was a man verie eloquent and pithie in counsell. William de Greinfield.

William de Hamelton, deane of Yorke, was created chancellor of England, in the yeare that the virgine brought foorth the sonne of God one thousand thrée hundred and fiue, being the thrée and thirtith yeare of that noble prince king William de Hamelton.

Edward

Edward the first. This William surrendred his borrowed life in the yeare of our Lord one thousand thrée hundred and seuen, being about the fiue and thirtith yeare of the said king, at the abbeie of Fontnesse in Yorkshire, being a man that well deserued of the commonwealth.

Ralfe Baldocke. Ralfe de Baldocke chosen bishop of London, in the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred and thrée, was confirmed at Titneshall by Robert of Winchelseie bishop of Canturburie, and consecrated at Lions by Peter of Spaine bishop of Alba, the third calends of Februarie, in the yere of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred and fiue. He was made lord chancellor of England, after the death of the said William Hamelton in the said fiue and thirtith yere of king Edward the first, and receiued the great seale in the Rogation wéeke following, being some foure or fiue wéekes after that he was aduanced to that office at the excheker. Shortlie after which died king Edward the first; for which cause the said Baldocke sent the great seale to king Edward the second then at Carleill, by reason of his fathers death. This Ralfe Baldocke died on saint Iames éeuen in the yeare of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred and thirtéene, being the seuenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second.

Iohn Langhton. Iohn Langhton bishop of Chichester againe made lord chancellor of England, in the yeare that the word of the father tooke on him the forme of a seruant one thousand thrée hundred and seauen, being the first yeare of king Edward of Carnaruan, in which office it séemeth that he continued, vntill the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and ten, being the third yeare of the reigne of the after deposed king Edward the second.

William Melton. William Melton, hauing two others ioined with him, had the great seale deliuered vnto them for a certeine time, to execute all such things as were to be doone therewith during the kings pleasure. This man was a canon of Yorke, prouost of Beuerleie, treasuror of England, and archbishop of Yorke, as saith Anonymus M. S. He was consecrated bishop of Yorke at Rome, where he tarried two yeares for the same: he was a man neuer wearied with trauell. He first of all the bishops of Yorke (after a long controuersie betweene the deane and canons of Yorke) visited the chapter by due order: he was wise, rich, seuere in correction, gentle, familiar, and humble: he finished the west part of the church of saint Peters in Yorke with thrée hundred pounds, he was archbishop of Yorke two and twentie yeares, fiue or six moneths, and two daies: he died at Cawood on saint Georges éeuen, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and thirtie, and was buried in the minster of Yorke néere to the font.

Walter Reinolds. Walter Reinolds bishop of Worcester, treasuror of England and archbishop of Canturburie, was made kéeper of the great seale, and chancellor of England on the sixt of Iulie one thousand thrée hundred and ten, in the said yeare of our Lord God one thousand thrée hundred and ten, being the said third yeare of that king Edward, whome his sonne Edward the third deposed from his kingdome. Of this man and all other chancellors, which were archbishops of Canturburie, shall be somewhat more said at another time, in the order and placing of the bishops of that sée; which caution I haue here set downe, bicause I would once for all make repetition thereof in one place, and not seuerallie in manie places, vnder the seuerall names of euerie chancellor that was inuested with that metropolitan honor of Canturburie.

Iohn de Sandall. Iohn de Sandall clerke bishop of Winchester, and treasuror, was at Yorke made chancellor of England, in the yeare that the virgin Marie was deliuered of the first begotten son one thousand thrée hundred and foureteene, being the eight yeare of king Edward the second, in which place he continued two yeares and more; some part thereof being after that he was bishop of Winchester (as I gather) and then deliuered backe the seale at Westminster, in the yeare of our redemption one thou-

sand thrée hundred and seuentéene, being the eleuenth yeare of the said king Edward the second. Of this man is more spoken in the treasurors of England.

Iohn Hotham bishop of Elie was created lord chancellor of England in the yere of Christ one thousand thrée hundred and seauentéene, being the eleauenth yeare of king Edward the second, in which office he continued vntill the yeare of our Lord God 1319, being the thirteenth yeare of the last before named king Edward. During whose gouernment of the sée of Elie, in the yeare one thousand three hundred fortie and one, the stéeple of the chaire fell downe, which made such terrible noise and shaking of the ground that it was supposed to haue béene an earthquake. He died of the palsie in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and six, being the tenth yeare of that king Edward the third that first wrote himselfe king of both realmes, England and France. Iohn Hotham.

Iohn Salmon bishop of Norwich was aduanced to be chancellor, in the yeare that God tooke on him the forme of a seruant, one thousand three hundred and nineteene, being the thirtéenth yeare of that king Edward the second, against whome the nobles rebelled for the misdemeanor of Piers de Gauestone (the Gascoine) earle of Cornewall. In this yeare one thousand three hundred and ninetéene (as saith one anonymall chronicler M. S.) was William Airemine kéeper of the seale vicechancellor taken prisoner by the Scots. The words of the which author for the more certeintie thereof we haue here set downe, in the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred and nineteene. Episcopus Eborum, episcopus Eliæ thesaurarius, abbas beatæ Mariæ Eborum, abbas de Selbie, decanus Eborum dominus Willielmus Arymenee vicecancellarius Angliæ, ac dominus Iohannes* Dabeham cum 8000 fermè hominum, tam equitum quàm peditum & ciuibus properanter* ciuitatem egredientes, quoddam flumen* Swale nuncupatum sparsis cuneis transeuntes, & indispositis seu potiùs confusis ordinibus cum aduersarijs congressi sunt. Scoti siquidem in martegnari amplitudinem eorum exercitus cautè regentes, in nostros agminibus strictis audacter irruerunt, nostrorum denique in breui laceratis cuneis atque dissipatis, corruerunt ex nostris tam in ore gladij quàm aquarum scopulis suffocati, plusquam 4000, & capti sunt domini Iohannes de Pabehammiles & dominus Willielmus de Arymenee vt præfertur de cancellaria, &c. Which William Airemenée was also in the fiftéenth of the said king Edward the second, one of the kéepers of the great seale, as I haue séene registred. Iohn Salmon bishop of Norwich. *Or Pabeham. *Yorke. *Twelue miles from Yorke.

Robert Baldocke archdeacon of Middlesex, a man euillie beloued, and whom the old English chronicle calleth a false péeld priest, was made chancellor of England in the seauentéenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second, at the castell of Pikering in Yorkeshire, he was after made bishop of Norwich, and did his fealtie for restitution of his temporalties in the nineteenth yeare of the said king Edward the second at Woodstocke in Oxfordshire, he was apprehended in the 20 yeare of Edward the second, being the yéere of our Lord 1326, or (as others haue) one thousand thrée hundred and fiue and twentie, and first committed to the custodie of Adam Tarleton or de Orleton bishop of Hereford, and after was put in the prison of the Newgate in London, in which twentith yeare of the said Edward the second the great seale was againe deliuered to William Airemée, who I suppose was then also made bishop of Norwich, and this Baldocke deposed from that see, of which Baldocke thus writeth a Polychronicon of Durham: Robertus de Baldocke cancellarius An. 1325 captus cum Hugonibus de despensers, quia clericus fuit & sacerdos in noua porta Londiniarum poni fecit Edwardus princeps & Isabella mater eius, vbi pro nimia miseria mortuus fuit infra breue. Robert Baldocke. *Histor. episc. Norwich.* William Airemee kéeper of the seale.

Iohn Hotham bishop of Elie the second time was at Westminster made chancellor of England, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1326, being the first yeare of the reigne of that king which first intituled himselfe king of England and France: Iohn Hotham bishop of Elie.

but

but he continued not long in the same office, for he was remooued in the second yeare of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption, one thousand thrée hundred twentie and eight. He was elected bishop in the yeare of Christ one thousand thrée hundred and sixtéene, in which place he ruled twentie yeares, and died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred and six and thirtie of the palseie at Summersham, being buried in the church of Elie vnder a goodlie monument of stone, with the image of a bishop carued out of alabaster vpon his toome.

Henrie Cliffe master of the rolles.

Henrie Cliffe master of the Rolles had the charge and kéeping of the great seale of England, in the said yeare of Christ 1328, being the second yeare of king Edward the third, and was the kings chancellor also.

Henrie Burghwash bishop of Lincolne.

Henrie de Burgh, Burghwash, or Burgesse, nephue vnto sir Bartholomew Bladismere baron of Léeds in Kent, hauing béene treasuror of England, inioied the honor of the chancellor in the second yéere of king Edward the third, being the yeare that the sonne of God tooke on him the forme of a seruant 1328, and was made chancellor at Northampton, which office he did not long inioie. Here bicause I haue a little mentioned sir Bartholomew Bladesmere, I will saie somwhat more of him, which is, that being orator for the king in diuerse weightie affairs, he spent in those businesses 15000 pounds of the kings monie, and yet produced little or nothing to effect in the kings causes, except the procuring of this Henrie Burghwash to the bishoprike of Lincolne, who was buried in the east end towards the north of the church of Lincolne, at whose féet was also buried Robert his brother a knight of great fame in the warres, in which church is also buried Bartholomew sonne to the said Robert. They founded a grammar schoole, and fiue priests, and fiue poore scholars in Lincolne.

Iohn Stratford.

Iohn Stratford bishop of Winchester, and after of Canturburie, and sometime treasuror of England, was made chancellor of the realme, in the yéere of our redemption one thousand thrée hundred and thirtie, being the fourth yeare of the said king Edward the third, who being sent in the sixt yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred two and thirtie, ambassador beyond the seas about the affaires of the king and kingdome, did not (like cardinall Woolseie the chancellor in the daies of K. Henrie the eight) presumptuouslie carrie the great seale with him beyond the seas, but left the same in his absence with others, who both could and would answer the well or euill vsing thereof whilest he was in France. This man continued in the office vntill the eight yeare of Edward the third.

Richard de Burie or Richard de Angeruile.

Richard de Burie, otherwise called Richard de Angeruile (being borne in a litle village beside saint Edmundsburie, commonlie called the Berrie abbeie, was so surnamed Burie of that place) had to his father sir Richard Angeruile knight. This man being first kept at schoole by his vncle sir Iohn Wilobie priest, was afterward treasuror of England, chancellor and bishop of Durham: to which place of chancellorship he was aduanced in the yeare that the second person in trinitie was brought into the world 1334, being the eight yeare of that king of England which first quartered the armes of England and France. Which office he receiued by the kings gift at Westminster, in which yeare he was inthronized (being first consecrated bishop in the yere of Christ 1333,) in the bishoprike of Durham by William Cowton prior of Durham: he kept the see 11 years two moneths and 12 daies, and died in the yeare 1345, and was buried in the south angle of the church of Durham.

Iohn Stratford. archbishop of Canturburie.

Iohn Stratford the second time lord chancellor, being now archbishop of Canturburie, was installed therein at Yorke in the yeare of Christ 1335, being the ninth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third.

Robert de Stratford.

Robert de Stratford, or Strafford (as some haue written, but as I thinke corruptlie) being archdeacon of Canturburie (which office was first ordeined by Anselme

selme archbishop of the said citie of Canturburie) was made chancellor of England on the foure and twentith daie of March (being the éeue of the annuntiation of the virgin Marie) at Westminster, in the yeare that the word of the father tooke on him the forme of a seruant 1336, being the eleuenth yeare of the gouernement of king Edward the third. He was after made bishop of Chichester, desiring to be remooued from that office of chancellorship, which was granted vnto him: wherupon he surrendered vp the seale to the said king Edward the third in the twelfe yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption 1338.

Richard de Bintwoorth chosen bishop of London, and confirmed by Iohn Stratford archbishop of Canturburie at Oteford in the tenth kalends of Iune 1338, was at Waltham aduanced to the honour of Lord chancellor in the moneth of Iulie, in the said yeare of Christ 1338, being the twelfe yeare of that king which first ordeined the knights of the order of the garter. Richard de Bintwoorth bishop of London.

Iohn Stratford the third time lord chancellor of England, in which office he did not now long continue. Iohn Stratford archbishop of Canturburie.

Robert bishop of Chichester, being the foresaid Robert Stratford, was againe made lord chancellor of England, in the yere of our redemption 1340, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, who was put out of that office, and should with the treasuror of England haue bene sent into France for a pledge for the paiment of certeine summes of monie. Robert bishop of Chichester.

Robert de Bourchier, borne of the honorable house of the lord Bourchiers, was in the towre of London made lord chancellor of England in December, in the said fouretéenth, yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1340, though some saie he was made chancellor in the fiftéenth yeare of the said king. Robert de Bourchier.

Robert Perning, Pernicke, or Pernwicke, also treasuror of England, was made chancellor of England, in the yeare that the virgine brought foorth the Messiah 1341, being the fiftéenth yeare of king Edward the third. He died in the yeare 1343, being the seuentéenth yeare of the foresaid king Edward the third. This man was a sergeant in the third yeare of Edward the third, when he began to plead as a sergeant, in which he continued vntill about the eleuenth yeare of Edward the third, and was after that iustice, treasuror, and chancellor and did in the common place, being chancellor, sit and argue amongst the iustices, as appeareth in the law bookes of those yeares of Edward the third, of whom is last mention made in the seuentéenth yeare of Edward the third, where he is named chancellor. Robert Perning iustice of the law.

Robert de Saddington knight, was inuested with the dignitie of lord chancellor after the death of Perning in the yeare of Christ 1343, and the seuentéenth yeare of the often mentioned king Edward the third. There was also one sir Richard Saddington knight treasuror of England, of whome I haue spoken in my discourse of the lord treasurors. Robert de Saddington.

Iohn Offord or Ufford, deane of Lincolne, was made chancellor of England, in the yeare of our redemption 1345, being the nineteenth yeare of king Edward the third. He was elected to be bishop of Canturburie, and so was installed, but neuer receiued the pall. He died in the moneth of Maie, in the yeare of Christ 1349, being the three and twentith yeare of the reigne of that victorious king Edward, which neuer receiued greater honour than that he was father vnto Edward surnamed the Blacke prince the flower of chiualrie, and woorthie conquerour of the French dominions. Iohn Offord or Ufford.

Iohn Thorsbie bishop of Worcester, archbishop of Yorke and cardinall, was installed in the seat of the lord chancellor, in the yeare that God became man, one thousand three hundred fortie and nine, being the three and twentith yeare of that king Edward the third, so often before recited, who at his great sute was discharged of the office of chancellor, by deliuerie of the great seale in Nouember, in the thirtith Iohn Thorsbie.

yeare of the said king, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fiftie and six, after that he had kept that place by the space almost of seauen yeres. He in the tenth yere of his bishoprike in the third calends of August, began the frame of the quéere of S. Peters church in Yorke, and laid the first stone therof, to which he gaue a hundred pounds. He died at Thorpe, and was buried at Yorke in the yere of Christ 1363, or as other haue 1373, after that he had béene archbishop one and twentie yeares, and one and twentie daies.

William de Edington. William de Edington, bishop of Winchester, lord treasuror of England, was made chancellor of this realme in Nouember in the said yeare of Christ 1356, and the thirtith yeare of the reigne of that king Edward, which at Sauoie in England kept king Iohn of France his prisoner. Sée more of him in the treasurors of England.

Simon Langham. Simon Langham, abbat of Westminster, bishop of Elie, archbishop of Canturburie, and lord treasuror of England, was made lord chancellor in Februarie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred sixtie and three, being the seauen and thirtith yeare of the gouernment of king Edward the third, and was chancellor in the fortith yere of the reigne of that king: being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred sixtie and three. Of this Simon were these verses made, when he was remoued from Elie to the bishoprike of Canturburie:

Exultent cœli quia Simon transit ab Eli,
Cuius in aduentum flent in Kent millia centum.

Of whome also, bicause he richlie indowed the abbeie of Westminster with great gifts, of singular cost and value, a certeine moonke compiled these verses:

Res es de Langham tua Simon sunt data quondam,
Octingentena librarum millia dena.

Of this man is more spoken in the former discourse or treatise of the lord treasurors of England.

William de Wikeham. William de Wikeham, so called of the place of his birth, was by surname from his parents called Perot, and Long, whome Leland maketh treasuror of England, which by anie possible meanes cannot be so for anie thing that I can yet learne. This man being bishop of Winchester, and aduanced to that place in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred sixtie and seuen, in the one and fortith yeare of the reigne of Edward the third, in which place he sat seauen and thirtie yeares, was sometime kéeper of the priuie seale, and made also chancellor of England, in the yeare that the virgine brought foorth the first begotten sonne one thousand three hundred sixtie and seauen, being the one and fortith yeare of the gouernement of the foresaid Edward the third, in which office he remained about foure yeares; and (in March in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred seauentie and one, being the fiue and fortith of king Edward the third) did deliuer vp the great seale to the king at Westminster. He was buried in the bodie of Winchester church, which he new built with the other places about it: of whome were these verses composed for the building of his colleges, the one at Drenford and the other at Winchester:

Hunc docet esse pium fundatio collegiorum,
Oxoniæ primum stat Wintoniæque secundum.

Robert Thorpe. Robert Thorpe knight, being before iustice of the law in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and seauentie, was after at Westminster aduanced to the chancellorship, in March, the fiue and fortith yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption (as is before said) one thousand three hundred seauentie and one, who going home to his owne house, left the great seale with foure of the gardians or maisters of the chancerie, wherof the one was called Walter Powre, to kéepe and vse as néed required.

Sir Iohn Kniuet. Sir Iohn Kniuet or Kniuell (as some books haue by the transcriber corrupted) was made chancellor of England in Iulie, in the yeare of Christ one thouasand three hundred

hundred seauentie and two, being the six and fortith yeare of king Edward the third, in which office he continued (as I for this time doo gather) vntill the fiftith yeare of the said king Edward, in which yeare (as heere at hand appeareth) came in place of the bishop of S. Dauids.

Adam de Houghton, bishop of Meneuia or of Saint Dauids in Wales, was aduanced to the office of lord chancellor in the yeare of our redemption 1376, being the fiftith yeare of king Edward the third, who in the one and fiftith yeare of the said king, was with the earle of Salisburie, and the bishop of Hereford, sent ambassador beyond the seas. Adam de Houghton.

¶ And here I thinke it not amisse to set downe the originall of the rolles in chancerie lane in this sort.

Henrie the third did build a house for the Iewes conuerted to the faith of Christ, which house is at this daie (and hath béene long before this time) appointed for the kéeping of the kings rolles and records, being now called and knowne by the name of the rolles in chancerie lane besides Lincolns inne. In which house the maister of the rolles (for the time being) hath a goodlie and statelie lodging. In which also there is a faire chappell, called the chappell of the rolles, being a place commonlie appointed wherein men accustom to paie monie vpon contracts. Wherin also is buried Iohn Yoong, sometime maister of the rols and doctor of both laws, on the left side in his doctors wéed: and maister Allington vnder a statelie toome of white marble, iet, and other rich stone, on the right side of the said chappell, the epitaphs of both which persons are hereafter recited: besides which in this chappell are the ancient records of all inrolments, confirmations of the prince, and of other sutes in the chancerie kept in chests and presses, built on each side about the middle part of the chappell, beneath the chaire or place of seruice. At the west end whereof (on certeine appointed daies therefore) the maister of the rols dooth in the afternoones sit in a place formed and railed in, after the manner of the courts of Westminster, to heare and determine matters depending in the chancerie: which maister of the rolles now liuing is sir Gilbert Gerrard knight, sometime generall atturneie to the noble princesse quéene Elisabeth. And here before I leaue this chappell, I thinke it not amisse to set downe the epitaphs of the two persons before named there buried, with these words.

THE EPITAPH OF MAISTER DOCTOR YONG MAISTER OF THE ROLS.

Io. Yong LL. doctoris sacror. scrinior. ac huius domus custodi decano olim EBOR. vita defuncto xxv Aprilis sui fideles executores hoc posuerunt M.D.XVI.

Dominus firmamentum meum.

Beside which in an old table hanging by are written in text hand these verses héere after following:

Hîc iacet ille Iohannes Yong cognomine dignus,
Tali quod nunquam marcesceret vtpote charus:
Omnibus apprimè summo testante dolore,
Quem neque celabant neque dissimulare valebant,
Dum sternit iuuenem mors immatura labentem,
Quis non defleret iuuenis miserabile fatum,
Ex quo multorum pendebat vita salúsque:

Horum inquam imprimis, quos ille benignus alebat
Impensis donec vitales carperet auras.
Nec satis illi erat hoc priuatis consuluisse
Rebus, quinetiam prudenter publica gessit
Munia siue forensia siue etiam extera summa
Cum laude, illa quidem dum sacris præfuit olim
Scrinijs, hæc verò legati functus honore.

THE EPITAPH OF MAISTER ALINGTON

IS IN THIS SORT.

Hospes qui fueram quondam si quæris amice,
Nomen Alingtonus stirps generosa fuit:
Hæc monumenta mihi coniux fidissima struxit,
Quæque mihi struxit destinat illa sibi.
Charáque coniugij tres natæ pignora nostri,
Sunt, vultus quarum marmora sculpta tenent,
Cum matre has omnes precor vt post funera summe
Cœlica perducas in tua regna Deus.

Richardus Alington armiger qui hîc sepultus est obijt 23 die Nouembris 1561.

Now (as you haue heard before that this house of the rols was first a house of conuerts) it shall not be amisse also for the more proofe thereof, to set downe the grants of the princes and kings which conuerted the same to those vses.

THE GRANT OF HENRIE THE THIRD,

FOR ERECTING OF THE HOUSE OF CONUERTS.

REX archiepiscopis, &c. Sciatis nos intuitu Dei, & pro salute animæ nostræ, & animarum antecessorum & hæredum meorum concessisse, & hac charta nostra confirmasse pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, domum quam fundari fecimus in vico, qui vocatur Newstreet, inter vetus templum & nouum London, ad sustentationem fratrum conuersorum & conuertendorum de Iudaismo ad fidem catholicam, in auxilium sustentationis eorundem fratrum in eadem domo conuersantium, domos & terras quæ fuêre Iohannis Herbeton in London, & sunt in manu nostra tanquam eschæta nostra, excepto gardino, quod fuit eiusdem Iohannis in vico prædicto de Newstreet, & quod priùs per chartam nostram concessimus venerabili patri * Radulpho Cicestrensi episcopo cancellario nostro, & omnes alias eschætas, quæ tempore nostro per feloniam, vel quacunque ex causa nobis accident in ciuitate nostra, vel in suburbio infra libertatem ciuitatis nostræ London. Quare volumus, & firmiter præcipimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quòd prædicta domus habeat & teneat liberè & quietè, bene & in pace, ad sustentationem fratrum conuersorum & conuertendorum de Iudaismo ad fidem catholicam, in auxilium sustentationis eorundem fratrum in eadem domo conuersantium, domos & terras quæ fuerunt Iohannis Herbeton in London, & sunt in manu nostra tanquam eschæta nostra excepto gardino quod fuit eiusdem Iohannis in vico prædicto de Newstreet, & quod priùs per

* Ralfe Neuill.

chartam

chartam nostram concessimus venerabili patri R. Cicestrensi episcopo cancellario nostro, & omnes alias eschætas, quæ tempore nostro per feloniam vel quacunque ex causa nobis accident in ciuitate nostra, vel in suburbio infrà libertatem ciuitatis nostræ London, sicut prædictum est. Hijs testibus venerabilibus patribus, W. Kaerl. & W. Exon. episcopis, H. de Burgo comite Kantiæ Radulpho filio Nicholai, Godfrido de Crancumbe, Iohanne filio Philip. Amaurico de sancto Aumundo, Will. de Picheford, Galfrido de Cauz, & alijs. Dat. per manum Ve. P. R. Cicestren. episcop. cancellar. nostri apud Westmin. 19. die Aprilis.

THE GRANT OF EDWARD THE THIRD,

WHEREBY THE SAID HOUSE WAS IN THE ONE AND FIFTITH AND LAST YEARE OF THE SAID EDWARD CONUERTED TO THE CUSTODIE OF THE ROLLES AND RECORDS OF THE CHANCERIE.

REX omnib. ad quos, &c: salutem. Sciatis quòd nos, considerantes qualiter domus conuersorum in suburbio ciuitatis nostræ London, de patronatu nostro existens, & capella, edificia, & clausur. eiusdem, tempore quo dilectus noster Will. Burstall custodiam eiusdem domus ex collatione nostra primò habuit, per negligentiam & incuriam aliorum qui ante dictum Will. custodiam domus illius habuerunt & ibidem, morari seu inhabitari non curauerunt, multipliciter & quasi totaliter in ruina extiterunt, & quòd prædictus Will. tempore suo de bonis suis proprijs grandes costas & expensas super recuperatione & emendatione domus, capellæ, edificiorum, & clausur. prædict. ac etiam super factur. nouar. domorum ibidem. Nos vt domos conuersorum capella, edificia, clausur. & nouæ domus supradict. competenter sustententur, & custodientur, in futurum, ad supplicationem prædicti Willielmi qui custos rotulorum cancellariæ nostræ existit, in præsenti concessimus de gratia nostra speciali pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quòd post mortem eiusdem Will. dicta domus conuersorum cum suis iuribus & pertinent. quibuscunque remaneat & moretur in perpetuum clerico custod. rotulorum cancellar. nostræ & hæredum nostrorum pro tempore existent. & similiter annex. eidem officio in perpetuum: & quòd cancellarius Angliæ vel custos siue custodes magni sigilli nostri & hæredum nostrorum Angliæ pro tempore existentium, post mortem ipsius Willielmi habeat & habeant potestatem ad quamlibet vacationem dicti officij custodis rotulorum per mortem, cessionem, vel mutationem, personæ quocunque tempore futur. * institutum successiuè custodes rotulorum prædictorum in dicta domo conuersorum, & custodes illos ponend. in possessionem eiusdem cum suis iuribus & pertin. quibuscunque, in cuius, &c. T. R. apud Shene 11. Aprilis An. 51 Edw. 3.

* instituendis.

But after the death of this king Edward, the said William Burstall maister of the rolles (belike not supposing this to be a sufficient grant) procured this house by act of parlement, in the first yeare of king Richard the second, to be more stronglie established, to the vse of the master of the rolles for the time. After which Iohn de Waltham, master of the rolles, after bishop of Salisburie and treasuror of England, procured K. Richard the second in the 6 yeare of his reigne, by his letters patents to confirme the said house to the said Waltham and his successors masters of the rolles. And whereas by the patent of Edward the third, the master of the rolles was appointed and installed in that house by the chancellor, it is to be noted, that the same manner

manner of induction and instalment continued as long as the master of the rolles were of the clergie, as I haue séene set downe by others, and as the presidents of those instalments and the writs themselues extant of record doo well prooue.

Sir Richard Scroope. Sir Richard Scroope knight lord of Bolton, hauing béene lord treasuror in the time of the deceased king Edward the third, was now in October about the latter end of the yeare 1378, or the beginning of the yeare 1379, being the second yeare of the after deposed king Richard the second, made lord chancellor, and had the great seale deliuered vnto him, who in the third yeare of the said king at a parlement did surrender vp his office. Of this man is more set downe in the discourse of the treasurors.

Simon Sudburie. Simon Sudburie, so surnamed of the place of his birth, but by descent called Tibold the sonne of Nicholas Tibold, descended of a gentlemanlie race dwelling at Sudburie in Suffolke. This Simon was archbishop of Canturburie, and made chancellor about the yeare of Christ 1380, in the third yeare of Richard the second, and was by the rebels beheaded at the towre of London, in the fourth yeare of the disquieted gouernment of that vnfortunat, but valiant king Richard the second; after whom in the fift yeare of the said king Richard, was R. B. of London, wherof I haue seene and taken a note: which bishop was (as I coniecture and haue some authoritie to prooue) Robert Braibroke which followeth, and was made chancellor againe after Sir Richard Scroope.

Sir Richard Scroope lord Scroope of Bolton. Sir Richard Scroope knight lord of Bolton, made chancellor againe about the latter end of Nouember, by the lords of the parlement (as I take it) in the fift yeare of the reigne of king Richard last mentioned, and was the yeare following, being about the yeare of our Lord 1383 againe deposed from his office, and the king receiuing the great seale, kept it a certeine time, and therewith sealed such grants and writings as it pleased him, and in the end deliuered the same to Robert Braibrooke. Of this man see more in the treasurors before.

Robert Braibrooke bishop of London. Robert Braibrooke bishop of London made lord chancellor in September following the moneth of Iulie, when sir Richard Scroope was deposed, was aduanced to that dignitie on saint Matthews éeue, in the sixt yeare of the reigne of the said king Richard the second, in which he continued not longer than the March following, as hath Anonymus M. S. he was consecrated bishop of London the fift of Ianuarie 1381, he died the seuenteenth of August in the yeare 1404, being the fift yeare of king Henrie the fourth.

Michaell de la Poole earle of Suffolke. Michaell de la Poole, or at Poole (as hath Thomas Walsingham) was made chancellor in the moneth of March, in the sixt yeare of the said king Richard the second, and was made earle of Suffolke in the ninth yeare of the said king, being after deposed from his office of chancellorship at his owne and earnest request in the tenth yeare of the said king. This man hauing fled the realme, for that he was pursued by the nobilitie, died at Paris in the thirteenth yeare of the said Richard the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1389, of whom that worthie poet sir Iohn Gower, liuing at that time, in his booke intituled Vox clamantis, composed these verses:

Est comes elatus, fallax, cupidus, sceleratus,
Fraudes per mille stat cancellarius ille,
Hic proceres odit, & eorum nomina rodit
Morsibus à tergo, fit tandem profugus ergo:
Sic Deus in cœlis mala * de puteo Michaelis
Acriter expurgat ne plus comes ille resurgat.

*Michael de puteaco, or of the Poole.

Thomas Arundell bishop of Elie. Thomas Arundell, of the noble house of the earles of Arundell, was first bishop of Elie, and then of Yorke, and lastlie of Canturburie, he was made lord chancellor of England in the tenth yeare of the reigne of the vnfortunat king Richard the second, being

being about the yeare of our redemption 1386, in which office he remained about two yeares, as farre as my search will giue leaue to vnderstand.

William Wickham was againe made lord chancellor of England, in the twelfe yeare of the said king Richard the second, but was in the end remoued from thense in September, in the fifteenth yeare of the troublesome gouernement of the said king Richard. William Wickham.

Thomas Arundell aforesaid was the second time created lord chancellor of England (in the said fiftéenth yeare of king Richard the second) in place of William Wickham, in which office he remained about fiue yeares, and was deposed and banished the realme in the twentith yeare of the said king Richard. Thomas Arundell.

Iohn Scarle, Scirlée, or Serle, maister of the rolles, of the chancerie, and kéeper of the great seale: he was chancellor, or in place of the chancellor, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare in which the sonne of God descending from the bosome of his father, tooke flesh in the wombe of his mother, one thousand thrée hundred ninetie and nine. Iohn Serle master of the rolls.

Edmund Stafford kéeper of the priuie seale, bishop of Excester, and sometime bishop of Rochester, and lastlie bishop of Yorke, kéeper of the priuie seale, and borne of the noble house of the Staffords, was made lord chancellor of England about the moneth of March, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and foure hundred, being about the second yere of the vsurping king Henrie the fourth, in which office he continued vntill the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and thrée, being the fourth yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth. He being kéeper of the priuie seale was made bishop of Excester the twentith of Iune, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred ninetie and fiue, being the daie before king Richard the second began the one and twentith yeare of his reigne. He was consecrated at Lambeth, and kept the see of Excester three and twentie yeares. He increased two fellowships in Stapletons inne in Oxford, reformed the statutes of the house, and called it Excester college: he died the fourth of September, in the seuenth yeare of king Henrie the fift, being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and ninetéene. About the making of this Stafford chancellor (as farre as my memorie serueth) Ypodigma is much deceiued, if I haue not for want of the booke mistaken his iudgement. Edmund Stafford.

Henrie Beauford, the sonne of Iohn of Gaunt by Katharine Swineford, made bishop of Lincolne in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred ninetie and eight (as hath Ypodigma) was aduanced to the dignitie of chancellor in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and thrée, being the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fourth his elder brother, by the daughter of the earle of Hereford, in which office he was in the fift yeare of king Henrie the fourth, and sixt of the same king (as our chronicles doo remember.) He was made bishop of Winchester in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and foure, being the fift yeare of Henrie the fourth. Henrie Beauford.

Thomas Langleie priest, and bishop of Durham, was at Westminster made chancellor, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred and fiue, being the sixt yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie the fourth, in which office he continued (as farre as I know) vntill he was made bishop of Durham, which was on the seuenth of Maie, being the seuenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie last before named, being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six. He was bishop one and thirtie yeares, and died in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and seuen, being the sixtéenth yeare of king Henrie the sixt. See more following. Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham.

Thomas Fitzalen, brother to Richard earle of Arundell, being returned out of exile with Henrie of Bollingbroke duke of Hereford and Lancaster, and after king of England. Thomas Fitzalen.

land by the name of Henrie the fourth, was the third time being bishop of Canturburie, made lord chancellor of England, the ninth yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth, and continued therein about two years, being remooued from that place about September, in the eleuenth yeare of the reigne of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and ten.

Thomas Beauford. Thomas Beauford knight, the sonne of Iohn of Gaunt son to king Edward the third, and brother to king Henrie the fourth, was made lord chancellor in the eleuenth yere of the said king Henrie the fourth, being the yere that the sonne of God tooke on him the forme of a seruant one thousand foure hundred and ten, in which office he remained not full thrée yeares, but left the same office togither with his life, as I suppose, in the thirtéenth yeare of the same king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and twelue.

Iohn Wakering clearke. Iohn Wakering clearke, maister of the rolles, was made kéeper of the great seale, when Thomas Beauford left the office of chancellor, which seale hée kept about the space of a moneth. For in Ianuarie after that he receiued the seale, there was a chancellor created.

Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie. Thomas Fitzalen or Arundell, archbishop of Canturburie, was the fourth time inuested with the chancellorship, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred and twelue, being the thirtéeuth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, in which office hée continued during the life of the said king Henrie the fourth, who died in the fourtéenth yeare of his kingdome, and in the yere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and thirtéene.

Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester. Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester, and after cardinall in the time of Henrie the sixt, being vncle to king Henrie the fift then reigning, was the second time made chancellor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and thirteene, being the first yeare of the fift king Henrie, in which place he remained vntill the fift yeare of the said king Henrie, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and seuentéene.

Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham. Thomas Langleie bishop of Durham was the second time made lord chancellor of England, in the said yere of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and seuentéene, being the fift yeare of that worthie conqueror king Henrie the fift, which office he receiued at Southwicke, and continued in that honour (as farre as I can learne) by the space of six yeares or more, whereof fiue yeares were fullie ended in the life and death of the said Henrie the fift, and the sixt yeare ended in the last of the first or beginning of the second yeare of king Henrie the sixt.

Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester. Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester before named, was the third time made lord chancellor of England, in the second yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and thrée, or one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure. For the second yeare of that king fell part in the one and part in the other of the said yeares of our Lord, in which office he continued about foure yeares, vntill he was made cardinall, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred twentie and six.

Iohn Kempe bishop of London. Iohn Kempe, bishop of London, was made lord chancellor of England in the fourth yere of that king Henrie, who in his yoongest yeares was crowned first king of England, and then king of France in Paris; in which office he remained (as I suppose) about six yeares.

Iohn Stafford bishop of Bath. Iohn Stafford deane of S. Martine and of Welles, prebend of Milton in Lincolne church, bishop of Bath and Welles, lord chancellor and treasuror of England, and bishop of Canturburie, was made lord chancellor of England in the moneth of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and one, falling in the tenth yeare of king Henrie the sixt; he remained in that office vntill Iohn Kempe was againe made lord chancellor, which was about the eight and twentith

yeare

yeare of king Henrie the sixt. And here I think it not vnmeet to remember that some haue noted William Wanfleet that was bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of Oxford, to be chancellor of England, when he built Magdalen college in Oxford, in the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt: which possiblie can not be, sith this Iohn Stafford held that office from the tenth of Henrie the sixt, vntill the eight and twentith of the same king, which was eightéene yeares: during which time they place this Wanfleet to bee chancellor of England. Which error (I suppose) they haue commited, in that they finding him chancellor at the time of the building of his college, in the said fiue and twentith yeare of king Henrie the sixt haue taken him to be chancellor of England, when he was then but chancellor of Oxford: although in deed afterward he was chancellor of England, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of the said king, as after shall appeare.

Iohn Kempe bishop of Yorke and cardinall, was the second time made lord chancellor in the eight and twentith of king Henrie the sixt, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and fiftie, in which office he died, being bishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our redemption (as saith Matthew Parker, one thousand foure hundred fiftie and three, being the two and thirtith yeare of the reigne of the simple king Henrie the sixt. This man was first bishop of Rochester, next of Chichester, thirdlie of London, then of Yorke, where he sat eight and twentie yeares, and lastlie he was archbishop of Canturburie. Iohn Kempe bishop of Yorke.

Richard Neuill earle of Salisburie, the sonne of Rafe Neuill earle of Westmerland, and father to the valiant Richard Neuill earle of Warwike, was after the death of Iohn Kempe by parlement made lord chancellor in the two and thirtith yeare of K. Henrie the sixt: though others make it to be in the three and thirtith yeare of the same king, in which place he continued not long. For in the yeare following an other was substituted, and he remoued. Richard Neuill earle of Salisburie.

Thomas Bourchier (brother to Henrie Bourchier earle of Essex) bishop of Elie, and bishop of Canturburie, was made chancellor in the three and thirtith yeare of the gouernement of king Henrie the sixt, in which he remained much about two yeares. In whose time, as saith Matthew Parker, about the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred three score and one, was the art of printing inuented at the citie of Argentorat in Germanie. About the which matter, and especiallie for the exact and certeine time thereof, manie writers although their count about one time doo disagree: yet at the inuention of that woorthie thing were these verses composed in the commendation of the same most excellent art. Thomas Bourchier bishop of Elie. *In vita Thomæ Bourcheri epiſc. Cantuar.*

O fœlix nostris memoranda impressio tectis,
Inuentore nitet vtraque lingua tuo.
Desierat quasi totum quod fundis in orbe,
Nunc paruo doctus quilibet esse potest.
Omnes te homines igitur nunc laudibus ornent,
Te duce quando ars hæc mira reperta fuit.

William Patan or Paten, borne of a gentlemanlie familie, being commonlie called William Wanfled of the place of his birth, and being pronost of Eaton, and bishop of Winchester, was lord chancellor in the fiue and thirtith, six and thirtith, and the seuen and thirtith yeare of the vnfortunat king Henrie the sixt, as haue the records of the excheker. By which appeareth the error of those, as I haue before noted, that mistaking the fiue and twentith of king Henrie the sixt, in which time he was but chancellor of Oxford; for the fiue and thirtith of the said king, in which he was chancellor of England. William Patan, or Paten alias William Wanfled.

George Neuille (the sonne of Richard Neuille earle of Salisburie, and brother to Richard Neuill earle of Warwike) being made bishop of Excester, came to that see in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fiftie and fiue; in George Neuill archbishop of Yorke.

which sée he continued ten yeares, and was remoued to Yorke in the yeare that God became man one thousand foure hundred three score and fiue, he was made lord chancellor in the eight and thirtith yeare of the reigne of the after deposed K. Henrie the sixt, in which office he remained about eight yeares, and then was remoued in the seuenth yeare of the woorthie K. Edward the fourth, being the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand foure hundred thréescore and seuen. He was a great friend to saint Albons, and procured Edward the fourth in the fourth yeare of his reigne to giue and confirme to Iohn Whethamsted, abbat of saint Albons, the priorie of Penbroke. This bishop Neuill did after in the thirtéenth yeare of king Edward the fourth grow in such disgrace with the king, that he was spoiled at one time of twentie thousand pounds, as in his life shall be more at large declared. To this man did Hugh Veine giue the manour of Hener Cobham, and Hener Brokas in Kent, in the fourth yeare of king Edward the fourth. Hé died at Blithlaw comming from Yorke, being almost fortie yeares old, and was buried at Yorke. And heere I thinke it not amisse, to note the mistaking of time of such historiographers as haue set downe, that Edward the fourth did, in the fourth yeare of his reigne, take the chancellorship from the bishop of Excester (brother to the earle of Warwike, which must néeds be this George Neuill) and gaue the same to the bishop of Bath. For by that which I haue seene, this Neuill liued vntill the seuenth yeare of Edward the fourth, and that for this time I suppose to be the truest.

Robert Kirkham maister of the rolles.

Robert Kirkeham maister of the rolles was made lord kéeper of the great seale (vpon the remouing of George Neuill) in the moneth of Iulie in the said yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred three score and seuen, being the seuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth.

Robert Stillington doctor of the lawes.

Robert Stillington doctor of the lawes, kéeper of the priuie seale in the third yeare of Edward the fourth, bishop of Bath and Wels, being made chancellor in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, did still so continue (as I gather) vntill the thirtéenth yeare of the said king.

Henrie Bourchier earle of Essex.

Henrie Bourchier earle of Essex, and first aduanced to that title of honor by Edward the fourth, came in place of the last chancellor, about the fourtéenth yeare (as some vntrulie haue noted) of Edward the fourth. But in my poore opinion, the same was in the thirtéenth yeare of the said Edward the fourth: in which place he remained not much more than one Trinitie terme. For in the said thirtéenth yeare, about the moneth of August, was Booth lord chancellor of England.

Laurence Booth bishop of Durham.

Laurence Booth sometime maister of Penbroke hall bishop of Durham, and after of Yorke, was made lord chancellor about August or rather before, betwéene that and Trinitie terme (after Henrie Bourchier) in the said thirtéenth yeare of the valiant king Edward the fourth, after his redemption of the kingdome of England. This bishop (being brother to William Booth sometime bishop of Yorke) did build the bishop of Yorks house at Baterseie, which manour he before bought of Nicholas Stanleie, whome Leland the minser and refiner of all English names dooth most curiouslie in Latine call Nicholaum Stenelegium. He continued in the sée of Yorke thrée yeares and nine moneths, and died at Southwell in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and foure score, being the twentith yeare of king Edward the fourth.

Thomas Scot aliâs Rotheram.

Thomas Scot surnamed Rotheram, because of the towne of Rotheram in Yorkeshire where he was borne and bred vp, was bishop of Rochester, and then of Lincolne, where he sat nine yeares, and after that was bishop of Yorke: whereinto he installed first at Yorke, and then at Ripen, being prouost of Beuerleie, he was made chancellor of England in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred seuentie and foure, being the fourtéenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth. This bishop, in the fifteenth yeare of the said king, went ouer the sea (as I haue

séene

séene noted) with the said Edward the fourth, when he went to haue an interuiew with the French king: of which meeting monsieur de Argentine by name Philip Comineus (besides our English chronicles) dooth make mention, as a person that bare a part in that pageant.

John Alcot bishop of Rochester was made chancellor during the absence of king Edward, as I haue found recorded. John Alcot bishop of Rochester.

Thomas Rotheram, being before lord keeper of the priuie seale, was after his returne out of France the second time made lord chancellor, about the time in which the said king had gotten Berwike from the Scots, being about the twentith yeare of the said Edward the fourth. For the frée gaining of the towne was not much before his death: in which office this Rotheram continued all the life of king Edward the fourth, and in the time of the little or no reigne at all of the guiltlesse murthered yoong prince king Edward the fift: vntill it was ascribed to him for ouermuch lightnesse, that he had deliuered in the beginning of the rebellious gouernement of the protectorship of the bloudie and vnnaturall Richard duke of Glocester the seale to the quéene, to whome it did not apperteine, and from whome he receiued it not. He founded a college at Rotheram, dedicated it to the name of Iesus, and indowed it with great possessions and ornaments, and annexed therto the churches of Langthton and Almanburie. Thomas Rotheram.

John Russell bishop of Lincolne, a graue and learned man, had the seale deliuered to him by the said protector of England, during the time of the short reigne of the yoong king Edward, when the same seale was taken from Rotheram: and so this Russell was made chancellor in the moneth of Iune, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred foure score and thrée, being the first yeare of the vsurped gouernement of the bloudie tyrant the mishapen king Richard the third. This Russell is buried in the church of Lincolne, in a chappell cast out of the vpper wall of the south part of the church. John Russell bishop of Lincolne.

Thomas Barow maister of the rolles was made keeper of the great seale (as I haue seene recorded) which I suppose, was in the third and last yeare of the said king Richard the third: for in that yeare he was maister of the rolles. Thomas Barow maister of the rolles.

Thomas Rotheram made againe lord chancellor, in the first entrance of king Henrie the seuenth into the gouernement: but verie shortlie after he was displaced, and the bishop of Worcester placed in that roome; he was archbishop of Yorke nintéene yeares and ten moneths: he was verie beneficiall to all his kindred, and aduanced some with mariages, some with possessions, and some with spirituall liuings. He died the nine and twentith daie of December, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred, being the sixtéenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, at Cawood in Yorkeshire the morrow after the Ascension, being of the age of three score and sixtéene yeares or more: he was buried in Yorke minster on the northside in our ladie chappell, in a toome of marble which he caused to be made whilest he was liuing. Thomas Rotheram.

Iohn Alcot bishop of Worcester, made in the yeare one thousand foure hundred threescore and sixteene, was lord chancellor of England in the first yeare of the said K. Henrie the seuenth, the Salomon of England, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score and fiue: shortlie after the entrance of the said Henrie into the gouernement of England. For though Rotheram were chancellor when he got the victorie, for that he had béene so before, and for that the king was neither prouided nor minded suddenlie to haue a man not méete for that place to execute the same: yet this Rotheram kept not that roome manie moneths, but that Alcot came in place; because the king found Alcot a méeter person to execute the same office, answerable to the disposition of the kings humour. All which notwithstanding whether for malice of others, or for his owne deserts, or both, or for more especiall trust that king Henrie put in Moorton bishop of Elie, who had beene the meanes to bring John Alcot bishop of Worcester.

bring him to the crowne, this Alcot fell shortlie in the kings disgrace, was displaced of his office, and Moorton came in his roome. So that in this first yeare of the said king Henrie the seuenth, there seemed to be three chancellors in succession one after another, if I haue not misconceiued the matter: all which before Moorton in this first yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, may perhaps more properlie be termed keepers of the great seale, than chancellors.

John Moorton bishop of Elie.

Iohn Moorton doctor of the ciuill law, an aduocat in the ciuill, of the councell to Henrie the sixt and to Edward the fourth, to whome also he was maister of the rolles, was made bishop of Elie in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred three score and eightéene, and lord chancellor of England, (vpon his returne from beyond the seas) in the first yeare of the woorthie prince K. Henrie the seuenth, being the yeare that the word became flesh, one thousand foure hundred foure score and fiue: after which he was aduanced to the bishoprike of Canturburie; he died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score and nintéene, in the fifteenth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the seuenth, as hath Matthew Parker.

William Warham archbishop of Canturburie.

William Warham aduocat in the arches, maister of the rolles, bishop of London, and then bishop of Canturburie; was (before his aduancement to the see of Canturburie) made chancellor of England in the time of Henrie the seuenth, in which office he continued vntill about the latter end of the seuenth yeare of king Henrie the eight. At what time surrendring the seale by reason of his age and weakenesse, the same great seale was deliuered to Thomas Woolseie.

Thomas Woolsey.

Thomas Woolseie sometime chapleine to Henrie Deane archbishop of Canturburie, after the kings almoner and abbat of saint Austins, who possessing manie other abbeies and bishopriks, as in other places shall more largelie appeare, was aduanced to the gouernment of the great seale, about the beginning of the eight yeare of the triumphant reigne of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ one thousand fiue hundred sixtéene, to hold the same during his life (as I gather) in which office yet he continued not aboue thirtéene yeares, vntill the one and twentith of the said king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred twentie and nine. During which time of his chancellorship, in the ninetéenth yere of king Henrie the eight, being the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and seauen, he went into France, representing the king of Englands person, to set order for the deliuerie of pope Clement the seuenth and Francis the French king, at what time he carried the great seale ouer the seas to Calis, which seale he left with doctor Tailor master of the rolles, to keepe the same at Calis vntill the cardinals returne out of the French dominions. He died in Leicester abbeie (not without suspicion of poison as was thought, which he had prepared for himselfe, and giuen to his apothecarie to deliuer when he called for it) the two and twentith of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and thirtie.

Thomas Moore.

Thomas Moore knight, sometime vndershiriffe of London, and chancellor of the dutchie of Lancaster, was aduanced to the honor of chancellorship of England, in the yere that the word became flesh one thousand fiue hundred twentie and nine, being the one and twentith yéere of that king Henrie which expelled pope Clement the seauenth his authoritie out of his dominions, in which office this rare witted knight (to vse Erasmus his epitheton) and learned chancellor continued not full three yeares; but in the foure and twentith yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie the eight, with much labor and earnest sute he left his office. Touching which it shall not greeue me to set downe the words of Matthew Parker of the liues of the bishops of Canturburie in the life of Thomas Cranmer writing after this maner: Interea rex dum papæ meditabatur excidium, singulorum de papali auctoritate sensus iudicijs haud

haud obscuris collegit. Inter quos Thomas Morus, quia regis conatus pontificijs valdè suspectus fuit, cancellarij munere venia regis ægrè impetrata, sese abdicauit.

Thomas Audleie attornie of the dutchie of Lancaster, sergeant at the law (as most affime) and speaker of the parlement, was made knight and lord kéeper of the great seale the fourth of Iune, in the foure and twentith yere of the reigne of the famous prince king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and two, not long after which he was indued with the title and honor of lord chancellor of England. This man in the tenth yere of his chancellorship, being the yere of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fortie and two, and the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight, changing the name of Buckingham college in Cambridge, did name it the college of saint Marie Magdalen, and indued it with some possessions. He died on Maie éeuen in the yeare of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, being the fiue and thirtith yeare of Henrie the eight. Thomas Audleie. *Histo. Cantab. per Caium.* 78.

Thomas Wriotheslie knight of the garter, being created baron at Hampton court on the first of Ianuarie, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and three, was after aduanced to the honor of the great seale and chancellorship of England, about the beginning of Maie, in the six and thirtith yeare of the reigne of King Henrie the eight, being the yere of grace one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, in which office he continued vntill the death of the said king Henrie the eight, and in the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the sixt, vntill for his obstinacie in the Romane religion he was the sixt of March remooued, and the seale was deliuered to William Paulet lord Sent-Iohn of Basing. This Wriotheslie (being created earle of Southampton by king Edward the sixt) died at his house of Lincolne place in Holborne the 30 of Iulie, in the fourth yeare of the said king Edward, in the yéere 1550, and was buried at saint Andrews in Oldborne commonlie called Holborne. Thomas Wriotheslie.

William Paulet knight being first steward of the lands of the bishoprike of Winchester, then treasuror of the houshold, lord Sent-Iohn of Basing, lord great maister of the kings house, afterwards earle of Wiltshire, marquesse of Winchester, and treasuror of England, being of the priuie councell to king Heurie the eight, king Edward the sixt, queene Marie, and queene Elisabeth, had the kéeping of the great seale committed vnto him the seuenth daie of March, in the yeare that the second person in trinitie descended from the bosome of the father into the wombe of the mother one thousand fiue hundred fortie and seuen, being the first yere of the reigne of the yoong king Edward the sixt, which seale he had in custodie about seuen moneths, vntill the thrée and twentith or foure and twentith of October following, at what time sir Richard Rich was made lord chancellor. William Paulet.

Sir Richard Rich knight, lord Rich, was aduanced to the dignitie of lord chancellor of England about the 23 of October in the yere of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred fortie and seuen, being the first yeare of the reigne of the noble king Edward the sixt, in which place he remained about fiue yeers. Sir Richard Rich.

Thomas Goderich or Goderike being bishop of Elie had the great seale deliuered to him, and was made lord chancellor of England the twentith of December (as Iohn Stow hath noted in his chronicle) in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and one, being the fift yeare of the reigne of king Edward the sixt, in which office he continued all the life of the said king Edward, which died in Iulie one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and thrée, being the seuenth yeare of his reigne, and about one moneth after vntill the thirtéenth or foureténth daie of August, in which quéene Marie made Stephan Gardener hir chancellor. Thomas Goderich.

Sir

Sir Nicholas Hare.

Sir Nicholas Hare, maister of the rolles, had at the comming of quéene Marie to the crowne the keeping of the great seale, after the death of king Edward, as lord kéeper by the space of one fortnight, and shortlie after was Stephan Gardener made chancellor.

Stephan Gardener.

Stephan Gardener bishop of Winchester was, in August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and thrée, being the first yeare of the reigne of the vnfortunat quéene Marie, made chancellor of England. This man going in ambassage vnto Calis left the great seale in the custodie of William Paulet marquesse of Winchester, which bishop after his returne into England continued in that office all the time of his life, which he ended the 19 of Nouember, in the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and fiue, being the third yeere of quéene Marie. After which the great seale lieng in the custodie of the prince, she on the new yeares daie following made a new chancellor.

Nicholas Heath.

Nicholas Heath bishop of Rochester, almoner to the king, ambassador into Germanie, bishop of Worcester, president of Wales, and archbishop of Yorke, was vpon new yeares daie, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and fiue, being the third yéare of the reigne of quéene Marie, aduanced to the honorable dignitie of the chancellorship. But quéene Marie deceasing the seauentéenth daie of Nouember, in the yeare of grace one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight, and the sixt yere of hir gouernement, this Heath vpon the placing of the worthie quéene Elisabeth vpon the throne of the English gouernment, was remooued from his office, and maister Bacon aduanced.

Nicholas Bacon.

Sir Nicholas Bacon esquier, attourneie of the court of wards, was made knight and lord kéeper of the great seale the two and twentith of December, in the yeare of our redemption 1558, being the first yeare of the now reigning Elisabeth the Saba of England. Which name of lord kéeper he still kept during his life, and the time of his office. In whose time there was an act of parlement established, to make the power of the keeper of the great seale equall with the authoritie of the chancellor. This man continued in this office, and woorthilie executed the same, being a man of rare wit and déepe experience, during the time of his life, which continued vntill the twentith of Februarie, in the yeare of our saluation 1578 after the account of England, being the one and twentith yeare of the rare and singular gouernement of the worlds woonder the famous quéene Elisabeth, which place this man kept eightéene yéeres, being (as I suppose) double as long time as anie other chancellor or kéeper of the great seale possessed that place, except Rafe Neuill bishop of Chichester, and Iohn Stafford bishop of Bath and Wels, both which held it equallie eighteene yeares with him: a strange thing, that in the course of almost 600 yeares, no such officer might possesse that place by twentie years togither.

Thomas Bromleie.

Thomas Bromleie, the generall solicitor of quéene Elisabeth, a councellor of the law, and one of the inner temple, was aduanced to the dignitie of lord chancellor on the fiue and twentith day of Aprill, in the yeare of our redemption 1579, being in the one and twentith yeare of the reigne of the said quéene Elisabeth, which office at this daie he beareth.

Thus (although I maie be a little wetshod in passing ouer the deepe sea of this difficultie of the chancellors, in which I am sure I am not ouer head and eares) I haue at length brought my chancellors to end: a worke of some labour and difficultie, of some search and charge, which I haue doone onelie of my selfe without the furtherance or help of some others, who more inconsideratlie than trulie doo disorderlie report, that I haue atteined vnto this in obteining those names by some sinister means, from the priuat bookes of them who haue trauelled

in

in the same matter. In which (as I said in the begining, so I saie againe) if anie imperfection for hast, by reason of the printers spéedie calling on me, haue now fallen out of my pen, it shall hereafter God willing be corrected in the large volume of their liues. Wherefore as I neither estéeme nor feare the secret reports of some others; so for their countries good it shall be well that they would deliuer something to the world to bring truth to perfection (if other men haue vnwillinglie set downe error) and not as they doo, for a litle commoditie and gaine to themselues, neither benefit their countrie, nor speake well of such as would and doo helpe posteritie. Thus this much by Francis Thin, touching the chancellors of England.]

¶ Here though somewhat out of place (for it should haue béene entered in 1578) it were better to record the receiuing of the quéenes maiestie into Suffolke and Norffolke, than making no commemoration therof at all, to let it perish in thrée halfepenie pamphlets, and so die in obliuion. It maie also serue for a rest of recreation, after so long an introduction of serious matters, as also (and that most woorthilie) maie remaine in record, to signifie what well affected subiects the quéens maiestie hath within hir dominions, to whome goods, lands, friends, kindred, or life, none of these seuerallie, nor all iointlie, are so pretious and deere, but for hir sake they can find in their hearts to esteeme them as doong. And now to the matter. The truth is (saith one that wrote the whole intertein-ment) that albeit they had but small warning certeinlie to build vpon, of the comming of the queenes maiestie into both those shires, the gentleman had made such readie prouision, that all the veluets and silks were taken vp that might be laid hand on, and bought for anie monie, and soone conuerted to such garments and sutes of robes, that the shew thereof might haue beautified the greatest triumph that was in England these manie yeares. For (as it was said) there were two hundred yoong gentlemen clad all in white veluet, and three hundred of the grauer sort apparelled in blacke veluet cotes, and faire chaines, all readie at one instant and place, with fiftéene hundred seruing men more on horssebacke, well and brauelie mounted in good order, readie to receiue the quéenes highnesse into Suffolke, which surelie was a comelie troope, and a noble sight to behold: and all these waited on the shiriffe sir William Spring, during the quéenes maiesties abode in those parties, and to the verie confines of Suffolke.

Ab. Fl. ex publicis æditionibus B. G. & T. G.

The receiuing of the quéene into Suffolke and Norffolke.

The number of gentlemen that receiued the quéene into Suffolke.

But before hir highnesse passed to Norffolke, there was in Suffolke such sumptuous feasting and bankets, as seldome in anie part of the world haue béene seene before. The maister of the rolles sir William Cordall was one of the first that began this great feasting, and did light such a candle to the rest of the shire, that manie were glad bountifullie and frankelie to follow the same example, with such charges and costs, as the whole traine were in some sort pleased therewith. And neere Burie sir william Drurie for his part at his house made the quéenes highnesse a costlie and delicat dinner, and sir Robert Germine of Roeshbrooke feasted the French ambassadors two seuerall times, with which charges and courtesie they stood maruellouslie contented. The shiriffe sir William Spring, sir Thomas Kidson, sir Arthur Higham, and diuerse others of worship, kept great houses, and sundrie either at the quéenes comming, or returne, solemnelie feasted hir highnesse, yea and defraied the whole charges for a daie or twaine, presented gifts, made such triumphs and deuises, as indéed was most noble to behold, and verie thankfullie accepted.

Persons of worship in Suffolke that feasted hir highnesse during hir abode amongst them.

The Norffolke gentlemen hearing how dutifullie their neighbors had receiued the prince, prepared in like sort to shew themselues dutifull: and so in most gallant maner they assembled and set forward with fiue and twentie hundred horssemen, wherof

Norffolke incited by the example of Suffolke to giue the quéene roiall interteinment.

wherof (as some affirme) were six hundred gentlemen, so brauelie attired and mounted, as in déed was woorthie the noting, which goodly companie waited on their shirife a long season. But in good sooth (as it was crediblie spoken) the bankets and feasts began here afresh, all kinds of triumphs that might be deuised were put in practise and proofe. The earle of Surreie did shew most sumptuous cheare, in whose parke were speaches well set out, and a speciall deuise much commended: and the rest, as a number of iollie gentlemen, were no whit behind to the vttermost of their abilities, in all that might be doone and deuised.

What order was taken in Norwich for the receiuing and recreating of the quéene.

But when the quéenes highnesse came to Norwich, the substance of the whole triumph and feasting was in a maner there new to begin. For order was taken there, that euerie daie for six daies togither, a shew of some strange deuise should be seene. And the maior and aldermen appointed among themselues and their brethren, that no one person reteining to the queene should be vnfeasted, or vnbidden to dinner and supper, during the space of those six daies: which order was well and wiselie obserued, and gained their citie more fame and credit than they wot of: for that courtesie of theirs shall remaine in perpetuall memorie whiles the walles of their citie standeth. Besides the monie they bestowed vpon diuerse of the traine, and those that tooke paines for them, will be a witnesse of their well dooing and good will, whiles the report of these things maie be called to remembrance. Now, who can (considering their great charges and discreet gouernement in these causes) but giue them due laud and reputation, as farre as either pen or report maie doo them good and stretch out their credit. For most assuredlie, they haue taught and learned all the townes and cities in England a lesson, how to behaue themselues in such like seruices and actions.

The maior of Norwich with his attendants set forth to receiue the quéene.

On saturdaie being the sixteenth of August 1578, and in the twentith yeare of the reigne of our most gratious souereigne ladie Elisabeth, by the grace of God quéene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c: the same our most dread and souereigne ladie (continuing hir progresse in Norffolke) immediatlie after dinner set forward from Brakenash, where she had dined with the ladie Stile, being fiue miles distant from Norwich, towards the same hir most dutifull citie. Sir Robert Wood then esquier, now knight, maior of the same citie, at one of the clocke in the same happie daie, set forward to méet with hir maiestie in this order. First there rode before him well and séemelie mounted, thréescore of the most comelie yoong men of the citie, as batchellers apparelled all in blacke satten dublets, blacke hose, blacke taffata hats, and yellow bands, and their vniuersall liuerie was a mandilion of purple taffata, laid about with siluer lase: and so apparelled they marched forwards two and two in a ranke. Then one which represented king Gurgunt, sometime king of England, which builded the castell of Norwich, called Blanch Flowre, and laid the foundation of the citie. He was mounted vpon a braue courser, and was thus furnished: his bodie armed, his bases of greene and white silke: on his head a blacke veluet hat, with a plume of white feathers. There attended vpon him thrée henchmen in white and gréene: one of them did beare his helmet, the second his target, the third his staffe: after him a noble companie of gentlemen and wealthie citizens in veluet coats and other costlie furniture, brauelie mounted. Then followed the officers of the citie euerie one in his place. Then the sword-bearer, with the sword and hat of maintenance. Then the maior and foure and twentie aldermen, and the recorder all in scarlet gownes, whereof so manie as had béene maiors of the citie, and were iustices, did weare their scarlet clokes: then followed so manie as had béene shiriffs, and were no aldermen, in violet gownes and sattin tippets. Then followed diuers others, to kéepe the people from disturbing the araie aforesaid.

The builder of Norwich castell represented.

Thus

Thus euerie thing in due and comelie order, they all (except Gurgunt, which staied hir maiesties comming within a flight shoot or two of the citie, where the castell of Blanch Flowre was in most beautifull prospect) marched forwards to a bridge, called Hartford bridge, the vttermost limit that waie, distant from the citie two miles or there abouts, to méet with hir maiestie; who within one houre or little more after their attendance, came in such gratious and princelie wise, as rauished the harts of all hir louing subiects, and might haue terrified the stoutest heart of anie enimie to behold. Whether the maiestie of the prince, which is incomparable; or ioie of hir subiects, which excéeded measure, were the greater, I thinke would haue apalled the iudgement of Apollo to define. The acclamations and cries of the people to the almightie God for the preseruation of hir maiestie ratled so lowd, as hardlie for a great time could anie thing be heard. But at last, as euerie thing hath an end, the noise appeased: and the maior saluted hir highnesse with the oration following, and yéelded to hir maiestie therewith the sword of the citie, and a faire standing cup of siluer and guilt, with a couer, and in the cup one hundred pounds in gold. The oration was in these words.

The founder of Blanch Flowre staieth in person to méet the quéene.

PRÆTORIS NORDOUICENSIS AD SERENISSIMAM REGINAM, &c.

SI nobis ab Opt. Max. concederetur optio quid rerum humanarum, nunc potissimùm vellemus: nihil duceremus antiquius (augustissima princeps) quàm vt tuus ille, qui ita nos recreat, castissimi ocelli radius posset in abditissimos cordium nostrorum angulos se conferre. Cerneres profectò quanta sint hilaritate perfusa, quàm in ipsis arterijs & venulis spiritus & sanguis gestiant: dum intuemur te huius regni lumen (vt Dauid olim fuit Israelitici) in hijs tandem finibus post longam spem, & ardentissima vota exoriri. Equidem vt pro me, qui tua ex authoritate & clementia (quod humillimis gratijs profiteor) celeberrimæ huic ciuitati præsum, & pro hijs meis fratribus, atque omni hoc populo quem tuis auspicijs regimus, ex illorum sensu loquar, quod & ipse sentio: sic nos demum supplicibus votis exposcimus, vt maiestatem tuam beneuolam nobis, & propitiam experiamur: vt nunquam cuiquam populo aduenisti gratior quàm nobis. In illius rei luculentissimum indicium, insignia hæc honoris, & officij nostri, quæ nobis clementissimus princeps Henricus quartus quinto sui regni anno cum prætore, senatoribus, & vicecomitibus concessit: (cùm antea balliuis (vt vocant) vltra annalium nostrorum memoriam regeremur) perpetuis deinde regum priuilegijs, & corroborata nobis, & aucta magnificè, maiestati tuæ omnia exhibemus, quæ per tuam vnius clementiam (quam cum immortalibus gratijs prædicare nunquam cessabimus) vicesimo iam anno tenuimus: atque vnâ cum illis, hunc thesaurum, quasi pignus nostrarum & voluntatum & facultatum. Quas omnes, quantæ, quantulæue sint, ad tuum arbitrium deuouimus: vt si quid omni hoc fœlicissimi tui temporis decursu admisimus, quod amantissimos, obsequentissimos, amplitudinis tuæ saluti, coronæ, emolumento deuotissimos non deceat: statuas de nobis, &, nostris omnibus, pro tua clementissima voluntate. Sin ita clauum huius ciuitatis (Deo duce) reximus: vt eam in portu saluam maiestati tuæ conseruauerimus, & populum primum gloriæ Dei, & veræ religionis, deinde salutis, honoris, & voluntatis tuæ studiosissimum, quantum in nobis est, effecerimus: tum non libet nobis id à te petere, quod insita tibi singularis clementia facillimè à te ipsa impetrabit. Tantum obsecramus, vt amplitudinem tuam Deus omnibus & animi & corporis bonis cumulatissimè beate velit, Amen.

Prætoris pro se suisque fratribus obtestatio.

Henricus quartus ciuitati Nordouicensi princeps munificentissimus.

Prætoris pro se suisque fratribus quàm significanter facta oratio.

THE MAIORS ORATION TO THE QUEENE ENGLISHED.

IF our wish should be granted vnto vs by the Almightie, what humane thing wee would chieflie desire: we would account nothing more pretious (most roial prince) than that the bright beame of your most chast eie which dooth so cheare vs, might pearse the secret and strait corners of our hearts. Then surelie should you see how great ioies are dispersed there, and how the spirits and liuelie bloud tickle in our arteries and small veines, in beholding you the light of this realme (as Dauid was of Israel) now at length, after long hope and earnest petitions, to appeare in these coasts. Trulie on mine owne part, which by your highnesse authoritie and clemencie (with humble thanks bee it spoken) do gouerne this famous citie, and on the part of these my brethren, and all these people which by your authoritie we rule (speaking as they meane, and as I my selfe doo thinke) this onelie with all our hearts and humble praiers we desire, that we maie so find your maiestie gratious and fauourable vnto vs, as you for your part neuer came to anie subiects better welcome than to vs your poore subiects here. For most manifest token whereof, we present vnto your maiestie here, these signes of honor and office, which we receiued of the most mightie prince Henrie the fourth, in the fift yere of his reigne, then to vs granted in the name of maior, aldermen and shiriffs; whereas before time out of mind or mention, we were gouerned by bailiffs (as they tearme them) which euer since haue beene both established and increased with continuall priuileges of kings: and which by your onelie clemencie (which with immortall thanks we shall neuer cease to declare) we haue now these twentie yeares inioied: and togither with those signes, this treasure is a pledge of our good willes and abilitie: which all how great or little so euer they be, wee powre downe at your pleasure, that if we haue neglected anie thing in all this course of your most happie reigne, which becommeth most louing, obedient and well willing subiects to performe, for the perseruation of your crowne, and aduancement of your highnesse, you maie then determine of vs and all ours at your most gratious pleasure. But if we haue (God being our guide) so ordered the gouernance of this citie, that we haue kept the same in safetie to your maiesties vse, and made the people therein (as much as in vs lieth) first most studious of Gods glorie and true religion, and next of your maiesties health, honour, and pleasure; then aske we nothing of you: for that the singular clemencie ingraffed in your highnesse, will easilie of it selfe grant that which is requisit for vs to obteine. We onelie therefore desire, that God would abundantlie blesse your highnesse with all good gifts of mind and bodie.

The maior speaketh in his owne and his brethren the aldermens behalfe.

Henrie the fourth a most bountifull prince to the citie of Norwich.

A most dutifull submission.

Wherein the dutie of subiects chieflie consisteth.

Which oration ended, hir maiestie accepting in good part euerie thing deliuered by the maior, did thankefullie answer him in these words, or verie like in effect: We hartilie thanke you maister maior, and all the rest, for these tokens of goodwill: neuerthelesse, princes haue no need of monie: God hath indued vs abundantlie, we come not therefore, but for that which in right is our owne, the hearts and true allegiance of our subiects, which are the greatest riches of a kingdome; whereof as we assure our selues in you, so doo you assure your selues in vs of a louing and gratious souereigne. Wherewith was deliuered to the maior, a mace or scepter, which he carried before hir to hir lodging, which was in the bishop of Norwich his palace, two miles distant from that place. The cup and monie was deliuered to a gentleman, one of hir maiesties footmen to carrie. The maior said to hir, Sunt hîc centum libræ puri auri. The couer of the cup lifted vp, hir

The queens maiesties acceptable answer vttered by hir owne mouth in person.

hir maiestie said to the footmen; Looke to it, there is 100 pounds. With that hir highnesse, with the whole companie, marched towards Norwich, till they came to a place called the Towne close, distant from the citie a good flightshot, where the partie which represented Gurgunt came forth, as in due maner is expressed, and was readie to haue declared to hir maiestie this spéech following; but by reason of a showre of raine which came, hir maiestie hasted awaie, the spéech not vttered. But thus it was as here followeth.

Gurguntius his spéech cut off by a showre of raine.

Leaue off to muse most gratious prince of English soile,
What sudden wight in martiall wise approcheth neere;
King Gurgunt I am hight, king Belins eldest sonne,
Whose sire Dunwallo first, the British crowne did weare.
Whom truthlesse Gutlacke forst to passe the surging seas,
His falshod to reuenge, and Denmarke land to spoile.
And finding in returne, this place a gallant vent,
This castle faire I built, a fort from forren soile:
To win a conquest, get renowme and glorious name,
To keepe and vse it well, deserues eternall fame.
When brute through cities, townes, the woods and dales did sound.
Elizabeth this countrie peerelesse queene drew neere:
I was found out, my selfe in person noble queene
Did hast, before thy face in presence to appeare.
Two thousand yeares welnie in silence lurking still:
Heare, why to thee alone this seruice I doo yeeld.
Besides that, at my cities sute their founder first
Should gratulat most this ioifull sight in open field,
Foure speciall points and rare concurring in vs both
This speciall seruice haue reserud to thee alone:
The glorie though of each in thee dooth far surmount,
Yet great with small compard, will like appeare anon.
When doubtfull warres the British princes long had wroong,
My grandsire first vniting all did weare the crowne.
Of Yorke and Lancaster, who did conclude those broiles?
Thy grandsire Henrie seuenth, a king of great renowne.
Mine vncle Brennus eke, my father ioining hands,
Old Rome did rase and sacke, and halfe consume with fire:
Thy puissant father so, new Rome that purple whore
Did sacke and spoile hir neere, of all hir glittering tire.
Lo Cambridge schooles by mine assignement founded first,
By thee my Cambridge schooles are famous through the world,
I thirtie wandering ships of banisht men relieued.
The throngs of banisht soules that in this citie dwell,
Do weepe for ioy: and praie for thee with teares vntold:
In all these things thou noble queene doost far excell.
But lo to thee I yeeld as dutie dooth me bind
In open field my selfe, my citie, castle, keie,
Most happie fathers kings in such a daughter queene,
Most happie England were, if thou shouldest neuer die.
Go on most noble prince, for I must hast awaie
My citie gates doo long, their soueréigne to receaue:
More true thou neuer couldst, nor loiall subiects find,
Whose harts full fast with perfect loue to thee doo cleaue.

Gurguntius the eldest son of Belinus.

The antiquitie of Norwich citie by the founders age may be gathered.

King Henrie the seuenth and king Henrie the eight.

Gurguntius yeeldeth his estate to the queene.

S. Stephans gates in Norwich richlie beautified.

Then hir maiestie drew néere the gates of the citie called saint Stephans gates, which with the wals there were both gallantlie and stronglie repared. The gate it selfe was thus inriched and beautified. First the portcullice was new made both timber and iron. Then the outward side of the gate was thus beautified. The quéenes armes were most richlie and beautifullie set forth in the chiefe front of the gate. On the one side thereof, but somewhat lower, was placed the scutchion of saint George his crosse: on the other side, the armes of the citie: and directlie vnder the queenes maiesties armes, was placed the falcon, hir highnesse badge, in due forme, and vnder the same were written these words, God and the queene we serue. The inner side of the gate was thus beautified. On the right side was gorgeouslie set foorth the red rose, signifieng the house of Yorke; on the left side the white rose, representing the house of Lancaster; in the midst was the white and red rose vnited, expressing the vnion, vnder the which was placed by descent the armes of the quéene, and vnder that were written these verses following.

The vnion of the white rose and the red.

Diuision kindled strife,
Blist vnion quencht the flame:
Thense sprang our noble Phenix deare,
The pearelesse prince of fame.

And besides that, at this gate, the waits of the citie were placed with lowd musike, who cheerefullie and melodiouslie welcomed hir maiestie into the citie, this song being soong by the best voices in the same.

The deaw of heauen drops this daie
on drie and barren ground,
Wherefore let fruitfull hearts I saie
at drum and trumpets sound
Yeeld that is due, shew that is meet,
to make our ioy the more,
In our good hope, and hir great praise,
we neuer saw before.
The sun dooth shine where shade hath beene,
long darkenesse brought vs daie,
The star of comfort now coms in,
and here a while will staie.
Ring out the bels, plucke vp your spreets,
and dresse your houses gaie,
Run in for floures to strew the streets,
and make what ioy you maie.
The deaw of heauen, &c.
Full manie a winter haue we seene,
and manie stormes withall,
Since here we saw a king or queene
in pompe and princelie pall.
Wherefore make feast and banket still,
and now to triumph fall,
With dutie let vs shew good will,
to glad both great and small.
The deaw of heauen, &c.
The realme throughout will ring of this,
and sundrie regions mo
Will say, full great our fortune is,
when our good hap they kno.

O Norwich

O Norwich, heere the welspring runs,
whose vertue still dooth flo,
And lo this day dooth shine two suns
within thy wals also.
The deaw of heauen, &c.

This song ended, hir highnesse passed towards hir lodging, and by the waie in a church-yard, ouer against maister Pecks doore (a woorthie alderman) was a scaffold set vp and brauelie trimmed. On this scaffold was placed an excellent boy, well and gallantlie decked, in a long white robe of taffata, a crimsin scarffe wrought with gold, folded on the Turkish fashion about his browes, and a gaie garland of white flowers on his head, which boie was not séene, till the quéene had a good season marked the musicke, which was maruellous swéet and good, albeit the rudenesse of some ringers of bels did somewhat hinder the noise and harmonie: and as soone as the musike ended, the boy stepped reuerendlie before the queene, and spake these woords that follow in comelie order.

The boies speach at maister Pecks doore.

Great things were meant to welcome thee (O queene),
If want of time had not cut off the same:
Great was our wish, but small is that was seene,
For vs to shew before so great a dame.
Great hope we haue it pleased our princes eie,
Great were the harmes that else our paines should reape:
Our grace or foile dooth in your iudgement lie,
If you mislike, our griefs doo grow on heape:
If for small things we doo great fauour find,
Great is the ioy that Norwich feeles this daie:
If well we waid the greatnesse of your mind,
Few words would serue, we had but small to saie.
But knowing that your goodnesse takes things well
That well are meant, we boldlie did proceed:
And so good queene, both welcome and farewell,
Thine owne we are in heart, in word, and deed.

The boy therevpon flang vp his garland, and the quéenes highnes said, This deuise is fine. Then the noise of musike began againe, to heare the which the quéene staid a good while, and after departed to the cathedrall church, which was not far from thense. Then passed she forwards through saint Stephans stréet, where the first pageant was placed in forme following. It was builded somewhat in maner like a stage of 40 foot long and in breadth eight foot. From the standing place vpward was a bank framed in maner of a frée stone wall, and in the height therof were written sentences, that is to saie: The causes of this common wealth are, God trulie preached, Iustice dulie executed, The people obedient, Idlenesse expelled, Labour cherished, Vniuersall concord preserued.

The queene liked this deuise.

The first pageant was in S. Stephans parish in this maner.

From the standing place downewards it was beautified with painters worke, artificiallie expressing to sight the portraiture of these seuerall loomes, and the weauers in them (as it were working) and ouer euerie loome the name thereof, that is to saie. Ouer the first loome was written, the weauing of worsted: ouer the second, the weauing of russels: ouer the third, the weauing of daruix: ouer the fourth, the weauing of tuft mockado: the fift, the weauing of lace: the sixt, the weauing of caffa: the seuenth, the weauing of fringe. And then was there the portraiture of a matorne, and two or three children, and ouer hir head was written these words: Good nurture changeth qualities. Vpon the stage there stood at the one end eight small women children spining worsted yarne, and at the other end as manie knitting,

How the pageant was beautified with representation of the mysteries of the citie.

ting of worsted yarne hose: and in the middest of the said stage stood a pretie boy richlie apparelled, which represented the common wealth of the citie. And all the rest of the stage was furnished with men, which made the said seuerall works, and before euerie man the worke indéed. Euerie thing thus readie, and hir maiestie come, the child representing the common wealth, spake to hir highnesse these words following.

Most gratious prince, vndoubted souereigne queene,
Our onelie ioy next God, and chiefe defense:
In this small shew, our whole estate is seene,
The wealth we haue, we find proceed from thense,
The idle hand hath here no place to feed,
The painfull wight hath still to serue his need.
Againe, our seat denies our traffike heere,
The sea too neare decides vs from the rest,
So weake we were within this doozen yeare,
As care did quench the courage of the best:
But good aduise hath taught these little hands,
To rend in twaine the force of pining bands.
From combed wooll we draw this slender threed,
From thense the loomes haue dealing with the same,
And thense againe in order doo proceed,
These seuerall works which skilfull art dooth frame:
And all to driue dame need into hir caue,
Our heads and hands togither labourd haue.
We bought before the things that now we sell,
These slender impes, their works doo passe the waues,
Gods peace and thine, we hold and prosper well,
Of euerie mouth the hands the charges saues.
Thus through thy helpe and aid of power diuine,
Dooth Norwich liue, whose hearts and goods are thine.

1. Pointing to the spinners.
2. Pointing to the loomes.
3. Pointing to the workes.

This shew pleased hir maiestie so greatlie, as she particularlie viewed the knitting and spinning of the children, perused the loomes, and noted the seuerall works and commodities which were made by these means: and then after great thanks by hir giuen to the people, marched towards the market place, where was the second pageant thwarting the stréet at the entrance of the market, betwéene master Skinner and master Quash, being in bredth two and fiftie foot of assise, and was diuided into three gates, in the midst a maine gate, and on either side a posterne: the maine gate in breadth fourtéene foot, each posterne eight foot, their heights equall to their proportion: ouer each posterne was as it were a chamber, which chambers were replenished with musike. Ouer all the gates passed a stage of eight foot brode, in maner of a pageant, curious, rich and delitefull. The whole worke, from the pageant downewards, séemed to be iasper and marble. In the forefront towards hir maiestie was the armes of England on the one side the gate, and on the other side the *falcon with crowne and scepter. The other side was beautified with the arms of England on the one side of the gate, and the crest of England on the other. The pageant was furnisht with fiue personages apparelled like women. The first was the citie of Norwich; the second Debora; the third Iudith; the fourth Hester; the fift Martia, sometime quéene of England. At the first sight of the prince, and till hir maiesties comming to their pageant, the musicians vsed their lowd musike, and then ceassed: wherewith hir highnesse staied, to whome the personage representing the citie of Norwich, did speake in these words.

The second pageant with the situation of the same, and what representations it bare.

*Which is hir owne badge.

These musicians were inclosed in the chambers of the said pageant.

Whom

Whom fame resounds with thundring trump, that rends the ratling skies,
And perseth to the hautie heauens, and thense descending flies
Through flickering aire: and so conioines the sea and shore togither,
In admiration of thy grace, good queene thart welcome hither:
More welcome than Terpsicore was to the towne of Troie,
Sea-faring men by Gemini conceiue not halfe my ioie.
Strong Hercules to Theseus was neuer such delight,
Nor Nisus to Eurialus as I haue in this sight.
Penelope did neuer thirst Vlysses more to see,
Than I poore Norwich hungred haue to gaine the sight of thee.
And now that these my happie eies behold thy heauenlie face,
The Lord of lords I humblie praie, to blisse thy noble grace
With Nestors life, with Sibils helth, with Eresus stocke and store,
With all good gifts of Salomon, and twise as manie more.
What shuld I saie? Thou art my ioy next God, I haue none other,
My princesse and my peerlesse queene, my louing nursse and mother.
My goods and lands, my hands and hart, my lims and life are thine,
What is mine owne in right or thought, to thee I doo resigne.
Grant then (oh gratious souereigne queene) this onlie my request,
That that which shall be doone in me, be construed to the best.
And take in part my slender shewes, wherein my whole pretense
Is for to please your maiestie, and end without offense.
So shall I clap my hands for ioy, and hold myselfe as rich
As if I had the gold of Inde, and double twise as mich.

The citie of Norwich speaketh to the quéenes maiestie.

How Norwich is affected to the quéenes highnesse.

Where princes sitting in their thrones set God before their sight
And liue according to his law, and guide their people right,
Where doth his blessed gifts abound, there kingdoms firmlie stand
There force of foes cannot preuaile, nor furie fret the land.
My selfe (oh peerlesse prince) doo speake by proofe of matter past,
Which proofe by practise I performd, and foild his foes at last.
For Iabin king of Canaan, poore Israell did spite,
And meant by force of furious rage to ouerrun vs quite.
Nine hundred iron chariots, he brought into the field,
With cruell capteine Sisera by force to make vs yeeld.
His force was great, his fraud was more, he fought, we did defend,
And twentie winters long did last this warre without an end.
But he that neither sleepes nor slackes such furies to correct
Appointed me Debora for the iudge of his elect:
And did deliuer Sisera into a womans hand,
I slue them all, and so in rest his people held the land.
So mightie prince, that puissant Lord, hath plast thee here to be,
The rule of this triumphant realme, alone belongs to thee.
Continue as thou hast begun, weed out the wicked rout,
Vphold the simple, mecke and good, pull downe the proud and stout.
Thus shalt thou liue and reigne in rest, and mightie God shalt please,
Thy state be sure, thy subiects safe, thy commonwealth at ease.
Thy God shall grant thee length of life, to glorifie his name,
Thy deeds shall be recorded in the booke of lasting fame.

Then spake Debora the second person.

The application of the former examples.

Oh floure of grace, oh prime of Gods elect,
Oh mightie queene and finger of the Lord,
Did God sometime by me poore wight correct
The champion stout, that him and his abhord?

Then spake Iudith the third person.

Then

Then be thou sure thou art his mightie hand,
To conquer those which him and thee withstand.
The rage of foes Bethulia did oppresse,
The people faint were readie for to yeeld:
God aided me poore widow nerthelesse,
To enter into Holofernes field,
And with this sword by his directing hand,
To slaie his fo, and quiet so the land.

The application of the former examples.

If this his grace were giuen to me poore wight,
If widowes hand could vanquish such a fo:
Then to a prince of thy surpassing might,
What tyrant liues but thou maist ouerthro:
Perseuere then his seruant as thou art,
And hold for aie a noble victors part.

Then Hester spake the fourth person.

The fretting heads of furious foes haue skill,
As well by fraud as force to find their preie.
In smiling lookes dooth lurke a lot as ill,
As where both sterne and sturdie streams doo swaie,
Thy selfe oh queene, a proofe hast seene of this,
So well as I poore Hester haue I wis.
As Iabins force did Israell perplex,
And Holofernes fierce Bethulia besiege,
So Hamans slights sought me and mine to vex,
Yet shewd a face of subiect to his liege.
But force no fraud, nor tyrant strong can trap,
Those whom the Lord in his defense dooth wrap.

The application of the former examples.

The proofes I spake by vs haue erst bin seene,
The proofes I speake, to thee are not vnknowne.
Thy God thou knowst most dread and soueraigne queene,
A world of foes of thine hath ouerthrowne,
And hither now triumphantlie dooth call
Thy noble grace, the comfort of vs all.
Doost thou not see the ioie of all this flocke?
Vouchsafe to view their passing gladsome cheare,
Be still (good queene) their refuge and their rocke,
As they are thine to serue in loue and feare:
So fraud, nor force, nor foreine fo may stand
Against the strength of thy most puissant hand.

Then spake Martia the fift person.

With long discourse (oh puissant prince) some tract of time we spend,
Vouchsafe yet now a little more, and then we make an end.
The thundring blast of fame, whereof dame Norwich first did speake,
Not onelie shooke the aire and skies, but all the earth did breake,
It rent vp graues, and bodies raisd, ech spirit tooke his place,
And this a lonelie word was heard: Here comes the pearle of grace,
Here coms the iewell of the world, hir peoples whole delight,
The paragon of present time, and prince of earthlie might.
The voice was strange, the wonder more: for when we viewd the earth
Ech prince that earst had reigned here, receiud againe his breath,
And with his breath, a libertie to hold againe his place,
If anie one amongst vs all exceed your noble grace.
Some comfort euerie one conceiud to catch againe his owne,
His vtmost skill was trimlie vsed, to haue his vertues knowne.
The plaies surpasse my skill to tell. But when ech one had said,

Apollo did himselfe appeare and made vs all dismaid.
Will you contend with hir (quoth he) within whose sacred brest
Dame Pallas and my selfe haue framd our souereigne seat of rest?
Whose skill directs the muses nine, whose grace dooth Venus staine;
Hir eloquence like Mercurie: like Iuno in hir traine?
Whose God is that eternall Ioue which holds vs all in awe?
Beleeue me, you exceed the bounds of equitie and lawe.
Therewith they shronke themselues aside, not one I could espie,
They coucht them in their caues againe and that full quietlie.
Yet I that Martia hight, which sometime ruld this land,
As queene for thirtie three yeares space, gat licence at his hand,
And so Gurguntius did, my husbands father deere,
Which built this towne and castell both, to make our homage here,
Which homage mightie queene accept: the realme and right is thine,
The crowne, the scepter, and the sword to thee we do resigne,
And wish to God, that thou maist reigne twise Nestors yeares in peace,
Triumphing ouer all thy foes, to all our ioies increase, Amen.

Herewith she passed vnder the gate, with such thanks as plainelie expressed hir noble nature: and the musicians within the gate vpon their soft instruments vsed broken musike, and one sang this dittie.

A dittie soong to soft musicke at the quéenes entrance vnder the gate.

From slumber soft as I fell fast asleepe,
From sleepe to dreame, from dreame to deepe delight,
Ech gem the Gods had giuen the world to keepe
In princelie wise came present to my sight:
Such solace then did sinke into my mind,
As mortall man on mould could neuer find.
The Gods did striue, and yet their strifes were sweet,
Ech one would haue a vertue of hir owne
Dame Iuno thought the highest place most meet
For hir, bicause of riches was hir throne.
Dame Venus thought by reason of hir loue
That she might claime the highest place aboue.
The virgins state Diana still did praise,
And Ceres praisd the fruit of fertile soile:
And prudence did Dame Pallas chieflie raise,
Minerua all for eloquence did striue,
They smild to see their quarelling estate,
And Ioue himselfe decided their debate.
My sweets (quoth he) leaue off your sugred strife,
In equall place I haue assigned you all:
A souereigne wight there is that beareth life,
In whose sweete hart I haue inclosed you all,
Of England soile she is the souereigne queene,
Your vigors there doo florish fresh and greene.
They skipt for ioy, and gaue their franke consent,
The noise resounded to the haughtie skie:
With one lowd voice they cried all, content,
They clapt their hands, and therewith waked I.
The world and they concluded with a breath,
And wisht long reigne to queene Elisabeth.

The place of the quéenes abode during the time of hir tariance in Norwich.

Herewith she passed through the market place, which was goodlie garnished, and thense through the other stréets which were trimlie decked, directlie to the cathedrall,

drall church, where Te Deum was soong, and after seruice she went to the bishops palace, where hir maiestie kept the time she continued in Norwich. All this was on saturdaie the sixtéenth of August 1578. On the next daie after, which was sundaie, when princes commonlie come not abroad (and time is occupied with sermons and laudible exercises) T. C. was to watch a conuenient season, where and how might be vttered the things that were prepared for pastime. And so vpon mondaie before supper, he made a deuise, as though Mercurie had beene sent from the gods, to request the quéene to come abroad, and behold what was deuised for hir welcome, the whole matter whereof dooth follow.

The manner of Mercuries coch and message to the quéene, requesting hir highnesse to come abroad, and sée what pastime the gods had prouided for so noble a prince.

The coch that Mercurie came in vnto the quéene, was closelie kept in secret a long season, and when the time came it must passe towards the court, it had a trumpetter with it, and the cochman was made to driue so fast, as the horsses should seeme to flie, which was so well obserued, as the people woondered at the swiftnesse, therof, and followed it in such flocks and multitudes, that scarse in a great greene (where the preaching place is) might be found roome for anie more people. And when the coch approched in the hearing of a trumpet, the trumpetter sounded, and so came into the greene sounding, vntill the coch was full placed before a window at the which the quéene stood, and might be plainelie séene and openlie viewed. When Mercurie had espied hir highnesse, he skipped out of the coch, and being on the ground, gaue a iumpe or two, and aduanced himselfe in such a sort, that the quéene smiled at the boldnesse of the boie. Thus Mercurie beholding the quéene with great courage and audacitie, at the length bowed downe his head, and immediatlie stood bolt vpright, and shaked his rod, and so began his spéech with a most assured countenance, and brauelie pronounced it in déed, to his great liking and commendation.

Muse not good queene at me that message brings
From Ioue or iust Iehoua Lord of might,
No earthlie god, yet gouerns mortall things,
And sprites diuine, and shunning angels bright.
This lord of late to shew his mightie power,
Hath wonders wrought when world lookt least therefore:
For at his becke, this daie and present hower,
The heauens shakt, the thunderbolts did rore.
The earth did moue, the dead therein did rise,
And out of graue the ghosts of men are gone,
The wandring sprites that houered in the skies
Drop downe from aire, for world to wonder on.
The saints themselues that sat in glorie great,
Were sent in hast to worke Iehouas will,
And I that oft my restlesse wings doo beat,
Was cald to vse my wings and office still.
A common post is Mercurie you know,
When he commands that made the world of nough,
And flies as fast as arrow out of bow,
When message may expresse Iehouas thought.
Whose power diuine full long yer this hath seene,
That in this place should lodge a sacred queene.
And weigheng well, the prince whereof I speake,
Might wearie war of common pastimes heere,
(For that he knowes hir iudgement is not weake)
Deuisd aboue, below there should appeere
(To welcome hir) some sights that rare should seeme,
And carelesse stood, what world thereof did deeme;

He reuealeth what he is by office.

So that good queene, you take them well in worth.
No sooner had Iehoua meant these things,
But clouds clapt hands, and soules of men came foorth
Of heauen gates, yea goodlie crowned kings
Were flowen abroad from blessed Abrams brest:
Some in the aire, and tops of trees did rest,
Some fell on towres and statelie houses high,
Some sunke in seas, whose names were drowned now,
And some did light on land where euerie eie
May them behold, and note there manners throw.
And therewithall the blacke infernall spreets
Ran out of hell, the earth so trembling than,
And like yoong lads they hopt about the streets,
The satyres wild, in forme and shape of man,
Crept through the woods, and thickets full of breers,
The water nymphs, and feiries streight appeers
In vncouth formes and fashion strange to view:
The hags of hell that hatefull are of kind,
To please the time had learnd a nature new,
And all those things that man can call to mind,
Were glad to come and doo their dutie throw.
I seeing this, cald for my coch in hast,
Abide sir boie, then said Iehoua now,
Thou goest not yet vntill a prince be plast,
Where I appoint, thou hast nothing to saie.
Then still I stood, to know what should be done.
With that a swarme of people euerie waie
Like little ants about the fields gan run,
Some to prouide for pompe and triumph great,
Some for good fare, yea houshold cates and meat,
And some they ran to seeke where poets dwell,
To pen foorth shews and paint out trifles well.
Some haild and puld to bring the carrege in,
Some ran to gaze on triumph neere at hand,
And some stood mute, as they amazd had bin
To see a court and princelie noble band
Come marching on, and make heere their abode.
But when I saw the carrege heere vnlode,
And well had weid the wonders I haue told,
O mightie God (quoth I) now giue me leaue
To go from thee some message to vnfold,
That by my speech the hearers may conceiue,
Thy godhead great hath brought this princesse here.
It shall be so (quoth he) dispatch and part,
And tell hir that she is to me so deere,
That I appoint by mans deuise and art,
That euerie daie she shall see sundrie shoes,
If that she please to walke and take the aire,
And that so soone as out of doore she goes
(If time doo serue and weather waxeth faire)
Some od deuise shall meet hir highnesse streight,
To make hir smile, and ease hir burthened brest,

Rare sights if anie such were as Mercurie maketh.

Mercurie is attentiue to his charge.

The charge giuen by Iupiter to Mercurie for the recreation of the queene.

And take away the cares and things of weight.
That princes feele, that findeth greatest rest.
When I had thus receiued my charge at full,
My golden rod in liuelie hand I tooke,
And bad in hast my flieng horses pull.
But yer I past, I gan about me looke,
To see that coch, and ech thing gallant were:
So downe I came all winged as you see.
And sith I haue espied that princesse there,
That greatest kings doo sue to by degree,
And manie mo that sues no whit, doo feare
I kisse hir steps and shew my maisters will,
And leaue with hir such graces from aboue,
As alwaies shall command hir peoples loue,
(Vphold hir reigne, mainteine hir regall state,
Find out false harts, and make of subiects true,
Plant perfect peace, and root vp all debate)
So with this grace good queene now heere adue,
For I may now on earth no longer staie,
Thus seruants must to maisters will obaie.

The quéenes rare estate described.

Mercurie hauing thus spoken to the quéene, whose gratious inclination is such, as will not haue anie thing dutifullie offered to passe vnregarded, was well heard, hir highnes standing at a window, and the spéech verie well taken and vnderstood. Mercurie as he came passed awaie, at whose coch the people that had seldome séene such a deuise maruelled, and gazed verie much; for it had horsses to draw it finelie painted and winged, to as great shew and order of that it presented, as wit might imagine: the cochman sutable to the same, and a trumpetter in right good garments, as decent for that purpose as could be deuised. But the coch was made and framed on such a fashion as few men haue séene: the whole whereof was couered with birds and naked spirits, hanging by the heeles in the aire and clouds, cunninglie painted out, as though by some thunder craeke they had béene shaken and tormented: yet staied by power diuine in their places, to make the more woonder and miraculous shew. And on the middle of that coch stood a high compassed tower bedecked with golden and gaie iewels, in the top wherof was placed a faire plume of white feathers, all to bespanged and trimmed to the most brauerie: Mercurie himselfe in blew satin lined with cloth of gold, his garments cut and flashed on the finest maner, a peaked hat of the same colour, as though it should cut and seuer the wind asunder; and on the same a paire of wings, and wings on his héeles likewise. And on his golden rod were little wings also, about the which rod were two wrigling or scralling serpents, which séemed to haue life when the rod was mooued or shaken. So in this sort and forme was Mercurie and his coch set foorth, and indéed at such a season as a great sort looked not for anie shew, nor things were readie, as some thought, to performe that was necessarie and expected: yet hap was so good, and the gratious fauour of the prince, that all was well taken, and construed to the best meaning of the deuisor. So ended that daies deuise, which offered occasion to further matter.

The description of Mercuries coch.

The description of Mercurie his attire, abiliments, &c.

On tuesdaie following (for before that daie by meanes of the weather the quéene went not abrode) a verie pretie and pleasant shew was performed before hir highnes without saint Benets gates, as she went towards Cossie parke to hunt. At which season, although the deuisor was not well prouided of things necessarie for a shew (by meane of some crossing causes in the citie) yet hearing the quéene rode abrode, determined as he might (and yet by helpe of freends and hap) verie well to venture the

The deuisor ventureth the hazard of a shew.

the hazard of a shew, and to be full in the waie where hir highnesse shuld passe towards hir dinner. In which determination manie doubts were to be cast, and manie persuaded him to tarrie a better time. But considering how time rolled on, and daies and houres did wast (without dooing anie thing promised and not performed) he hastilie prepared his boies and men with all their furnitures, and so set forward with two coches handsomlie trimmed. The common people beholding the maner thereof, and greedie to gaze on that should be doone, followed as their fancies did lead them: so that when the deuisor and his retinue came into the open field, there was as great a traine and prease about the shew, as came with the court at that instant, which graced much the matter, and gaue it some expected hope of good successe.

The whole manner of the deuise of shew.

First, there was a fained deuise, that Venus and Cupid were thrust out of heauen, and walking on the earth, met a philosopher, who demanded from whense they came. They told the philosopher what they were, and he replied, and began with truth and tants to tickle them so neere, that Venus fell in a great anger, and Cupid ran awaie, and left his mother and the philosopher disputing togither. But Cupid bicause he would be nourished somewhere, ran to the court, and there sought for succor, and incountring the queene began to complaine his state and his mothers, and told how the philosopher had handled them both. But finding neither answer nor aid, he returned againe, but not to his mother, for she was fallen mad vpon a conceipt that she was not made of. And Cupid wandering in the world, met with dame Chastitie and her maids, called Modestie, Temperance, Good exercise, and Shamefastnes: and she with hir foure maids incountring Cupid in a goodlie coch, and without anie honest gard waiting on him, set vpon him, threw him out of his golden seat, trod on his pompe, spoiled him of his counterfeit godhead and cloke, and tooke awaie his bow and quiuer of arrows, the one headed with lead, and the other with gold, and so sent him like a fugitiue awaie, and mounted vp into the coch hir selfe and hir maids, and so came to the queene, and rehersed what had hapned. Although this was done in hir view, and bicause (said Chastitie) that the queene had chosen the best life, she gaue the queene Cupids bow, to learne to shoot at whom she pleased, sith none could wound hir highnesse heart, it was meet (said Chastitie) that she should doo with Cupids bow and arrows what she pleased; and so did Chastitie depart as she said to the powers diuine. Cupid in the meane while wandering in the world had found out Wantonnesse and Riot, who soone fell into beggerie and ruine (a spectacle to be looked into) and felt such dailie miserie with Wantonnesse and Riot, that Cupid was forced to fling awaie once againe, and hazard himselfe to fall into the hands of naughtie people, or where fortune assigned: and comming abrode, happened vpon the philosopher, who talked with him againe, told him his errors, and other points of pride and presumption; declaring it was a great blasphemie and abuse, to report and beleeue that in heauen were anie other gods but one, who had the onelie rule of all, and that made all of naught. In which reasoning and discourse Cupid waxed warme, and yet in his greatest heat knew not how nor where to coole himselfe, at which time came Wantonnesse and Riot, and persuaded Cupid to plaie no longer the foole in striuing with philosophers, and go awaie with them. So Cupid departed, and went awaie with Wantonnesse and Riot, and the philosopher remained, and declared that all abuses and follies shuld come to no better end than presentlie was expressed by the miserie of Wantonnesse, Riot, and Cupid. Then Modestie and hir fellows, leauing their mistresse dame Chastitie with the powers diuine, came soft and faire in their mistresse coch, singing a song of chaste life, as heere vnder followeth.

Dame Chastitie and hir maids incounter with Cupid.

What associats Cupid found out to keepe him companie.

Chastitie and hir maids matched togither, &c.

Chast

Chast life liues long and lookes
on world and wicked waies,
Chast life for losse of pleasures short,
dooth win immortall praise.
Chast life hath merrie moods,
and soundlie taketh rest,
Chast life is pure as babe new borne,
that hugs in mothers brest.
Lewd life cuts off his daies,
and soone runs out his date,
Confounds good wits, breeds naughtie bloud,
and weakens mans estate.
Lewd life the Lord doth loth,
the law and land mislikes,
The wise will shun, fond fooles doo seeke,
and God sore plages and strikes.
Chast life may dwell alone,
and find few fellowes now,
And sit in regall throne,
and search lewd manners throw.
Chast life feares no mishap,
the whole account is made,
When soule from worldlie cares is crept,
and sits in sacred shade.
Lewd life is laught to scorne,
and put to great disgrace,
In hollow caues it hides the head,
and walks with muffled face,
Found out and pointed at,
a monster of the mind,
A cankred worme that conscience eates,
and strikes cleere senses blind.
Chast life a pretious pearle,
dooth shine as bright as sun,
The faire houre glasse of daies and yeeres,
that neuer out will run.
The beautie of the soule,
the bodies blisse and ease,
A thing that least is lookt vnto
yet most the mind shall please.

And when the song was ended, modestie sent (as she said she was) from hir maitresse, spake to the quéene a good season, and so the matter ended. For this shew the deuiser had gratious words of the quéene openlie and often pronounced by hir highnesse. On the same daie the minister of the Dutch church, pronouncing to hir maiestie at hir being abrode the oration following, presented the cup therein mentioned, which was estéemed to be worth fiftie pounds, verie curiouslie and artificiallie wrought.

ORATIO AD SERENISSIMAM ANGLIÆ REGINAM

HABITA 19. AUGUSTI 1578 A MINISTRO ECCLESIÆ BELGOGERMANICÆ NORDOVICI IN LOCO PUBLICO.

Quinam oratores antiqua ætate preclarissima laudatissimi extiterunt.

MAGNÂ oratoribus qui percelebratorum ætate vixerunt fuit laus, serenissima regina, quòd iudicum animos partim suauiloquentia, partim posita rei personæque ante ipsorum oculos calamitate, in quemcunque vellent animi habitum transformarent. Prius membrum non vulgarem nobis ob oculos ponit hominum facilitatem, quòd adeò sequaces dictóque audientes fuerint, vt se linguis duci paterentur. Posterius magnam vbique apud gentes, quarum respublica optabili ordine fuit constituta, obtinuit gratiam: longè autem maiorem apud eos, qui Christo nomen dederunt: omnium verò maximam apud te (ô serenissima regina) ecclesiæ Christi nutrix, cuius animum verbo Dei obsequentem instruxit, non fucatus hic sermo, sed Christi spiritus, pietatísque zelus. Ipsissima piorum calamitas afflictorùmque lachrymæ, lachrymæ inquam Christi fidelium te commouerunt, miseria dispersáque Christi membra quibusuis iniurijs obiecta, mille iam mortibus territa, in tutelam salutémque animi iuxta ac corporis recipere ac protegere. Ob hæc singularia tua in nos pietatis beneficia, & quòd sub tutore optimo magistratu in hac tua Nordouicensi vrbe (quam maiestas tua nobis ob Christi religionem exulantibus domicilij loco clementer concessit) viuimus, adde quòd populi in nos animum fauorabilem experimur, imprimis Deo patri, & Domino vnico seruatori nostro Iesu Christo, deinde & tibi serenissima regina immortales non quas debemus, sed quas possimus agimus gratias. Porrò humile quidem & vnicum tamen nostrum est votum, animi nostri gratitudinem maiestati tuæ ostendere. Ecce igitur nullum munus, sed animum nostrum: nullum regium splendorem, sed pietatis posteritatísque monumentum serenissimæ tuæ maiestati consecratum. Hoc autem eo gratius maiestati tuæ fore confidimus, quòd ex inculpati pijssimíque Iosephi historia, Dei erga maiestatem tuam bonitas, ad viuum sit delineata, quem nulla astutia, nullum robur, nulla denique regnandi libido; sed fides constans, christiani pectoris pietas, cœlestísque virtus, singulari Dei fauore ex sanguinaria fratrum conspiratione, mortísque metu, ad summam dignitatem, regníque decus euexerunt. In huius fratres non aliena videtur prouerbialis illa apud Hebræos sententia, Inuidia malarum rerum appetitus, & studium vanæ gloriæ hominibus sæpissmè occasio sunt sui interitus. Tamen quòd Iosephi animum attinet, ea fuit præditus & temperantia & fortitudine, vt nimis iniquus simul & prauus censeri posset, qui eum vel minimo vindicandi affectu accusare vélit; adeò Dei prouidentiæ & se & omne vitæ suæ studium, vitæ inquam in alieno regno periclitantis, commisit, vt non aliunde quàm à solo Dei nutu pendére visus sit. Sed quorsum ista? In te ne hæc ipsa aliáque consimilia (ô serenissima regina) & regni tui ratione omnium oculis conspicua sunt? Hæc inquam esse ecclesiæ Christi fœlicissimum gaudium, spirituale diadema, & summum decus, huius verò regni verè regium splendorem, atque perennem gloriam, quis nisi mente captus inficias ire potest? Pijssimè tu quidem singulari Dei bonitate animum Iosephi tum in regni tui conseruatione, tum in regno Christi amplificando imitata es (ô nutrix ecclesiæ Dei fidelissima) solius enim Dei est hunc per res (prout hominum oculis sunt subiectæ) secundas disperdere, illum autem per quæuis tentationum genera rerúmque discrimina extollere. Quos vt vasa suæ misericordiæ agnoscit, ita etiam & bonitate & spiritus sui tum consolatione, tum fortitudine ad æternæ vitæ fœlicitatem prosequitur. Quod nostrum votum ratum

Beneficiorum à regia maiestate collatorum agnitio cum obsequio &c.

Monumentum antiquum regiæ maiestati exhibitum.

Iosephus insigniter laudatus, æque immeritò.

Regia maiestas in omnibus Iosepho equiparata.

esse,

esse, maiestatem tuam regníque ordinem spirituali prudentia ac sapientia stabilire, eámque in longam ætatem seruare, tuæ item maiestatis subditos vera sui cognitione magis ac magis imbuere, dignetur bonus ille & clemens Deus, per merita filij sui Domini nostri Iesu Christi, Amen.

Regiæ maiestati post orationem oblatum est monumentum aliquod, in cuius superficie artificiosè sculpta erat historia Iosephi: ex lib. Genesios.

In circumferentia verò hoc carmen.

Innocuum pietas ad regia sceptra Iosephum,
Ex manibus fratrum, carnificísque, rapit:
Carcere & insidijs sic te regina tuorum
Ereptam duxit culmina ad ista Deus.

Inscriptio erat in ipsius capacitate scripta in orbem, hoc modo.

Serenissimæ Angliæ reginæ Elisabethæ, ecclesiæ Belgicæ Nordouici ob religionem exulantes, hoc monumentum & pietatis & posteritatis ergô consecrabant, Anno salutis humanæ, 1578.

In interiore ipsius parte erat insigne serpentis in gyrum conuoluti, cui media insidebat columba, cum hoc Christi elogio: Prudens vt serpens, simplex vt columba.

THE MINISTER OF THE DUTCH CHURCH

HIS ORATION IN ENGLISH.

What orators were best commended in former times of best renowme.

THE oratours (most gratious queene) which liued in the age of them that woone greatest renowme, were highlie commended for that they could transforme the iudges minds, partlie by eloquence, and partlie by setting downe before their eies the calamitie of the thing and person they spake of, into what disposition them listed. The first part declareth vnto vs no common felicitie of men, in that they were so willing in following, and attentiue in hearing, as they would suffer themselues to be led by eloquence. The last obteined great fauour amongst all nations, whose common weale was gouerned in good order, and farre greater amongst the christians: but greatest of all with thee (ô most excellent queene) the nursse of Christ his church, whose mind obedient to Gods word, the spirit of Christ, and zeale of godlinesse, and not this prophane kind of speech hath instructed. The verie calamitie of godlie men and teares of the afflicted, the teares I saie of faithfull christians haue thoroughlie mooued thee to defend and protect the miserable and dispersed members of Christ obiect to euerie kind of iniurie, before beaten in peeces by a thousand deaths, with the safetie and preseruation as well of mind as bodie. For these thy singular benefits of godlinesse towards vs, and that we liue vnder so good a tutor, being magistrate in this thy citie of Norwich, which thy maiestie hath of clemencie granted vnto vs for a mansion place, which were banished for Christ his religion; and moreouer that we find the minds of the people fauourable towards vs, first wee giue immortall thanks, not such as wee ought, but such as we are able vnto God the father, and the Lord our onelie sauiour Iesus Christ; and then vnto thee most mercifull queene. Moreouer, it is our humble and yet our onelie petition, to shew vnto your maiestie the thankefulnesse of our mind. Behold therefore dedicated to your most excellent maiestie

An acknowledgement of benefits by hir maiestie with dutifulnes for the same.

iestie, not anie gift but our mind, no princelie iewell but a monument of godlinesse and posteritie. The which we hope will be so much the more acceptable to your maiestie; for bicause the goodnes of God towards your maiestie is liuelie drawne out of the historie of the innocent and most godlie Ioseph, whom neither policie, strength nor desire of bearing rule, but constant faith, godlinesse of a christian heat, and heauenlie vertue by Gods singular mercie deliuered from the bloudie conspiracie of his brethren and feare of death, and brought vnto high dignitie and roiall kingdome. To whose brethren that prouerbiall sentence of the Hebrewes is verie fitlie alluded: Enuie being the desire of euill things, and couetousnesse of transitorie renowme, is oftentimes the occasion of mans destruction. But touching the mind of Ioseph, the same was indued with such temperance and fortitude, that he might be thought no lesse vniust than wicked that would accuse him so much as with the least affection of reuengement: so wholie did he commit himselfe and all the gouernement of his life, his life I say put in hazard in a strange kingdome vnto the prouidence of God, that he seemed to hang of no other thing than the onelie will of God. But to what end speake I this? Are not these selfe same things, and others their like (ô most excellent queene) by the eies of all men clearlie beheld in thee and the order of thy kingdome? What man (I saie) hauing his wits, can denie these things to be the most happie ioy, spirituall crowne, & chiefest ornament of Christes church, and trulie of this kingdome the princelie beautie and perpetuall renowne? Thou surelie doost folow most holilie the mind of Ioseph, by the singular goodnesse of God, as well in preseruing thy kingdome, as in amplifieng the kingdome of Christ (ô thou most faithfull nursse of the church of God.) For it is in God onelie to destroie this man by prosperitie (as the world seeth) and aduance another by al kinds of aduersities, tentations, and dangers. Whom as he acknowledgeth the vessels of his mercie, so by his goodnesse togither with the consolation and strength of his spirit, he dooth bring them to the happinesse of eternall life. Which our petition that good and mercifull God grant may be ratified, in establishing your maiestie and gouernance of your kingdome with spirituall wisedome and vnderstanding, in preseruing the same full manie years, and induing your maiesties subiects more and more with true knowledge of him, for his sonnes sake our Lord Iesus Christ, Amen.

A monument of antiquitie presented to hir maiestie.

Ioseph singularlie commended and not without cause.

The quéenes maiestie compared to Ioseph, &c.

The oration ended there was a certeine monument presented to hir maiestie, in the vpper part whereof was artificiallie grauen the historie of Ioseph out of Genesis. In the inner part of the same there was the figure of a serpent, interfolding it selfe: in the middest whereof did sit a doue with this sentence of Christ, Matth. 10, 16. Wise as the serpent, and meeke as the doue. In the circumference or compasse thereof was these verses to be read.

To roiall scepter, godlinesse,
Ioseph the innocent,
Dooth take from brothers bloudie hands,
and murtherers intent.
So thee, O queene, the Lord hath led
from prison and deceit
Of thine, vnto these highest tops
of your princelie estate.

On wednesdaie hir highnesse dined at my lord of Surreis, where were the French ambassadors also, at a most rare and delicate dinner and banket. At which season the deuiser did watch with his shew (called Manhood and Desert) at my lord of Surreis backe dore, going to the quéenes barge: but the roome was so fittle, that neither the shot, the armed men, nor the plaiers could haue place conuenient. Whereupon he and his assistants tooke boats, and conueied their people downe the water,

The quéenes maiestie is banketted at the earle of Surreis.

towards a landing place that they hoped the queene would come vnto. And there hauing althings in readinesse, they hoouered on the water three long houres, by which meanes the night came on, and so they were faine to withdraw themselues and go homeward, trusting for a better time and occasion, which in déed was offered the next daie after by the quéenes maiesties owne good motion, who told the deuiser she would sée what pastimes were prepared, as hereafter you shall perceiue by the discourse of these matters, and by this shew of Manhood, and the shew of the Nymphes. Neuerthelesse, as hir maiestie returned homeward; within Bishops gate at the hospitall doore, master Stephan Limbert, master of the grammar schoole in Norwich stood readie to render hir an oration. Hir maiestie drew neare vnto him, and thinking him fearefull, said gratiouslie vnto him: Be not afraid. He answered hir againe in English: I thanke your maiestie for your good incouragement: and then with good courage entered into this oration following.

O singular affabilitie of a prince to put awaie a subiects bashfulnesse.

AD ILLUSTRISSIMAM PRINCIPEM ELISABETHAM,

ANGLIÆ, FRANCIÆ, & HIBERNIÆ REGINAM &c: ANTE FORES πλωχοδοχείω NORDQUICENSIS, ORATIO STEPHANI LIMBERTI LUDIMAGISTRI PUBLICI.

Egregiæ necnon impares Anglie dotes.

AEGYPTUM fama est inundante Nilo (serenissima regina) & aureo Pactoli flumine quotannis Lidiam irrigari, quæ res in ijs agris maxima fecunditatis causa putatur. In nos autem atque adeo vniuersam Angliam, quæ latè patet, non è Tmolo aut alijs nescio quibus montibus, sed ex illo perenni & vberrimo fonte bonitatis tuæ, multi maximíque pietatis, iusticiæ, mansuetudinis, aliorúmque innumerabilium bonorum, præ quibus iam viluit aurum & obsoleuit, copiosissimi riui profluxerunt. Atque vt ex infinitis vel vnum leuiter attingam, propterea quòd de pluribus dicere nec est huius loci & temporis nec facultatis meæ. Insignem illam misericordiam celsitudinis tuæ, nobilissima regina, & ad leuandum pauperrimorum hominum inopiam incredibilem propensionem, qua de plurimis virtutibus nulla Deo gratior (πρὸς γὰρ διός εἰσιν ἅπαντες πλώχοι. vt canit Homerus) in summa principe nulla mortalibus admirabilior esse potest, quibus tandem laudibus efferemus? Quàm honorificis verbis prosequemur? πλωχοδοχεῖον, hoc est, hospitium pauperum celeberrimum est apud omnes posteros regiæ virtutis atque beneficentiæ monumentum futurum, institutum quidem ab illustrissimo Henrico patre celsitudinis tuæ, à nobilissimo Edouardo fratre maximis tabulis consignatum, a tua verò maiestate, quod non minorem laudem meretur, Crinlefordiensibus fundis & possessionibus egregiè nuper auctum atque amplificatum, vt non tam alienis iam ornamentis, quàm proprijs virtutibus meritò lætari possis. Recordata quippe es pro tua singulari prudentia atque eruditione, diuinam illam sapientissimi Platonis legem, quam vndecimo de legibus libro scriptam reliquit, πλώχῳ μηδεὶς ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει γιγνέσθω. Tantam igitur benignitatem, tam eximiam & incredibilem misericordiam tuam (illustrissima princeps) quibus complectemur studijs? Quibus officijs, aut qua voce grati animi voluntatem testificabimur? Cùm enim omnes referendæ gratiæ studio & labore, vel accuratissimas rationes exquisiuerimus, ne vnius quidem huius beneficij, quo nos augustissimæ maiestati tuæ obstrictos esse & deuinctos agnoscimus, magnitudinem assequi poterimus. Superabimur vel ab hoc vno & singulari merito, nedum sperandum est, vt

Henricus & Edouardus reges, necnon Elisabetha regina precipui benefactores agnoscuntur.

immenso

immenso reliquorum meritorum pelago, quod tum in omnes tibi subditos publicè & generatim, tum in hanc ciuitatem propriè ac particulatim exundauit, pares esse queamus. Verè nos iam ὄλβιον incolimus, & in beatis illis insulis de quibus meminit Hesiodus παρ' ὠκεάνον βαθυδίνην ætatem agimus, qui non modò frugibus, lana, pecore, alijsque, subsidijs humanæ vitæ sed multo magis veræ religionis verbíque diuini, in quibus animi solùm acquiescunt. pretiosissimis opibus abundamus. Sunt qui Britanniam alterum orbem appellârunt, quod hac ætate nostra dici rectissimè posse arbitror. Cùm enim omnes vndíque terræ grauissimis bellis affligantur, & discordiarum iactentur fluctibus, soli nos, celsitudine tua clauum moderante, in pacatissimo portu nauigamus, & ab orbe malorum disiuncti, in cœlum quodammodo fœlicitatis sublati videmur. Quod est ergô officij nostri, primùm Deo Opt. Max. gratias agimus, cuius vnius bonitati omnem hanc, quantacúnque est, beatitudinem acceptam referimus, precamúr que vt eam nobis propriam & perpetuam esse velit: deinde celsitudini tuæ, serenissima regina, cuius opera, cura, solicitudine, & partam hanc nobis fœlicitatem, & tot annos conseruatam agnoscimus. Lætamur hoc aspectu tuo, & gratulamur incredibili studio, quòd tum ex meo ipsius sensu loquor, tum omnes qui iam vndique confluxerunt Nordouicenses tui à me dici postulant. Atque vtinam in hæc pectora posses oculos inserere, & ocultos animorum nostrorum sinus perlustrare, videres profectò inclusam intus, quæ tantis angustijs erumpere non potest, infinitam molem voluntatis. Fidem omnem, studium, obseruantiam, quæ tantæ principi debentur vt hæctenus promptissimè detulimus, ita studiosissimè semper deferemus: & si quando casus aliquis inciderit (quod Deus omen auertat) sacrosanctæ maiestatis tuæ, aut istius florentissimi regni, vel salus in discrimen veniat, vel dignitas periclitetur, non solùm bonorum omnium ac facultatum effusionem, sed laterum nostrorum oppositus & corporum pollicemur. Rogamus deinde & obsecramus excellentiam tuam, illustrissima regina, vt & hoc nostrum qualecunque officium à summa beneuolentia animóque quàm gratissimo profectum boni consulas, & de nobis Nordouicensibus sic existimes, ad lautiores te fortasse subditos venisse sæpe, ad lætiores nunquam.

Pares gratias pro imparibus beneficijs agi non posse.

Angliam meritò alterum orbem nuncupari.

Nordouicensium verauet ex inti puris medullas proueniens lætitia quam regiam maiestatem nideant.

THE ORATION OF STEPHAN LIMBERT,

PUBLIKE SCHOOLEMAISTER, TO THE MOST MAGNIFICENT PRINCE, ELISABETH OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND QUEENE, &c: BEFORE THE GATES OF THE HOSPITALL OF NORWICH.

IT is reported (most gratious queene) that Aegypt is watered with the yerelie ouerflowing of Nilus, and Lidia with the golden streame of Pactolus, which thing is thought to be the cause of the great frutefulnes of these countries: but vpon vs, and further, ouer all England, euen into the vtternost borders, manie and maine riuers of godlinesse, iustice, humilitie, and other innumerable good things, in comparison of the which, gold is vile and naught worth, doo most plentifullie gush out, and those not from Tmolus, or other hilles I know not which, but from that continuall and most aboundant welspring of your goodnesse. And that of those infinit goodnesses I maie lightlie touch one, for that neither place, time, nor my abilitie dooth permit to speake of manie: with what praises shall we extoll; with what magnificent words shall we expresse that notable mercie of your highnesse (most renowmed queene) and vncredible readinesse to relieue the need of poore men, than the

The excellent and incomparable blessings of England.

which of manie vertues none can be more acceptable vnto God, as Homer writeth, neither anie vertue in a mightie prince more woondered at amongst men. This hospitall of poore men is most famous, which will be a monument of princelie vertue and beneficence amongst all posteritie, instituted by the most mightie king Henrie your highnesse father, confirmed with the great seale by the most noble king Edward your brother, but by your maiestie, which deserueth no lesse praise, of late notablie increased and amplified by the lands and possessions of Cringleford, that you maie not now worthilie reioise so much in others ornaments, as your owne vertues. For you are said for your singular wisdome and learning, to haue studied that diuine law of the most wise Plato, which he left written in the eleuenth booke of lawes. Such your great bountie therefore, so exceeding and incredible mercie (ô most vertuous prince) in what bookes shall we comprehend? With what duties, or with what voice shall we testifie the good will of a thankefull mind? For when we diligentlie seeke all the most exquisit and curious means of thankesgiuing: we cannot so much as atteine vnto the greatnesse of this one benefit, by the which we acknowledge ourselues bound and streictlie holden to your most roiall maiestie. We shall be ouercome, euen with this one and singular benefit, so much the lesse hope haue we then in anie point to counteruaile the huge sea of the rest of your benefits, which ouerfloweth on euerie side as well publikelie & generallie ouer all your subiects, as properlie and particularlie vpon this citie. We certeinlie now inhabit, and lead our liues in those most happie Ilands, of the which Hesiodus maketh mention, which not onlie abound with all maner of graine, wooll, cattell, and other aids of mans life; but much more with the most pretious treasure of true religion and the word of God, in the which onlie the minds of men haue rest and peace. There be that call England another world, which I thinke maie be most true in this our age. For whereas all lands on euerie side of vs are afflicted with most grieuous warres, and tossed with the flouds of dissention, we onelie (your highnesse gouerning our sterne) doo saile in a most peaceable hauen, and seuered from a world of mischiefs, doo seeme after a sort to be taken vp into a heauen of happinesse. We therefore (according to our bounden dutie) first giue thanks vnto God almightie, vnto whose goodnesse onelie with thanks we referre all this our happinesse, how great soeuer it be, & praie that he would vouchsafe, to make the same proper and perpetuall vnto vs. And afterwards vnto your highnesse (ô most gratious queene) by whose studie, care and diligence we confesse this blessednesse to be gotten, and so manie years preserued vnto vs. We are glad in this beholding you, and we reioise with desire more than maie be beleeued, which as I speake of mine owne thought, so also all the subiects of Norwich desire me to saie the same in their behalfe. And I would to God you could pearse these our breasts with your eies, and throughlie view the hidden and couered creeks of our minds! Then vndoubtedlie should you behold an infinit heape of goodwill closelie shut vp within, which cannot breake out of so narrow straits. All the faith, studie, and obedience, which are due to so great a prince, as hitherto we haue most willinglie emploied, so will we alwaies most diligentlie performe the same; and if at anie time anie chance shall happen (which fortune God turne from vs) that the state of thy blessed maiestie, or of this flourishing realme should come in danger, or the worthinesse therof be in hazard, we do not onlie protest the effusion of all our goods and substance, but also the putting foorth and brunt of our strengths and bodies therein. Finallie, we desire and beseech thy excellencie (most renowmed queene) well to accept of this our dutie, howsoeuer it be, proceeding from a singular good will, and a most thankefull mind, and so to thinke of vs citizens of Norwich, that perhaps you haue manie times come to people more wealthie, but to more ioifull neuer.

King Henrie king Edward and quéene Elisabeth acknowledged speciall benefactors.

Condigne thanks vnpossible to be giuen.

England deseruedlie called another world.

Their vnfeigned reioising to sée hir maiestie.

Immediatlie after the beginning of the oration hir maiestie called to hir the French

French ambassadors, whereof there were three, and diuerse English lords, and willed them to harken, and she hirselfe was verie attentiue euen vntill the end thereof. And the oration ended, after she had giuen great thanks therefore to maister Limbert, she said to him; It is the best that euer I heard; you shall haue my hand: and pulled off hir gloue, and gaue him hir hand to kisse, which before kneeling on his knees, he arose and kissed; and then she departed to the court without anie other shew that night, but that she sent backe to know his name. The next night being thursdaie there was an excellent princelie maske brought before hir after supper by maister Goldingham in the priuie chamber, it was of gods and godesses both strangelie and richlie apparelled. The first that entred was Mercurie, then entered two torchbearers in purple taffata mandillions laid with siluer lace, as all other the torchbearers were; then entred a consort of musike, to wit, six musicians, all in long vestures of white sarsenet girded about them, and garlands on their heads, plaieng verie cunninglie; then two torchbearers more; then Iupiter and Iuno, then two torch bearers more; then Mars and Venus, then two torchbearers more; then Apollo and Pallas, then two torchbearers more; then Neptune and Diana; and lastly Cupid concluding the matter.

The quéenes high commendation of master Limberts oration.

The description of an excellent and princelie maske.

Thus when they had once marched about the chamber, Mercurie dischargeth his message in these words to the quéene: The good meaning maior and all his brethren, with the rest, haue not rested from praieng vnto the gods to prosper thy comming hither; and the gods themselues mooued by their vnfained praiers, are readie in person to bid thée worthilie welcome; and I Mercurie the god of merchants and merchandize, and therefore a fauorer of the citizens, being thought méetest am chosen fittest to signifie the same. Gods there be also which cannot come, being tied by the time of the yeare, as Ceres in haruest, Bacchus in wines, Pomona in orchards. Onelie Hymineus denieth his good will, either in presence or in person: notwithstanding Diana hath so counterchecked him therfore, as he shall hereafter be at your commandement. For my part, as I am a reioiser at your comming, so am I a furtherer of your welcome hither; and for this time I bid you farewell.

Mercuries message to the quéene.

Then marched they about againe, and that done Iupiter spake to the quéene in this sort, and then gaue hir a riding wand of whales fin curiouslie wrought.

Feare not oh queene, thou art beloued so,
As subiects true will trulie thee defend:
Feare not my power to ouerthrow thy wo,
I am the God that can ech misse amend.
Thou doest know great Iupiter am I,
That gaue thee first thy happie souereintie.
I giue thee still as euer thou hast had,
A peerelesse power vnto thy dieng daie;
I giue thee rule to ouercome the bad,
And loue to loue thy louing subiects aie.
I giue thee heere this small and slender wand,
To shew thou shalt in quiet rule the land.

Then Iuno spake, whose gift was a purse curiouslie wrought.

Is Iuno rich? No sure she is not so,
She wants that wealth that is not wanting heere,
Thy goods get friends, my wealth wins manie a fo,
My riches rust, but thine shine passing cleere.
Thou art beloued of subiects farre and nie,
Which is such wealth as monie cannot buie.
Farewell faire queene, I cannot giue thee ought,
Nor take awaie thy good that is so bound:
Thou canst not giue that I so long haue sought,
Ne can I hold the riches thou hast found.

Yet

Yet take this gift, though poore I seeme to be,
That thou thy selfe shalt neuer poorer be.

Then after they had marched againe about, Mars gaue his gift, which was a faire paire of kniues, and said:

Where force dooth fiercelie seeke to foster wrong,
There Mars dooth make him make a quicke recoile,
Nor can indure that he should harbor long,
Where naughtie wights manure in goodlie soile.
This is the vse that aids the force of warre,
That Mars dooth mend, that force dooth seeke to marre.
And though oh queene thou beest a prince of peace,
Yet shalt thou haue me fastlie sure at need:
The stormes of strife and blustering broiles to cease,
Which forren foes or faithlesse friends may breed.
To conquer, kill, to vanquish and subdue,
Such fained folke, as loues to liue vntrue.

These words were ingrauen vpon the kniues:

To hurt your fo and helpe your frend,
These kniues are made vnto that end:
Both blunt and sharpe you shall vs find,
As pleaseth best your princelie mind.

Then spake Venus whose gift was a white doue.

In vaine (faire queene) from heauen my comming was,
To seeke to mend that is no waie amis:
For now I see thy fauour so dooth passe,
That none but thou, thou onelie she it is,
Whose beautie bids ech wight to looke on thee,
By view they may another Venus see.
Where beautie boasts, and fauour dooth not faile,
What may I giue to thee O worthie wight?
This is my gift, there shall no wo preuaile,
That seekes thy will against thy willes delight,
Not where they will, but where it likes thy mind,
Accept that friend if loiall thou him find.

The doue being cast off, ran directlie to the queene, and being taken vp and set vpon the table before hir maiestie, sate so quietlie as if it had beene tied. Then after they had marched againe about, Apollo presented his gift, which was an instrument called a bandonet, and did sing to the said instrument this short and pithie dittie, as he was plaieng therevpon:

The song of Apollo to the queene.

It seemeth strange to see such strangers heere,
Yet not so strange but strangers knowes you well:
Your vertuous thoughts to gods doo plaine appeere,
Your acts on earth bewraies how you excell:
You cannot die, loue heere hath made your lease,
Which gods haue sent, and God saith shall not cease.
Vertuous desire desired me to sing,
No subiects sute, though suters they were all,
Apollos gifts are subiect to no king,
Rare are thy gifts that did Apollo call,
Then still reioise, sith God and man saie so,
This is my gift, thou neuer shalt haue wo.

Most

Most worthie wight, what wouldst thou haue of me?
Thou hast so much, thou canst inioie no more:
I cannot giue that once I gaue to thee,
Nor take awaie the good I gaue before.
I robbed was by natures good consent,
Against my will, and yet I was content.
A Pallas thou, a princesse I will be:
A queene of losse, thou goddesse which hast got:
I sometime was, thou onelie now art she:
I take, thou gauest that lucke that was my lot.
I giue not thee this booke to learne thee aught,
For that I know alreadie thou art taught.

Pallas then speaketh and presented hir gift, which wa a booke of wis dome.

What art thou (queene) that gods do loue thee so?
Who woon their wils to be so at thy will?
How can the world become thy cruell fo?
How can Disdaine or Malice seeke to kill?
Can sea or earth deuise to hurt thy hap?
Sith thou by gods doost sit in fortunes lap.
As heauen and earth haue vowed to be thine,
So Neptunes seas haue sworne to drench thy foes,
As I am god, and all the waters mine,
Still shalt thou get, but neuer shalt thou lose:
And sith on earth my wealth is nought at all,
Accept good will, the gift is verie small.

Then Neptune spake: his gift was a great artificiall fish, and in the bellie of it, a pike, which he threw out before hir maiestie.

Who euer found on earth a constant friend,
That may compare with this my virgin queene?
Who euer found a bodie and a mind
So free from staine, so perfect to be seene?
Oh heauenlie hew, that aptest is to soile,
And yet doost liue from blot of anie foile.
Rare is thy gift, and giuen to few or none,
Malist therefore of some that dare not say,
More shines thy light, for that I know but one,
That anie such shew, to follow on their waie.
Thou thou art shee, take thou the onelie praise,
For chastest dame in these our happie daies.
Accept my bowes, sith best thou doost deserue,
Though well I know thy mind can thee preserue.

Diana presented a bow and arrowes nocked and headed with siluer; hir speach was this.

Ah ha, I see my mother out of sight,
Then let the boy now plaie the wag a while,
I seeme but weake, yet weake is not my might,
My boiesh wit can oldest folke beguile.
Who so dooth thinke, I speake this but in iest,
Let me but shoot, and I shall quench his rest,
Marke here my shafts: this all is made of wood,
Which is but soft, and breeds but soft good will,
Now this is gilt, yet seemes it gold full good,
And dooth deceiue blind louing people still.

Cupido his speach, his gift an arrow of gold.

But

But here is one is seldome felt or seene:
This is of gold, meet for the noblest queene.
Wherefore dame faire, take thou this gift of me,
Though some deserue, yet none deserue like you,
Shoot but this shaft at king or Cesar: he,
And he is thine, and if thou wilt allow,
It is a gift that manie here doo craue,
Yet none but thou this golden shaft maie haue.

There was written vpon the shaft:

My colour, ioy, my substance pure,
My vertue such as shall indure.

The quéenes behauiour after all this welcomming.

Hir maiestie receiued these gifts verie thankefullie, the gods and goddesses with the rest of the maske marched about the chamber againe, and then departed in like maner as they came in. Then the queene called vnto hir master Robert Wood, the maior of Norwich, whom first she heartilie thanked, and tooke by the hand, and vsed secret conference: but what I know not. And thus this delightfull night passed, to the ioy of all that saw hir grace in so pleasant plight.

The deuisor is commanded to be readie with his shewes to delight the queene.

On thursdaie in the morning, my lord chamberlaine gaue the deuisor warning the quéene would ride abrode in the after noone, and he commanded him to be readie, dutifullie to present hir with some shew. Then knowing which waie the queene would ride (by coniecture and instructions giuen) the deuisor caused a place to be made and digged for the nymphes of the water, the maner and proportion whereof was in this forme and fashion. First there was measure taken for threescore foot of ground euerie waie, the hole to be made déepe and foure square, which ground was all couered with canuas painted greene like the grasse, and at euerie side on the canuas ran a string through curteine rings, which string might easilie be drawne anie kind of waie, by reason of two great poales that laie along in the ground, and answered the curteine or canuas on each side, so that drawing a small cord in the middle of the canuas, the earth would séeme to open, and so shut againe as the other end of the cord was drawne backward. And in the same caue was a noble noise of musike of all kinds of instruments, seuerallie to be sounded and plaied vpon, and at one time they should be sounded all togither, that might serue for a consort of broken musike. And in the same caue also was placed twelue water nymphes, disguised or dressed most strangelie, ech of them had either vpon white silke, or fine linnen, gréene sedges stitched cunninglie on a long garment, so well wrought and also set on, as scarse anie whit might be perceiued. And euerie nymph had in her hand a great bundle of bulrushes, and had on hir head a garland of iuie, vnder the which iuie was a coife of mosse, and vnder the mosse was there long goodlie heare like golden tresses that couered hir shoulders, and in a maner raught downe vnto hir middle.

A proper deuise and verie delectable of a caue and twelue water nymphes, &c.

Now touching the beautie of the nymphes, they séemed to be the chosen children of the world, and became their attire so well, that their beautie might haue abused a right good iudgement. For diuerse of those that knew them before (albeit they were bare faced) could scarse know them in their garments, and sundrie tooke them to be yoong girles and wenches, prepared for the nonce, to procure a laughter. These nymphs thus apparelled, and all things in good plight and readinesse, there was deuised, that at the quéenes comming néere the water side (as this caue stood at the brim of the riuer) one nymph should pop vp out of the caue first, and salute the queene with a speach, and then another: and so till foure of them had finished their speaches, there they should remaine; and when they retired into their caue, the musike should begin: which sure had been a noble hearing, and the more melodious for the varietie thereof, and bicause it should come secretlie and strangelie out of the earth.

What was deui ed to be done by the nymphs at the quéens comming néere the water side.

earth. And when the musike was doone, then should all the twelue nymphs haue issued togither, and dansed a danse with timbrels that were trimmed with belles, and other iangling things, which timbrels were as brode as a siue, hauing bottoms of fine parchment, and being sounded, made such a confused noise, and pastime, that it was to be woondered at: besides the strangenesse of the timbrels (yet knowne to our forefathers) was a matter of admiration vnto such as were ignorant of that new found toy, gathered and borrowed from our elders. So in order and readinesse stood that shew for the time.

The shew of Manhood and Desert with the furniture declared.

And to kéepe that shew companie (but yet farre off) stood the shew of Manhood and Desert, as first to be presented, and that shew was as well furnished as the other; men all, saue one boy called Beautie; for the which, Manhood, Fauour, and Desert, did striue (or should haue contended) but good Fortune (as victor of all conquests) was to come in, and ouerthrow Manhood, Fauour, Desert, and all their powers, and onelie by fine force (vpon a watchword spoken) should laie hand on Beautie, and carrie or lead hir away. The other sutors troubled with this kind of dealing, should talke togither, and sweare to be in one mind for an open reuenge: and vpon that Fortune should crie Arme, arme. The other side called for their friends, at the which stirre should appeare both their strengthes: but good Fortune should farre in power exceed his enimies. And yet to shew that Destinie (and who best can conquer) shall gouerne all, Fortune should make an offer, that six to six with sword and target should end the brall and businesse. Then six gentlemen on either side with rebated swords and targets (onelie in dublet and hose, and murrion on head) approched and would claime the combat, and déale togither twelue blowes apéece, and in the end fortune should be victor: and then the shot and armed men should fall at variance so sharpelie (vpon mistaking of the matter) that Fortunes side should triumph and march ouer the bellies of their enimies: in which time were legs and armes of men (well and liuelie wrought) to be let fall in numbers on the ground, as bloudie as might be. Fortune, regarding nothing but victorie, marcheth so awaie in great triumph: and then should haue come into the place a song for the death of Manhood, Fauor, and Desert, and so the shew should haue ended.

A bloodie sight and yet harmlesse doone by art.

All the preparation disappointed by thunder and raine.

But now note what befell after this great businesse and preparation. For as the queenes highnesse was appointed to come vnto hir coch, and the lords and courtiers were readie to mount on horssebacke, there fell such a showre of raine (and in the necke thereof came such a terrible thunder) that euerie one of vs were driuen to séeke for couert and most comfort, insomuch that some of vs in bote stood vnder a a bridge and were all so dashed and washed, that it was a greater pastime to sée vs looke like drowned rats, than to haue beheld the vttermost of the shewes rehearsed. Thus you sée, a shew in the open field is alwaies subiect to the sudden change of weather, and a number of more inconueniences. But what should be said of that which the citie lost by this cause; veluets, silkes, tinsels, and some cloth of gold being cut out for these purposes, that could not serue to anie great effect after? Well, there was no more to saie, but an old adage, that Man dooth purpose, but God dooth dispose, to whose disposition and pleasure the guide of greater maters is committed. So this thursdaie tooke his leaue from the actors, and left them looking one vpon another, and he that thought he had receiued most iniurie, kept greatest silence, and lapping vp (among a bundle of other misfortunes) this euill chance, euerie person quietlie passed to his lodging.

The cities losse by occasion of this tempest.

The next daie being fridaie, in which daie the court remooued, the stréets towards saint Benets gates were hanged, from the one side to the other, with cords made of hearbs and floures, with garlands, coronets, pictures, rich cloths, and a thousand deuises. At the gates themselues there was a stage made verie richlie apparelled with cloth of gold and crimsin veluet, whervpon in a close place made theron for

the purpose, was placed verie swéet musike: and one readie to render hir this speach following. The dolefull houre of hir departure came, she passed from the court, to those gates, with such countenances, both of hir maiesties part, and hir subiects now dolorous, now chéerefull, as plainlie shewed the louing hearts of both sides. When she came there the speach was thus vttered vnto hir in verie plausible sort:

The quéens departure from Norwich heasilie taken.

Terrestriall ioies are tide with slender file,
Each happie hap full hastilie dooth slide,
As summer season lasteth but a while,
So winter stormes doo longer time abide:
Alas what blisse can anie time endure?
Our sunshine daie is dasht with sudden shoure.
Could toong expresse our secret ioies of hart,
(Oh mightie prince) when thou didst come in place?
No no God wot, nor can expresse the smart
Thy subiects feele in this departing case.
But gratious queene, let here thy grace remaine
In gratious wise, till thy returne againe.
In lieu whereof, receiue thy subiects harts,
In fixed faith continuallie thine owne:
Who readie rest to loose their vitall parts
In thy defense, when anie blast is blowne.
Thou art our queene, our rocke and onelie staie,
We are thine owne to serue by night and daie.
Farewell oh queene, farewell oh mother deare,
Let Iacobs God thy sacred bodie gard:
All is thine owne that is possessed here,
And all in all is but a small reward
For thy great grace, God length thy life like Noy,
To gouerne vs, and eke thy realme in ioy. Amen.

Note the true hearts of the citizens and people.

These words were deuised by B. Goldingham, and spoken by himselfe, to whome hir maiestie said: We thanke you hartilie. Then with the musicke in the same place was soong this short dittie following, in a verie swéet voice, to the great delite of the hearers;

A dittie soong in a verie swéet voice.

What vaileth life, where sorow sokes the hart?
Who feareth death that is in deepe distresse?
Release of life dooth best abate the smart
Of him, whose woes are quite without redresse.
Lend me your teares, resigne your sighes to me,
Helpe all to waile the dolor which you see.
What haue we doone, she will no longer staie?
What may we doo to hold hir with vs still?
Shee is our queene, we subiects must obaie,
Grant, though with greefe, to hir departing will.
Conclude we then, and sing with sobbing breath,
God length thy life (oh queene Elisabeth.)

Fridaies deuise vpon the remooving of the court.

On fridaie, the court vpon remooue, the citie troubled with manie causes, and some séeking to doo seruice like the deuiser, mooued him to doo somewhat of himselfe, bicause his aids (as manie times they were before) were drawne from him, each one about his owne businesse, and he left to his owne inuentions and policie, at which exigent or casuall things of fortune, he drew his boies vnto him

that

that were the Nymphs on the water, and so departed the citie, with such garments and stuffe necessarie as fitted his purpose and the matter he went about. Then he chose a ground, by the which the quéene must passe, inclosing his companie in the corner of a field, being defensed with high and thicke bushes, and there some parts he made, which the boies might misse, bicause the time was short for the learning of those parts. But he being resolued to doo somewhat might make the quéene laugh, appointed that seauen boies of twelue should passe through a hedge from the place of abode (which was gallantlie trimmed) and deliuer seauen spéeches. And these boies (you must vnderstand) were dressed like Nymphes of the water, and were to plaie by a deuise and degrees the feiries, and to danse (as néere as could be imagined) like the feiries. Their attire and comming so strangelie out, made the quéenes highnesse smile and laugh withall. And the deuiser hearing this good hope, being apparelled like a water sprite, began to sound a timbrell, and the rest with him, all the twelue Nymphs togither (when the seauen had repaired in) sounded timbrels likewise. And although the deuiser had no great harting, yet as he durst, he led the yoong foolish feiries a danse, which boldnesse of his bred no disgrace, but as he heard, was well taken. The quéene vpon their retire in, hasted to hir highnes lodging, which was seuen miles off, and at that present, when the shew ended, it was past fiue of the clocke.

A pleasant deuise to make the quéene laugh.

The deuisers doings well taken of the quéene, &c.

All these shewes finished, hir maiestie in princelie maner marched toward the confines of the liberties of the citie of Norwich, which was supposed almost two miles. Before she came there, maister maior brake to my lord chamberlaine, that he was to vtter to hir maiestie an other oration, whereof my lord seemed to haue good liking but before they came to the said confines, maister maior was willed to forbeare the vtterance of the same his oration, bicause it was about seauen of the clocke, and hir maiestié had then fiue miles to ride. Neuerthelesse he gaue to hir maiestie both his orations in writing, which she thanked him for. She also thanked the maior, euerie alderman, and the commoners, not onelie for the great chéere they had made hir, but also for the open housholds they kept to hir highnesse seruants, and all others. Then she called maister maior and made him knight: and so departing, said: I haue laid vp in my breast such good will, as I shall neuer forget Norwich; and procéeding onward did shake hir riding rod and said: Farewell Norwich, with the water standing in hir eies. In which great good will towards vs all, I beséech God to continue hir maiestie with long and triumphant reigne ouer vs, Amen.

Maister maior purposing to vtter another oration, is willed to forbeare it, and whie, &c.

The maior of Norwich knighted.

The quéenes words at hir departing.

Now to come to the returne of the queenes maiestie from Norfolke and Suffolke, in which two counties hir highnesse knighted certeine gentlemen, as namelie in Suffolke George Colt, Philip Parkar, Robert Iermine, William Spring, Thomas Barnardiston, Thomas Kidson, Arthur Hedingham: In Norffolke, Thomas Kneuet, Nicholas Bacon, William Pastons, Edward Cléere, Rafe Shelton, Henrie Woodhouse, Thomas Gaudie, Robert Wood maior, Roger Woodhouse. These gentlemen hir maiestie knighted, for that they should all their life time after haue the greater regard to God and their prince. Now the quéenes maiestie passing from Norwich, she came to sir Roger Woodhouses that night, where she was well receiued, and noblie interteined. From thense to Wood rising at sir Edward Cleeres. From thense to sir Thomas Kidsons, where in verie déed the fare and bankets did so excéed a number of other places, that it is worthie the mention. A shew representing the feiries (as well as might be) was there séene, in the which shew a rich iewell was presented to the queenes highnes. From thense to master Reuets, where all things were well and in verie good order, and meat liberallie spent.

Gentlemen of Suffolke and Norffolke knighted.

The quéenes maiestie departeth from Norwich and is now interteined by the waie.

But now to speake a little by the waie of Gods mightie hand and power, that framed mens hearts so well in manie parts, before the quéenes highnesse came to

Cambridgeshire, and to tell how blessedlie our great and good God did deale with our deere souereigne ladie, in causing euerie person to shew their dutie, is a matter of great discourse, and of no little weight and comfort to all good minds that shall consider of the same. Such a Lord is our great God, that can frame all things to the best, and such a souereigne ladie we haue, that can make the crooked paths streight where she commeth, and draw the harts of the people after hir whersoeuer she trauelleth. So from master Reuets hir highnesse came to my lord Norths, who was no whit behind anie of the best for a franke house, a noble heart, and well ordered interteinement. And there was an oration made by a gentleman of Cambridge, with a statelie and a faire cup presented from the vniuersitie, all the ambassadors of France beholding the same. And the gentlemen of the shire (as in manie other places) did beare the quéenes meat to the table, which was a great liking and gladnesse to the gentlemen, and a solemne sight for strangers and subiects to looke vpon. From my lord Norths to sir Giles Allingtons, where things were well, and well liked. From thense to sir Iohn Cuts. From thense to M. Kapels, where was excellent good cheere and interteinement. From thense to Hide hall, where I heard of no great cheere nor banketting. From thense to Rockwood hall, but how the traine was there interteined, I am ignorant of. From thense to master Stonars, and from thense to my lord of Leicesters house, where the progresse ended, and (to knit vp all) the good chéere was reuiued, not onelie with making a great feast to the quéene and the French ambassador, but also in feasting solemnelie (at seuerall times) the whole gard, on sundaie and mondaie before the queene came, at his owne table, vsing such courtesie vnto them for the space of two daies, as was and is worthie of perpetuall memorie. Thus much of the quéenes highnesse returne, whom God hath so well preserued, that she like a worthie prince to our great comfort prospereth in peace; to the great disgrace of the enimies of God, and aduersaries of our common weale and countrie, wherin God continue hir maiestie, Amen.

The vniuersitie of Cambridge present a faire and statelie cup to the quéene.

T.C.

The lord of Leicesters bountifull interteinement.

The quéenes maiestie, now gone from Norwich, carried awaie with hir all the gladnesse of the citie, which sprang from hir presence; in place whereof succéeded melancholie sadnes: in somuch that the verie aier altered with the change of the countrie cheere proceeding from the departure of hir highnes roiall person: which he meant that made these verses, wherwith the description of this progresse shall end.

Ad solem nubibus obductum die lune 18. Augusti, 1578.

Splendide Phœbe redi, cur te sub nube recondis?
Innubæ Pallas adest, splendide Phœbe redi.
Hasta minax procul est, non Gorgonis ora videbis,
Pallas inermis adest, splendide Phœbe redi.
Scilicet à tanto metuis tibi lumine forsan:
Ne superet radios fœmina Phœbe tuos.
Pulcher Apollo tibi ne sit regina rubori:
Ipse decore tuo vincis, & illa suo.
Euge redux reducem quia pulsa nocte reducis
Phœbe diem: toto est gratius orbe nihil.
Hæc pepulit tetri tenebras noctémque papismi,
Et liquidum retulit relligione diem.
Euge nigras nebulas radijs quia sæpe repellis
Phœbe tuis: pene est gratius orbe nihil.
Texuerant remoras discrimina mille papistæ:
Ne ceptum princeps continuaret iter:
Nec tamen unc nebulæ potuerunt condere solem:
Quamuis u nebulis cedis Apollo tuis.

Ergò

Ergò iubar nostrum repulisse obstaculo cernis:
Sic age, sol nebulas lumine pelle tuo.
Splendide Phœbe redi, cur te sub nube recondis?
Innubæ Pallas adest, splendidè Phœbe redi.

Eiusdem in eandem.

Sustinet, ornat, habet, regnum, literaria, formam,
Prouida, docta, decens, Iuno, Minerua, Venus.
Singula dona trium simul Elizabetha dearum
Prouida, docta, decens, sustinet, ornat, habet.
Esse deas Iusi: diuinam dicimus istam:
Quamuis nec liceat nec libet esse deam.

To the sunne couered with cloudes vpon mondaie, being the 18 of August 1578.

In shadowing clouds why art thou closd? O Phebus bright retire;
Vnspoused Pallas present is, O Phebus bright retire.
The thretning speare is flong far off, doubt not grim Gorgons ire:
Vnarmed Pallas present is, O Phebus bright retire.
Perhaps thou art afraid: And why? at this so large a light:
Least that a woman should excell, thy beams (O Phebus) bright.
Let not a queene, a virgine pure, which is, and euer was,
O faire Apollo, make thee blush: you both in beautie passe.
O Phebus safe and sound returne, which, banishing the night,
Bringst backe the daie: in all the world nothing of like delight:
She, onelie she, the darkenesse draue of poperie quite awaie:
And by religion hath restord the bright and lightsome daie.
O Phebus with thy beams, which foilst the clouds both blind and blacke,
The world, in maner all, a thing of like delight doth lacke.
A thousand dangers and delaies the papists had deuisd,
To thend our princesse should abridge hir progresse enterprisd:
Yet this our bright and shining sun, cast light through euerie cloud:
Although in clouds thou art content, Apollo oft to shroud.
Thou seest our sunne in comelie course, cuts off ech stop and staie:
Do thou the like, and by thy light driue euerie cloud awaie.
In shadowing clouds why art thou closd? O Phebus bright retire:
Vnspoused Pallas present is: O Phebus bright retire.

By the same concerning the quéene.

Hir kingdome all by prouidence, queene Iuno doth vphold:
And of Minerua ladie learned, is learned lore extold:
And Venus faire of countenance, hath beautie vncontrold.
These sundrie gifts of goddesses three, Elisabeth possesseth:
By prouidence hir peoples peace, and comfort she increaseth:
Hir learning, learning amplifies: hir beautie neuer ceaseth.
I did but ieast, of goddesses to giue them three the name:
This ladie maist thou goddesse call, for she deserues the same:
Although she will not vndertake, a title of such fame.

Mathew Hamont burnt at Norwich.

Matthew Hamont, by his trade a ploughwrite of Hetharset three miles from Norwich, was conuented before the bishop of Norwich, for that he denied Christ our sauiour. At the time of his appearance it was obiected that he had published these heresies following. That the new testament and gospell of Christ are but méere foolishnesse, a storie of man, or rather a méere fable. Item, that man is restored to grace by Gods méere mercie, without the meane of Christs bloud, death and passion. Item, that Christ is not God nor the sauiour of the world, but a méere

The heresies that he held.

méere man, a sinfull man, and an abhominable idoll. Item, that all they that worship him are abhominable idolaters, and that Christ did not rise againe from death to life by the power of his godhead, neither that he ascended into heauen.

Item, that the Holie ghost is not God, neither that there is anie such Holie ghost. Item, that baptisme is not necessarie in the church of God, neither the vse of the sacrament of the bodie and bloud of Christ. For the which heresies he was condemned in the consistorie, and sentence was pronounced against him by the bishop of Norwich on the thirteenth daie of Aprill, and thervpon deliuered to the shiriffes of Norwich. And bicause he spake words of blasphemie (not to be recited) against the quéenes maiestie and others of hir councell, he was by the recorder, master sergeant Windham, and the maior sir Robert Wood of Norwich condemned to lose both his eares, which were cut off on the thirteenth of Maie in the market place of Norwich, and afterwards, to wit on the twentith of Maie, he was burned in the castell dich of Norwich.

An Englishman made a locke and a keie, weieng but one wheat corne.

This yeare in the moneth of Maie, Marke Scaliot blacke smith citizen of London, borne in the parish of saint Clements Dane without Temple bar, and now dwelling in Cornehill néere vnto Leaden hall, for triall of workemanship, made one hanging locke of iron, steele and brasse, of eleuen seuerall péeces, a pipe keie filed three square with a pot vpon the shaft, and the bow with two esses all cleane wrought, which weied but one graine of gold or wheat corne. He also at the same time made a chaine of gold of three and fortie linkes, to the which chaine the locke and keie being fastened, and put about a fleas necke, she drew the same with ease. All which, locke, keie, chaine, and flea, weied but one graine and a halfe. A thing almost incredible, but that my selfe (amongst manie others) haue séene it, and therfore must affirme it to be true.

The bishop of Winchester deceased.

The first of Iune deceased Robert Horne doctor of diuinitie, bishop of Winchester, and prelat of the garter, at Winchester place in Southworke, and was buried at Winchester. ¶ This man was learned and eloquent, of a round and readie vtterance, sound in religion and zelous in the truth; in testimonie whereof he chose rather to forsake his natiue soile, and to liue a stranger in a forren land, than with offense of conscience to tarrie at home within the sight and hearing of the manifold abhominations which supported poperie; so that although death haue deuoured his mortall bodie, yet in respect of his vertue and godlinesse, his name shall be immortall; according to the truth of this sentence:

Corpore deposito viuit virtute superstes
De virtute nihil mors violenta rapit.

Iohn Wolton bishop of Excester.

Iohn Wolton now liuing, was called to be bishop of Excester, and consecrated at Lambith by Edmund Grindall archbishop of Canturburie, in August 1579. He is a professor of diuinitie, and a preacher of the gospell, and vniuersallie séene in all good letters. This William Wolton, being in successiue order the eight and fortith that occupied the said sée, from the first that inioied the same episcopall aduancement, ministreth iust occasion to insert a catalog of all the bishops of Excester as they followed one after another in that sée, being an apt collection, and verie answerable to the description of Excester, and the ancient foundation of saint Peters church there; mentioned in the third yeare of the reigne of king Edward the sixt.

A CATALOG

A CATALOG OF THE BISHOPS OF EXCESTER

COLLECTED BY IOHN VOWELL ALIAS HOOKER, GENTLEMAN.

1 WERSTANUS, at a prouinciall synod holden in Westsex, in the yeare 905, was consecrated bishop of Deuon, and had his see at bishops Taunton: and in the yeare following 906 he died, and was buried in his owne church. Werstanus.

2 Putta, after the death of Werstanus, was elected and consecrated bishop, and had his sée at Taunton: and taking his iourneie towards Crediton, to sée and visit the king (or as some saie, Vffa the kings lieutenant) was by the said Vffas men slaine, and then vpon his death the sée was remoued to Crediton. Putta.

3 Eadulphus, brother to Alpsius duke of Deuon and Cornewall, and founder of Lanceston, was consecrated bishop of Deuon, but installed at Crediton, where he had his sée, and continued bishop two and twentie yeares, and then dieng about the yeare 932, he was buried in his owne church. Eadulphus.

4 Ethelgarus, in the yeare 932, succeeded Eadulphus, and in his time king Athelstane subdued the Cornish people, reedified this citie, and compassed the same with a stone wall: he founded the monasterie of saint Peters for monks of saint Benets order. This Ethelgarus, after he had béene bishop ten yeares, died, and was buried in his owne church. Ethelgarus.

5 Algarus, in the yeare 942 after Ethelgarus, was constituted and installed bishop at Crediton, and hauing béene bishop about ten yeares, died and was buried in his owne church. Algarus.

6 Alfwoldus, as Matthew Westminster writeth, was next bishop after Algarus, and consecrated by the aduise of Dunstane, in the yeare 952. In this time Odogarus earle of Deuon, and father in law to king Edgar, builded the abbeie of Tauestoke: and king Edgar called home all the monkes of saint Peters which were dispersed, and without anie abbat, and made Sidemannus abbat, who was afterwards bishop. This Alfwoldus after sixtéene yeares that he was consecrated, died and was buried in his owne church. Alfwoldus.

7 Alfwolfus as Dicetus affirmeth, was consecrated bishop in the yeare of our Lord 969, and after nine yeares died, and was buried in his owne church. Alfwolfus.

8 Sidemannus of an abbat was made a bishop, in the yeare 978. In this mans time the Danes ouerran and spoiled the whole countries of Deuon and Cornewall, burned the towne of Bodmen, and the cathedrall church of saint Petrokes, with the bishops house. Wherevpon the bishops sée was remoued from thense to saint Germans, where the same continued, vntill the remouing and vniting thereof vnto Crediton. Sidemannus in the twelfe yeare after his consecration died, and was buried at Crediton in his owne church 990. Sidemannus.

9 Alphredus, whome Dicetus calleth Alfricus, abbat of Malmesburie, was consecrated bishop, and installed at Crediton: he was taken for a learned man, because he wrote two bookes, the one intituled De rebus cœnobij sui, and the other De rerum naturis. In this bishops time, king Ethelred endowed the bishoprike of saint Germans with lands, liberties, and priuileges. The Danes made a fresh inuasion in and vpon all Deuon and Cornewall, burned and spoiled the abbie of Ordolphus at Tauestoke: they besieged Excester, and being remoued from thense, were fought withall at Pinneho, about three miles from the citie, and ouerthrowne. Alphredus, after he had béene bishop about nine yeares, died in the yeare 999, and was buried in his owne church. Alphredus.

10 Alwolfus,

Alwolfus. 10 Alwolfus (as Dicetus writeth) was the next bishop. In his time Sweno king of Denmarke, by intisement of one Hugh then earle of Deuon, came with a great host and besieged the citie of Excester, tooke it, and burned it and with great crueltie vsed the people, vntill in the end Almarus then earle of Deuon, and the gentlemen did yéeld and submit themselues, and so obteined peace. This Alwolfus about the fiftéenth yeare of his bishoprike, in the yeare 1014, died and was buried in his owne church.

Arnoldus. 11 Arnoldus, by the report of the archdeacon of London, succéeded Alwolfus, and was installed at Crediton. In this mans time, king Canutus gaue to Athelwold abbat of S. Peters of this citie great gifts, and sundrie priuileges, in recompense of his fathers great iniuries. Arnoldus in the fiftéenth yeare of his bishoprike 1030 died, and was buried in his owne church.

Leuigus or Leuingus. 12 Leuigus or Leuingus abbat of Tauestoke, and nephue to Brithwaldus bishop of Cornewall, was chosen the next bishop, and according to the orders then vsed, consecrated and installed. He was in great fauour and credit with king Canutus, vpon whome he attended in pilgrimage to Rome, ; and after his vncle the bishop of saint Germans being dead, obteined of the king that the bishops sée was remoued from saint Germans vnto Crediton, and both were thereby reduced and vnited into one bishoprike, and so hath euer since continued. Hée was after the death of Brithegus bishop of Worcester, remoued to that church, and there died, and was buried as some suppose: but some affirme, that in the time of Hardicanutus the king, at the accusation of Alfredus then archbishop of Yorke, for that he should be consenting to the death of Alfredus the sonne of Etheldred, that he should be deposed of his bishoprike there, and so did returne vnto Tauestoke, where he died. But Dicetus affirmeth, that he purged himselfe of this crime, and by that meanes was restored both to the fauour of the king, and to his bishoprike againe, and died bishop of Worcester. It is recorded that he was bishop of Crediton fiftéene yeares.

Leofricus. 13 Leofricus, a man descended of the bloud and line of Brutus, but brought vp in the land of Lothoringia or Loreine, was so well commended for his nobilitie, wisedome, and learning, that king Edward the confessor had him in great fauour, and made him first one of his priuie councell; then lord chancellor of all England: and lastlie the bishoprike of this prouince being void, he was made, consecrated, and installed bishop of the same. By him and by his meanes, the bishops sée was remoued from Crediton vnto this citie of Excester: for at his request, king Edward togither with quéene Edith his wife came to Excester, and remouing the monkes from hense to Westminster, did also remoue the bishops sée from Crediton vnto his citie, and did put the bishop in possession. For he conducting the bishop on the right hand, and the quéene on the left hand, brought him to the high altar of his new church, and there placed him in a seat appointed for him. He suppressed sundrie houses or cels of religion within his sanctuarie, and appropriated and vnited them to his owne church; as also by the good liberalitie of the king obteined great reuenues, possessions, priuileges, and liberties to be giuen vnto the church. In this mans time, William duke of Normandie made a conquest of this whole realme, as also in the yeare 1068 besieged this citie of Excester, which after by composition he restored to his former estate againe. Also in his time, Richard dé Brion, a noble man of Normandie, the sonne of Baldwin of Brion, and of Albred the néece to the conqueror, was made baron of Okehampton, warden of the castell of Excester, and vicount of Deuon. This Leofricus, after that he had well and worthilie ruled his church and diocesse by the space of three and twentie yeares, he ended his daies in peace, and died in the yeare 1073, and was buried in the cemiterie or churchyard of his owne church, vnder a simple and a broken marble stone, which place by the since inlarging of his church is now within the tower of the same, where of late, in the yeare 1568, a new monument was erected in the memorie of so good, woorthie, and noble

noble a personage, by the industrie of the writer hereof, but at the charges of the deane and chapter.

14 Osbertus or Osbernus, a Norman borne, and brother to an earle named William, was preferred to this bishoprike, and in the yeare 1074 was consecrated and installed to the same. Polydorus writeth, that one Galfrid who ioined with Odo, earle of Kent and bishop of Baion, against William Rufus, should be bishop of Exon: but it was not, nor could not so be. In this mans time, William the conqueror, and William Rufus his sonne died. This Osbertus or Osbernus, after he had béene bishop thirtie yeares, was blind, and died, and lieth buried in his owne church. Osbertus or Osbernus.

15 William Warlewast a Norman borne, and chapleine both to the Conqueror and his two sons, William and Henrie: he was a graue and a wise man, and for the same was preferred by Henrie the king to this bishoprike, in the yere one thousand one hundred and seuen, and was consecrated by Anselmus archbishop of Canturburie, in the moneth of August the same yeare. He first began to inlarge his church, which at that time was no bigger than that which is now called the ladie chappell. He founded and builded the monasterie of Plimpton, and placed therein regular canons: in his latter daies he waxed and became blind. And yet notwithstanding for his wisdome the king sent him in ambassage vnto pope Paschalis the second, wherein he so wiselie dealed, and so discréetlie behaued himselfe in his message, that he made a reconciliation betweene the pope and the king, and returned with great praise and commendation. Not long after his returne, and hauing small ioie of the world, he gaue ouer his bishoprike, and became one of the religious canons in his owne house of Plimpton, where he died and was buried, he was bishop about twentie yeares. William Warlewast.

16 Robert Chichester, deane of Sarisburie, was consecrated bishop vnder Anselmus archbishop of Canturburie, Anno 1128, and the eight and twentith yeare of king Henrie the first. He was a gentleman borne, and therefore estéemed for his zeale in religion, wherein he was deuout according to those daies: and thinking his labours to be best imploied that waie, did eftsoons go in pilgrimage, sometime to Rome, sometime to one place, sometime to another; and euer he would bring with him some one relike or other. He was a liberall contributor to the buildings of his church. In his time was founded and builded the monasterie of S. Stephans in Lanceston, and furthered by Reinold erle of Cornewall; but vnto it this bishop was an aduersarie, not for misliking the worke, but for feare of an intrusion vpon his liberties. Likewise at this time was builded the priorie of saint Nicholas in Excester, by the abbat of Battell, vnto which abbeie this priorie was a cell. In this mans time also king Henrie made William Rideuers a Norman (and his kinsman) earle of Deuon; and therewith the lordship of Twifordton, and the honor of Plimpton, togither with the third pennie of his reuenues in Deuon, which in the whole was then thirtie marks, whereof this earle had ten. Also in this mans time king Henrie died, and king Stephan entred, and tooke vpon him the crowne, whereof insued great warres. This bishop, after that he had occupied the place two and twentie yeares, died, and was buried in his owne church. But the monke of Westminster writeth that he should be bishop seuen and twentie yeares, and died in the yeere one thousand one hundred fiftie and fiue, but he neuer saw the records of this church which are to the contrarie. Robert Chichester.

17 Robert Warlewast, nephue to William the bishop of this church, deane of Sarisburie, was consecrated bishop by Theobaldus archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare one thousand one hundred and fiftie, he nothing degenerated from the steps of his predecessors, but was altogither of the same bent and disposition. In his time king Stephan died, and Henrie the second was crowned king. This Robert after that he had occupied this sée nine yéers or there about, died, and was buried at Plimpton by his vncle. Robert Warlewast.

Bartholomeus Iscanus.

18 Bartholomeus Iscanus, otherwise Bartholomew of Excester, was consecrated bishop of Excester vnder Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare a thousand one hundred fiftie and nine, he was called Iscanus of Isca, which is one of the ancientest names of this citie. He was a meane citizens son, but being verie apt vnto learning, his parents and friends kept him to schoole; and he so well profited therein, that he came and prooued to be a verie well learned man: and being bishop he wrote sundrie bookes, as of predestination, freewill, penance, and others. Of all men he could not brooke nor fauor Thomas Becket archbishop of Canturburie for his contempt and disobedience against the king, for the which he sharplie inprooued, rebuked, and inueighed against him openlie in the parlement house holden at Northampton; and with such effectuall reasons, and pithie arguments, he did so temper the same, that the whole parlement relied vnto his iudgement and opinion herein against Thomas Becket. And after his death, such was the grauitie, modestie, and wisedome of the man, that he was speciallie chosen to be ambassador for the king vnto pope Alexander the third; and so wiselie, and with such discretion vsed the same, that notwithstanding his cause and message had manie aduersaries, yet he reconciled the pope and king obteined the goodwill and fauour of the pope, and brought his message to good effect. This bishop was in great familiaritie and acquaintance with Baldwin of Excester his countriman, now archbishop of Canturburie, who was a poore mans sonne in this citie; but for his learning aduanced to this estate. In this bishops time, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred three score and eight, William Fitzralfe a citizen of this citie founded a cell for moonks within this citie, and dedicated the same to saint Alerius, which not long after was vnited to saint Iohns within the east gate of the same citie. In his time also Reinold of Courtneie a nobleman of Normandie, the son of Clorus the son of Lewes, named Lewis le Crosse king of France came into this land, and married Hawise daughter and heire to Mawd the daughter and heire to Adelis sister and heire to Richard de Briono the first vicount of Deuon, and in hir right was vicount of Deuon. This Bartholomew, after he had béene bishop about fouretéene yeares, in the yere one thousand one hundred eightie and foure, died: but where he died, and where he was buried it dooth not appeere. In this bishops time about the yeare one thousand one hundred and seuentie, one Iohannes Coriniensis a Cornish man borne, was a famous learned diuine, he was a student at Rome and other places in Italie, and by that meanes grew into great acquaintance with pope Alexander the third: he wrote diuerse bookes, and namelie one De incarnatione Christi, against Peter Lombard, who affirmed, Quòd Christus secundum quod homo est, aliquid non est; and this he dedicated to pope Alexander.

Iohn the chanter.

19 Iohn the chanter of the cathedrall church of this citie was consecrated and installed bishop of this church, in the yeare one thousand one hundred eightie and foure, he was well reported of for his liberalitie in continuing the buildings of this church, wherein he was nothing inferior to his predecessors. In his time king Henrie Fitzempresse died, and he himselfe, hauing beene bishop about six yeares, died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred ninetie and one.

Henrie Marshal.

20 Henrie Marshall archdeacon of Stafford, the brother to Walter earle marshall of England, was consecrated bishop by Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare one thousand one hundred ninetie and one; he finished the building of his church, according to the plot and foundation which his predecessors had laid; and that doone, he purchased the patronage and lordship of Woodburie of one Albermarlie, which he gaue and impropriated vnto the vicars chorall of his church. In this mans time, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred and one, one Simon Thurnaius a Cornish man borne, brought vp in learning, did by diligence and studie so prosper therein, that he became excellent in all the liberall sciences, and in his dáies none thought to be like him. He left Oxenford, where he had béene a

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student, and went to Paris, and there became a priest, and studied diuinitie, and therein became so excellent, and of so deepe a iudgement, that he was made cheefe of the Sorbonists; at length he became so proud of his learning, and did glorie so much therein, that he would be singular, and thought himselfe to be an other Aristotle: and so much he was therein blinded, and waxed so farre in loue with Aristotle that he preferred him before Moses and Christ. But behold Gods iust iudgement. For suddenlie his memorie failed him, and he waxed so forgetfull, that he could neither call to remembrance anie thing that he had doone, neither could he discerne, read, or know a letter of the booke. This Henrie, after that he had spent and liued twelue yeares in his bishoprike, he died, and lieth buried in the north side of the chancell of his church in a verie faire toome of marble, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and six.

21 Simon de Apulia, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and six was installed bishop of this sée, of him there remaineth no memoriall at all. In his time were famous Ioseph Iscanius, and Alexander Neckham; the one was verie well learned in the Latine and Gréeke toong, and in the liberall sciences; the other was prior of saint Nicholas, and was an vniuersall man, being a profound philosopher, an eloquent orator, a pleasant poet, and a déepe diuine. In this bishops time the doctrine of eleuation, adoration, reseruation, and praieng for the dead, being established by pope Honorius the third, the parish churches within this citie were limited, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie and two. In this mans time, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and twelue, one Iohannes Deuonius, so surnamed, because he was borne in Deuon, being well bent to good studies, was much commended for his learning and modestie. He was familiar and of great acquaintance with Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie, and being made abbat of Ford, was in such fauor with king Iohn, that he chose him to be his confessor and chapleine; he was a writer, and compiled diuerse bookes which were then accounted of. Being dead, he was buried in his abbeie, the people much lamenting the want of so good a man. This bishop hauing spent eightéene yeares, died, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie and foure, and was buried in his owne church. Simon de Apulia

22 William Brewer, verie shortlie after the death of the foresaid Simon, was elected bishop, and consecrated by Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie and foure. He was borne and descended of a noble house and parentage, being brother to sir William Brewer knight, the husband of the eldest daughter, and one of the heirs to William de Verona, erle of Deuon; and who also was founder of the abbeies of Tor, of Hartland, and other monasteries. This bishop so wiselie and discréetlie behaued himselfe, that he was had in great reputation among all men, and in speciall fauour with the king. For king Henrie, hauing giuen his sister ladie Isabell to wife vnto Frederike the emperor, did commend and betake hir to this bishop, to be conueied and conducted to the emperor. And such was the fame and good report spred of him, that as he passed through the countries, they were from place to place receiued with great honor; and being come to the citie of Coleine, the archbishop there did not onelie verie honorablie receiue them, but also accompanied them vnto the citie of Wormes, where the mariage was solemnized. When this bishop had séene the marriage, and all things performed, he tooke his leaue, and was dismissed with great presents, and honorablie accompanied homewards by the archbishop and others. At his returne he was ioifullie receiued of all the noble men about the king, and most thankfullie by the king himselfe, and whome the king vsed as his speciall and most trustie councellor in all his weightie causes. This bishop being come home to his owne house, and minding (as his predecessors had doone) to leaue some good memoriall behind him, he made a deane, and constituted twentie foure prebendaries within his church. William Brewer.

To the one he impropriated Brampton and Coliton Rawleie; for the others he purchased so much land, as out whereof he assigned to euerie prebendarie foure pounds by the yeare, and of these he ordeined his chapter. Also in this mans time, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and fortie, Gilbert Long and Robert his brother citizens of this citie builded and founded the hospitall of saint Iohns, within the east gate of this citie, for the sustenance of certeine poore folks, called afterwards the poore children of saint Iohns, and gaue all their lands and tenements to the same, which was sufficient. The yeare following, the cell of Alerius was remooued and adioined to saint Iohns; and then the founders being dead, the charge and gouernement of that house was by those founders commended to the maior of this citie, and they thenseforth were founders and patrons thereof. In the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and foure, there grew a contention concerning the poore lazer sicke people of the Magdalen without the south gate of this citie, whose maner and vsage was then, with a clapdish vpon euerie market daie to resort and come to the markets, and there to beg euerie mans deuotion: but by reason of their sicknesse, which was lothsome and abhorred, the peoples deuotion waxed short and scant against them: as also euerie man murmured against their going and begging at large. Wherevpon the matter being brought into question betweene the bishop and this citie, it was concluded that a permutation should be made: and that therefore the bishops should be patrones, and haue the gouernement af saint Iohns, and the maior and his successors to be gardians and founders of the hospitall of the Magdalen; with a prouiso, that the proctor of the hospitall of the Magdalen should on one daie in euerie moneth come with his box to saint Peters church at the time of seruice, and there to receiue and gather the deuotion of the canons, which is vsed at these presents. This poore house remaineth still, but the other for want of good freends was suppressed and dissolued. This bishop after he had continued in his church about nineteene yeares, he died, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and foure, and lieth buried in the middle of his owne church vnder a plaine marble stone.

Richard Blondie

23 Richard Blondie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and fiue, was consecrated and installed bishop, Bonifacius then being archbishop of Canturburie. This Richard was a man of a mild spirit, but verie stout against such as in his time did offer anie iniurie to the church. And in his old yeares being but a weake man, he was much carried and ruled by such as were his officers and about him, who taking the opportunitie of the time, vsed all the meanes they might to inrich themselues. His chéefest officers were one Lodeswell his chancellor, Sutton his register, Fitzherbert his officiall, and Ermestow the kéeper of his seale. These with others of the chéefe seruants of his houshold compacted among themselues, that whilest the bishop was yet liuing, who then laie sicke and verie weake in his bed, to make and conueie vnto themselues conueniances of such liuelihoods as then laie in the bishops disposition; and accordinglie made out aduousons and other such conueiances as to them seemed best, all which were forthwith sealed and deliuered according to the orders among them concluded. But these their subtill dealings were not so closely conueied, but that the next bishop following boolted and found the same out; and did not onelie reuerse all their doings, but also did excommunicat them, and who were not absolued vntill they had doone their penance for the same: which was doone at saint Peters church openlie, vpon Palmesundaie, being the nineteenth daie of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred threescore and seuen. This bishop Richard in the twelfe yeare of his bishoprike, died, and was buried in his owne church.

Walter Bronescome.

24 Walter Bronescome, archdeacon of Surreie, was consecrated bishop of Excester vpon Passion sundaie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred foure score

score and six vnder Bonifacius then archbishop. He was borne in this citie of Exon, and was the sonne of poore parents; but he being of a verie towardnesse and good disposition and verie apt to learning, they partlie of themselues, and partlie by helpe of their friends, did put him to schoole and kept him to his booke, wherein he proued and prospered so well that he was verie well learned. At the time of his election he was no priest, and therefore not capeable of anie such dignitie: but immediatlie he tooke that order vpon him, and forthwith was consecrated bishop. All which being doone within fiftéene daies, it was counted as for a miracle; namelie, that he should be elected bishop, then made priest, and at last to be consecrated within that space. For so manie dignities (as they termed it) to be cast vpon one man in so short a time, had not béene lightlie séene. He founded the college of Glasneie in Perrin in Cornewall, and indowed the same with faire possessions and reuennes. He purchased the Barton of Rokesdon and Clist, and gaue it to the hospitall of S. Iohns within the east gate of the citie of Excester. He instituted in his owne church the feast called Gabriels feast; and gaue a peece of land for the maintenance thereof. He also did by a policie purchase the lordship and house of Clist Sachisfield, and by a deuise did inlarge the Barton thereof, by gaining of Cornish wood from his deane and chapter: and builded then a verie faire and a sumptuous house, and called it bishops Clist, which he left to his successors. Likewise he got the patronage of Clist Fomeson, now called Sowton, and annexed the same to his new lordship, which (as it was said) was in this order. He had a frier to be his chapleine and confessor, which died in his said house of Clist, and should haue bin buried in the parish church of Faringdon, bicause the said house was and is in that parish: but bicause the parish church was somewhat far off, the waies foule, and the weather rainie, or for some other causes; the bishop willed and commanded the corps to be carried to the parish church of Sowton, then called Clist Fomeson, which is verie néere and bordereth vpon the bishops lordship: the two parishes there being diuided by a little lake called Clist. At this time one Fomeson a gentleman was lord and patrone of Clist Fomeson, and he being aduertised of such a buriall towards in his parish, and a leéch waie to be made ouer his land, without his leaue or consent required therein, calleth his tenants togither, and goeth to the bridge ouer the lake, betwéene the bishops land and his, and there méeteth the bishops men bringing the said corps, and forbiddeth them to come ouer the water. But the bishops men nothing regarding the same, doo presse forwards to come ouer the water; and the others doo withstand and fall at strife about the matter, so long, that in the end my lords frier is fallen into the water. The bishop taketh this matter in such griefe, that a holie frier, a religious man, and his owne chapleine and confessor should so vnreuerentlie be cast into the water, that he falleth out with the gentleman, and (vpon what occasion I know not) he sueth him in the law, and so vexeth and tormenteth him, that in the end he was faine to yéeld himselfe to the bishops deuotion, and séeketh all waies he could to currie the bishops good will, which he could not obteine, vntill for his redemption he had giuen and surrendred vp his patronage of Sowton with a péece of land, all which the said bishop annexeth to his new lordship. Thus by policie he purchased the manor of bishops Clist, by a deuise gaineth Cornish wood, and by power wresteth the patronage of Sowton. This bishop after he had occupied this see about three and twentie years, died and was buried in his owne church, in a sumptuous toome of alabaster.

25 Peter Quiuill, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred foure score and one, was consecrated bishop of this church, vnder Iohn archbishop of Canturburie. He first instituted a chanter and a subdeane in his church. To the one he impropriated Paiñton and Chidleigh, and to the other the rectorie of Eglosehaile in Cornewall, he was a liberall and a speciall benefactor to the hospitall of saint Iohns Peter Quiuill.

in Excester as well in goods as in liuelihoods, he first began to inlarge and increase his church from the chancell downewards, and laid the foundation thereof. In his time in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred foure score and fiue, Walter Lichlade the first chanter was slaine in a morning as he came from the morning seruice, then called the Mattins, which was then woont to be said shortlie after midnight. Vpon which occasion the king came vnto this citie, and kept his Christmasse in the same, and therevpon a composition was made betweene the bishop and the citie for enclosing of the churchyard, and building of certeine gates there, as appéereth by the said composition bearing date in Festo annunciationis beatæ Mariæ 1286. The king at the sute of the earle of Hereford, who at his being here was lodged in the house of the Greie friers, which then was néere the house of S. Nicholas, obteined of the bishop, that they should be remoued from thense to a more wholesome place, which was to the place without the south gate: wherof after the kings departure grew some controuersie, bicause the bishop refused to performe his promise made to the king. This man also impropriated the parish of S. Newleine, and the parish of Stoke Gábriell, and vnited the same to the office of the chancellor of the cathedrall church; and vnder condition, that the said chancellor should continuallie read a lecture within the said citie, of diuinitie or of the decretals: and if he should faile to doo this, that then it might and should be lawfull to the bishop to resigne the said parsonages impropriated, and to bestow it at his pleasure, as appeereth by the said grant vnder the seales of the said bishop deane and chapter, dated the twelfe of the calends of Maie 1283. This bishop not long after, and in the eleuenth yeare of his bishoprike, died; being choked in drinking of a sirrup, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninetie and two, and was buried in his owne church. The Franciscans or Greie friers of this citie imputed his death to his hard dealing with them. For whereas he had promised the king to prouide a conuenient place for them to build their house in, and had willed their warden named Deodatus, to séeke out and make inquirie for the same: yet notwithstanding when he had so doone, bicause the same was in his sée he did swarue from his said promise, and did vtterlie denie to performe the same, by the persuasion of one Peter Renefeld, a Dominican or Blacke frier, and Confessor vnto the said bishop. For he enuieng the good successe of the Franciscans, persuadeth with the bishop, that in no wise he should permit them to inioy the place which they had gotten, nor to build therein; bicause it was within his sée: for saith he, as vnder colour of simplicitie they créepe into the hearts of the people, and hinder vs poore preachers from our gaines and liuings; so be ye sure, that if the canons put foot within your liberties, they will in time so incroch vpon the same, as that they will be cleane exempted from out of your libertie, and iurisdiction. The bishop being soone persuaded and contented contrarie to his promise to yéeld thervnto, denieth the Franciscans; and vtterlie forbiddeth them to build or to doo anie thing within his sée or libertie. About two years after, the bishop kept a great feast vpon the sundaie next before saint Francis daie, and among others was present with him one Walter Winborne one of the kings chiefe iustices of the bench; and who was present when the bishop at the request of the king made promise further and to helpe the Franciscans, and who in their behalfe did now put the bishop in mind thereof, and requested him to haue consideration both of his owne promise and of their distresse. The bishop misliking these spéeches, waxed somewhat warme and offended, and in open termes did not onelie denie to yeeld herevnto, but wished himselfe to be choked what daie soeuer he did consent or yéeld vnto it. It fortuned that the same wéeke, and vpon the daie of saint Francis eue, the bishop tooke a certeine sirrup to drinke, and in too hastie swallowing thereof his breath was stopped, and he forthwith died. The Franciscans hearing thereof, made

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no little ado about this matter, but blazed it abrode that saint Francis wrought this miracle vpon the bishop, bicause he was so hard against them.

26 Thomas Bitton the yeare following was elected bishop, and the sée of Canturburie being void, he was consecrated by Iohn Roman archbishop of Yorke. He left no memoriall of anie great things doone by him, sauing that he continued in the building of his church: as also was a fauourer of such learned men as were in his diocesse in his time: namelie Robert Plimpton a regular canon of Plimpton, and professor of diuinitie, and who wrote two bookes, Walter of Exon a Franciscane frier of Carocus in Cornewall, who at the request of one Baldwin of Excester wrote the historie of Guie of Warwike: William of Excester doctor of diuinitie and warden of the Franciscane friers of this citie; Godfreie surnamed Cornewall, a subtill schoole-man, and a reader of diuinitie sometimes in Paris. This bishop, after fouretéene yeares that he had occupied this sée, died, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand thrée hundred and six, and was buried in his owne church. Thomas Bitton.

27 Walter Stapledon, in the yere of our Lord one thousand thrée hundred and seauen, being elected bishop of this citie, was consecrated by Robert Winchelseie archbishop of Canturburie. He descended of a most noble parentage, which ioined with his learning, wisedome, and politike head, did him great credit and fauour with the king, who had him not onelie one of his priuie councell, but also made him lord treasuror of England. At his inthronization or installing he kept a solemne obseruation. For being come first to the citie, immediatlie after his consecration, as soone as he came to the east gate, he alighted from his horsse, and went in on foot, all the stréet being couered and laied with blacke cloth; he was led on both sides with two men of worship: and sir Hugh Courtneie knight, who clamed to be steward of his feast, went next before him. The feast itselfe was verie sumptuous and liberall. A controuersie was betweene him and the said sir Hugh Courtneie, concerning his challenge to be his steward, but it was compounded and ended. This bishop as he grew and increased in wealth, so he was carefull in the well disposing of part therof. For the increase of learning he builded and erected two houses in Oxenford, the one named Stapledons inne, but since Excester college, the other Hart hall. He was also a speciall benefactor vnto the hospitall of saint Iohns in Excester; vnto the which, for the releéuing of certeine poore children therein, he impropriated the rectorie or personage of Ernescome. In the controuersie betwéene his maister king Edward the second, and Charles the French king, he was sent ambassador to the French king, and ioined in commission with the quéene, for the treatie of a peace and reconciliation: which though it were obteined, yet he ioining with the Spensers, who fauoured not the queene, he returned into England; leauing the queene behind him. And whereas they practised what they could, to put enimitie betweene the king and hir; and to set hir besides the cushion, they themselues fell into the same snares, which they had laied for others. For not long after, the queene, by the helpe of the earle of Henauld, and of sir Iohn his brother, came into England with a great armie. Whereof the king and the Spensers, being affraied, departed from London to Bristow, leauing the bishop at London, and made him custos of the same; who requiring the keies of the gates of the citie of the maior, the commoners tooke him and beheaded him, as also his brother sir Richard Stapledon, in Cheapside, and carried his bodie to his house without Templebar, and there buried it in a sandhill; namelie the fiftéenth of October in the yeare of our Lord one thousand thrée hundred twentie and nine. But the quéene forgetting all discurtesies, and reuerencing his calling, commanded his corps to some more honourable buriall: wherevpon the same was taken vp, and brought to this citie, and with great solemnitie was buried in his owne church, vpon the eight and twentith of March, where his epitaph by the writer thereof Walter Stapledon.

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is set. Thus after that he had béene bishop about twentie yeares, he ended his daies.

Iames Barkeleie. 28 Iames Barkeleie, vpon the six and twentith of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand thrée hundred twentie and seauen, before the buriall of his predecessor in his owne church, was consecrated bishop of this citie. He descended of the noble house of the lord Barkeleie, and albeit he were reputed to be a verie godlie and a wise man, yet he had no time to yéeld the triall thereof. For he died in the fourth moneth after his consecration, vpon the foure and twentith daie of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand thrée hundred twentie and seauen, and was buried in his owne church as some say, but some think he neuer came hither at all.

Iohn Grandesson. 29 Iohn Grandesson, being in Italie with pope Iohn the two and twentith. After the death of Iames Barkeleie, the king presented him vnto the pope, who accepted the presentation, and consecrated him bishop of this diocesse on the eight of October, Anno 1327. He was borne and descended of the ancient house of the Grandessons, dukes of Burgognie, his father was named Gilbert, the brother of Otho the great lord Grandesson. Which Gilbert comming into this land, was well interteined by the king and nobilitie, and had a good liking of the countrie, that by meanes of Henrie earle of Lancaster, with whome he came into England, he married ladie Sibill, daughter and one of the heires to Iohn Tregos, lord of the castell of Ewas, neére Hereford east, and by hir had issue fiue sonnes, and foure daughters; of which this bishop was one, and was borne in the parish of Ashperton, in the diocesse of Hereford. He was from his childhood verie well affected to learning, and became a good scholar and professor of diuinitie, of which method he wrote two books, the one intituled Pontificales maiores, and the other Pontificales minores. He was also verie graue, wise, and politike, and therby grew into such credit with pope Iohn the two and twentith, that he was not onelie of his priuie councell, but also Nuntius apostolice sedis; and in all matters of weight and importance an ambassadour for him to the emperour, to the kings of Spaine, of France, of England, and of all others the mightiest princes of christendome. And being on a time sent in an ambassage to king Edward the third, he did with such wisedome and grauitie behaue himselfe, that the king was rauished in loue with him; and did so tenderlie loue and fauour him, that he neuer ceassed, vntill he had procured him from the pope, and then he gaue him the archdeaconrie of Notingham, and bestowed great liuings on him. He made him one of his priuie councell, and in the end preferred him to this bishoprike. After this, there being some disliking betwéene pope Clement the sixt, and the king; he for his approoued wisedome was sent in an ambassage to the pope, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand thrée hundred fortie and thrée, for an intreatie of a peace and an amitie betweene them to be had; and with such wisedome he did his message, that he obteined his purpose, and made a reconciliation. After his returne home to his bishoprike, he was altogither giuen in dooing some good things. He builded and founded the college of saint Marie Otréie, and indowed the same with great and goodlie liuelihoods, he was a liberall benefactor to the vicars chorall of his owne church, as also to the college of Glasneie in Perrin; he builded the two last arches in the west end of his church, vauted the roofe of all the church, and fullie performed and ended the buildings of the same, and then inriched his said church with plate, ornaments, and great riches. Also he builded a verie faire house in his sanctuarie at bishops Teington, which he gaue and left full furnished vnto his successors, and did impropriate vnto the same the parsonage of Radwaie to the end as he setteth downe in his testament, Vt haberent locum vndè caput suum reclinarent, si fortè in manum regis eorum temporaliæ caperentur: and which his halsening in the end came partlie to effect. For not onelie the most part of the temporalties of this bishoprike, but this new builded house and impropriation are come to be the possessions and inheritances

of

of temporall men. This bishop waxed old, and feeling in himselfe a decaie of nature, made his last will and testament, wherein he made such large and bountious legacies to the pope, emperour, king, queene, archbishop, bishops, colleges, churches, and to sundrie persons of high estates and callings; that a man would maruell, considering his great and chargeable buildings, and works otherwise, how and by what meanes he could haue atteined to such a masse of welth and riches; but his wisedome and policie considered, it was easie. For first, he sequestrateth from himselfe and out of his house the troope of manie men and horsses, reteining and keeping no more than to serue his reasonable estate; his diet was frugall, his receipts great, his expenses no more than necessarie. Moreouer, he had taken and set an order with all the ecclesiasticall persons of his diocesse, that at the time of their deaths, they should leaue and bequeth all their goods to him or to some other in trust, In pios vsus, and towards his chargeable buildings; and so well he was beloued, and his dooings liked, that they all accepted this his order: by means whereof he grew within the course of fortie yeares to infinite wealth and riches. He was in all his lifetime a plaine man, and void of all vaine glorie and pompe; and preuenting that none should be vsed at his buriall, commanded the same to be doone plainelie and simplie; and that none of his executors, chapleins, seruants, nor none of his houshold should weare anie moorning blacke cloths at the same, but onelie their accustomable and common apparell, which then was commonlie greie coloured cloths. This bishop was no lesse graue and wise, than stout and of courage, if occasion did so require. And amongest other things this is reported of him; that about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, Simon Mepham, then archbishop of Canturburie, sent his mandatum to this bishop, that he would visit his church and diocesse vpon mondaie next after Ascension daie then following. This bishop (vpon what occasion it is not written) did refuse this mandatum, and appealed from the same, aduertising the archbishop that he should not visit his church nor diocesse. Notwithstanding, the archbishop at the time appointed came to this citie, and went to S. Peters church, nothing thinking that anie durst to withstand him. But the bishop knowing of his comming, goeth to the church doore, meeteth the archbishop, and forbiddeth him to enter into his church; but the archbishop pressing forward, as with force to enter, the bishop being then well garded, denied and resisted him: whervpon the archbishop departed, and after at a prouinciall counsell holden at London, the archbishop complained hereof, but by meanes of the like discord betweene him and his suffragans, he preuailed not. In this bishops time one William of Excester, a verie well learned man, was a canon of this church; and he ioining with Nicholas de Cesena, Okeham, Walsingham, and others, did openlie preach, that Christ and his apostles were but poore men, and had no temporall possessions: neither was anie emperor or laie man subiect to the pope, but onlie in matters of religion. But when he heard that pope Iohn the three and twentith had excommunicated, and would condemne them all for heretikes; this William, to saue his liuings, secretlie shroonke awaie from his old companions, and changed his copie, and writeth certeine conclusions against them and his owne preachings. Also in this bishops time, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and fortie, one Iohn of Bampton, so named, bicause he was borne at Bampton, in this diocesse, and a moonke of the order of the Carmelites, was a verie good scholar, and first did openlie read Aristotle in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, where he was a scholar; and afterwards he studied diuinitie, and was made doctor: he wrote certeine bookes, which are not extant. This bishop, after that he had occupied this church about two and fortie yeares, he died vpon S. Swithins daie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred sixtie and nine, and was buried in a chappell which he builded in the west wall of his owne church.

30 Thomas Brentingham, after the death of this Iohn Grandesson, was at one instant Thomas Brentingham.

instant chosen bishop of Excester and bishop of Hereford, who refusing the one toke the other, and was consecrated bishop of Excester vpon the tenth daie of Marc; in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and seauentie, being the east daie of Nereus and Achilles, William of Worcester then archbishop of Canturburie. This Thomas was a man verie well learned, and experted both in ecclesiasticall matters, and in politike gouernement, and in both these respects greatlie reuerenced and estéemed; and for that cause, at the parlement holden at Westminster, in the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, was chosen one of the twelue péeres of the realme vnder the king. He was a benefactor to the Calenderhaie of the vicars chorall of his owne church, and performed and supplied in buildings and otherwise, what his predecessors had left vndoone. And hauing beene bishop foure and twentie yeares, he died the third of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1394, and was buried in the north side of the bodie of his owne church.

Edmund Stafford. 31 Edmund Stafford vpon the twentith daie of Iune, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred ninetie and fiue, was consecrated at Lambeth by William Courtnaie archbishop of Canturburie. He was borne and descended of noble parentage, being brother to Ralfe lord Stafford created earle of Stafford by king Edward the third; he was both wise and learned, and for his wisedome grew into great credit with the king, and was both of his priuie councell, as also lord chancellor of England. At the parlement holden at Westminster, the one and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, he being then speaker of the higher house, made a verie learned and pithie oration, to proue the absolute authoritie of a king: his theme was, Rex vnus erit omnibus. And hauing discoursed at large of the authoritie of a king, he did conclude; Quòd potestas regis esset sibi sola, vnita, annexa solida: and whosoeuer did by anie meanes impeach the same, Pœna legis meritò esset plectendus. And for the furtherance of good letters, he did increase two fellowships in the college of Stapledons inne in Oxford, reformed the statutes of the house, and altered the name of it, and called it Excester college. After that he had continued bishop in much honor about three and twentie yeares, he died the fourth of September, being the seuenth yeare of king Henrie the fift, and lieth buried in his owne church in a verie faire toome of alabaster.

Iames Carie. 32 Iames Carie bishop of Chester, then being at Florence when news was brought to Pope Martin the fift of the said late bishop Staffords death, was there made bishop of this church, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and nineteene, and also consecrated; but long he inioied not his office, for there he died, and was buried.

Edmund Lacie. 33 Edmund Lacie bishop of Hereford was translated from thense vnto this church in the feast of Easter, and in the eight yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fift, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred and twentie. He was a man verie deuout and religious, but subiect to flatterers, who carried him to their pleasure; he was a liberall benefactor vnto the vicar of Calenderhaie. Great contentions were betwéene him and the citie for liberties, which by arbitrement were compounded. He founded the chapter house in his owne church. He was a professor of diuinitie, and verie well learned. For in the second yeare of his bishoprike, being the ninth yeare of the kings reigne, there was a parlement holden at Westminster, in which great complaints were made against the loose and dissolute life of the religious men, and especiallie the blacke moonks. And this matter being brought to the conuocation house, this bishop as chéefe proloquutor of that assemblie, did make a verie learned and a pithie oration before the king, then of purpose present, and the whole cleargie, much lamenting that the religious men were so far straied from the rules of their professions, and the holinesse of their predecessors. And when he had at large discoursed

discoursed the same, he deliuered vp certeine articles in writing, praieng for reformation. Which his spéeches were so effectuallie vttered, and his articles so pithilie penned, that both the king and the clergie did not onelie with great liking and allowancepraise and commend the same; but also tooke order that there should be a prouinciall councell called out of hand for a reformation. Which was then promised, but not performed; by reason of the kings death, which not long after followed. But yet in the waie of good spéed, it was then concluded and agréed, that euerie third benefice, being of the gift of anie of the prelats, or of anie monasterie, should from thenseforth for seauen yeares be giuen to some scholar of Oxford or Cambridge. This bishop, after he had liued fiue and thirtie yeares in this bishoprike, died and was buried in the north wall of the quéere in his owne church. After whose death manie miracles were said and deuised to be doone at his toome, wherevpon great pilgrimages were made by the common people to the same.

34 George Neuill succéeded Edmund Lacie, and was consecrated in the feast of saint Katharine, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie and fiue, he was of a noble parentage, being the second son of Richard Neuill earle of Sarisburie, he finished and ended the chapter house which his predecessor had begun. And after that he had beene bishop about ten yeares, he was remooued to Yorke, and made archbishop there, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thrée score and fiue. George Neuill.

35 Iohn Booth, after the translation of George Neuill to Yorke, was consecrated bishop vnder Thomas Burscher archbishop of Canturburie, vpon the two and twentith daie of Februarie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred three score and six. He was by profession a ciuillian, and a batchelor of the same, he gouerned his church verie well, and builded (as some suppose) the bishops sée in the queere. But being werie of the great troubles which were in this countrie betwéene king Edward the fourth and the earle of Warwike, he remooued from hense to his house of Horsleigh in Hampshire, where in the twelfe yere of his bishoprike he died, vpon the fift of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred seuentie and eight, and lieth buried at saint Clements in London. Iohn Booth.

36 Peter Courtneie, immediatlie after the death of Iohn Booth, was presented to this bishoprike, and consecrated by Thomas archbishop of Canturburie in Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred seuentie and seuen at saint Stephans in Westminster; he was the son of sir Philip Courtnie of Powderham, his mother was named Elisabeth, daughter to Walter lord Hungerford. He for his wisedome and good behauiour was in great fauor and credit with king Henrie the seauenth, by whose means he was translated from this church to Winchester, in the ninth yeare of his being bishop here, and in the fift yeare of his being there he died, vpon the twentith daie of December, in the yere one thousand foure hundred ninetie and one, and lieth buried in his owne church. He finished the north tower of saint Peters, and gaue the clocke bell which is in the same, and which beareth the name Peter. Peter Courtneie.

37 Richard Fox, vpon the remooving of Peter Courtneie, was consecrated bishop of this church, vnder Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred thrée score and six. He was a verie wise man, and in great credit and estimation with king Henrie the seuenth, vnto whome he was a faithfull councellor, and of his councell; with whom he acquainted himselfe at Paris, when he was there a student. For king Henrie then erle of Richmond, being at Venice, and aduertised how the nobilitie of England was bent to haue him for their king, came from thense to Paris, and sought vnto Charles then king of France for aid and helpe: in which the erle his sutes this Fox was a speciall traueller and councellor; and in the end, God giuing the succes, the erle obteined the crowne, and hauing had Richard Fox.

due triall of the fidelitie, wisedome, and trust of this bishop, he made him lord priuie seale; and kept and vsed him and his aduise in all his weightie matters as well at home as abrode. He being ambassador sundrie times to the kings of France and Scotland, and of a verie hartie good will and loue, the king made him godfather to his second son king Henrie the eight. There was a kind of emulation, betweene this bishop and the earle of Surreie, both of them being verie wise and of great seruice to the king and commonwealth: howbeit, in some diuersitie of respects, the one hauing no issue to care for, did deale without anie priuat affection or singular gaine; and the other hauing issue, was desirous to aduance his house and honor. These affections did breed some dislike betweene them two, yet the king finding a faith vnto himselfe, and a commoditie to the commonwealth, misliked it not, if the same exceeded his measure: and they more warme than commendable for their callings and estates. The king or the councell would deale betwene them for the appeasing and pacifieng of them, and to them he was both friendlie, louing, and liberall. The one he deliuered out of the tower, pardoned him of his offenses, restored him to his lands, receiued him into speciall fauor, made him of his priuie councell, as also lord treasuror of England, and his generall into Scotland, and augmented his liuelihoods. The other he first made bishop to this church, then remooued him to Bath, and from thense vnto Durham, and lastlie vnto Winchester. Erasmus, in his booke intituled The preacher or Ecclesiastes, declareth how that the king vpon a time, wanting some peece of monie, was to borow the same of the commons, and of the clergie. And for the dealings with the clergie, the matter was by commission committed to this bishop. Who when they came before him, vsed all the excuses that they could, to shift themselues from lending of anie monie. Some came verie seemelie and well apparelled, and awaited vpon by their men, according to their liuelihoods; and these alledged, that they were greatlie charged in hospitalitie and house keeping, with other charges incident to the same, so that they had no monie, and therefore could paie none. Some came poorelie and barelie apparelled, and they alledged that their liuelihoods were but small, and yet their charges were great, and by that meanes the world was so hard with them that they had it not to spare. This bishop, hauing heard all these excuses, vsed this dilemme. To the richer sort he said; Forsomuch as you are so well and seemelie apparelled, and doo keepe so great houses, and haue all things necessarie about you; it is a manifest argument that you haue some store about you, or else you would not doo as ye doo; and therefore yee must needs lend. To the other, who pretended excuse of their pouertie, he thus replied vnto them; that forsomuch as they were so bare in their apparell, and so sparing of their expenses, it must needs be that they saued their pursses and had monie, and therefore they must needs paie, and so adiudged them to lend vnto the prince. Now as he arose by learning, so he was a great fauorer and furtherer of learning: and for the good increase of the same he builded and founded Corpus Christi college in Oxenford. In his latter daies he waxed and was blind, and dieng in Winchester, he was there buried in his owne church, after that he had beene bishop of Excester six yeers, he was remoued to Bath, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred ninetie and two.

Oliuer King. 38 Oliuer King, immediatlie vpon the transferring of bishop Fox, was consecrated bishop of this church, in Februarie, one thousand foure hundred ninetie and two, Iohn Morton then archbishop of Canturburie. This Oliuer was chapleine to king Henrie the seuenth, and deane of Windesor, and register of the order of the garter. In his time were the rebellions of Ioseph the blacke smith in Cornewall, and of Perken Warbecke. This bishop after that he had occupied this see about fiue yeares, he died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred ninetie and seuen, and (as some suppose) he was buried at Windesor.

39 Richard Redman, immediatlie vpon the death of bishop Oliuer King, was trans- Richard Redman.
lated from his bishoprike in Wales to this citie; but after fiue yeares he was remooued vnto the bishoprike of Elie, and installed there in September in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and one. He was a gentleman borne, and descended of a verie worshipfull house, which ioined with his wisedome and learning, did much increase his credit and good report.

40 Iohn Arundell, next after the translation of bishop Redman, was remooued Iohn Arundell.
from Couentrie and Lichfield vnto this citie, and was installed the fifteenth of March, one thousand fiue hundred and one. Wherein he sought not the preferment for anie liuelihoods, but rather desirous to be a dweller and restant in his countrie where he was borne: for he was descended of the Arundels of Lanherne in Cornewall, a house of great antiquitie and worship. He long inioied not his new bishoprike, for after two yeares after his installing, he had occasion to ride vnto London, and there died, and was buried in S. Clements church without Templebar, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred and three.

41 Hugh Oldham, vpon the death of Arundell, by the preferment of the countesse Hugh Oldham.
of Richmond and Derbie, vnto whom he was chapleine, was preferred vnto this bishoprike, and installed in the same. He was a man hauing more zeale than knowledge, and more deuotion than learning; somewhat rough in speeches, but friendlie in dooings. He was carefull in the sauing and defending of his liberties, for which continuall sutes was betweene him and the abbat of Tauestocke; he was liberall to the vicars chorall of his church, and reduced them to the keeping of commons, and towards the maintenance thereof he gaue them certeine reuenues, and impropriated vnto them the rectorie of Cornewood. He albeit (of himselfe) he were not learned, yet a great fauourer and a furtherer of learning and of learned men. Notwithstanding he was sometime crossed in his honest attempt therein. He first was minded to haue inlarged Excester college in Oxford, as well in buildings as in fellowships: but after being a requester to the fellowes for one Atkins to be a fellow, in whose fauour he had written his letters and was denied, he changed his mind, and his good will was alienated. About the same time doctor Smith bishop of Lincolne was building of the college named Brasen nose, and was verie willing and desirous to ioine with him: but being denied to haue the nomination of a founder, his mind was changed. Not long after, being aduertised that bishop Fox of Winchester was minded to erect and found a new college, he ioined with him, and contributed vnto him a great masse of monie, and so a college was builded for scholars, and great liuelihoods prouided for them: and then the house was named Corpus Christi college. Whereof the one of them bare the name of a founder, and the other of a benefactor. Howbeit, some diuersitie was betweene these two bishops at the first, to what vse this college should be imploied. For the founder was of the mind that he would haue made it for a house of moonks; but the benefactor was of the contrarie mind, and would haue it for scholars, alleging that moonks were but a sort of buzzing flies, and whose state could not long indure; wheras scholars brought vp in learning would be profitable members to the commonwealth, and good ornaments to the church of God, and continue for euer. The founder being a wise man, and of a deepe iudgement, when he had paused and considered hereof, yeelded herevnto: and so it was concluded betweene them to make and build a college for scholars. And forthwith for the good direction, guiding, and gouernement of the said college and scholars; such wise, good, and politike statutes and ordinances were by good aduise and counsell deuised, established, and ordeined; as whereby the said college hath beene, and yet continueth one of the best nursseries for training and instructing of good scholars in learning within the vniuersitie. This bishop and the abbat of Tauestocke did still contend and continue in law during their liues: and during which sute this bishop died, being excommunicated,

nicated at Rome, and who could not be suffered to be buried, vntill an absolution from Rome was procured for him. After that he had beene bishop about sixteene yeares, he died the fiue and twentith of Iune, one thousand fiue hundred and nineteene, and was buried in his owne church.

Iohn Voisele. 42 Iolin Voiseie, otherwise Harman, succeeded Oldham, by the preferment of king Henrie the eight, whose chapleine he then was, and deane of his chapell as also of this church; he was doctor of the lawes, verie well learned and wise, and in great fauour with the king, who sent him sundrie times in ambassages to foreine princes; he was lord president of Wales, and had the gouernement of the kings onlie daughter ladie Marie princesse of Wales. Of all the bishops in the land he was accounted the courtlikest and the best courtier. And although he were well reported for his learning, yet better liked for his courtlike behauiour, which in the end turned not so much to his credit, as to the vtter ruine and spoile of the church: for of two and twentie lordships and manors, which his predecessors had and left vnto him, of a goodlie yearelie reuenue he left but three, and them also leased out. And where he found fouretéene houses well furnished, he left onelie one house bare and without furniture, and yet charged with sundrie fées and annuities; and by these means this bishoprike, which sometimes was counted one of the best, is now become in temporall lands one of the meanest, and according to the foreprophesieng of bishop Grandesson, a' place scarse left for the bishop to laie and rest his head in: and yet neuertheiesse he was a great fauourer of learned men, and especiallie of diuines, whome he preferred in his church aboue others. He was verie bountious and liberall vnto all men, but especiallie vnto courtiers, vnto his owne kindred and countriemen. Vpon manie he bestowed much, to the confusion of some of them; and vpon the others he spent much by building of a towne called Sutton Colshull where he was borne, which he procured to be incorporated, and made a market towne, and set vp therein making of kearsies, but all which in the end came to small effect. In his time, after the death of king Henrie the eight, there was an alteration of religion by king Edward the sixt, wherof insued a rebellion and commotion in this diocesse: which in some part was imputed to this bishop, bicause he laie farre from it, and dwelled in his owne countrie. Whereupon he resigned the bishoprike into the kings hands, after that he had beene bishop about thirtie yeares, and liued by the rents of the temporaltie of the bishoprike, which when he alienated and discontinued, he did receiue vnto him for terme of his owne life.

Miles Couerdale. 43 Miles Couerdale, after the resignation of Voiseie, was by king Edward made bishop of this citie, and consecrated at Lambeth by Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and fiftie. He was borne in the north countrie, and from his childhood giuen to learning, wherein he profited verie much: he was one of the first which professed the gospell in this land in the time of king Henrie the eight, he translated the bible out of the Hebrue, into English, and wrote sundrie bookes vpon the scriptures. Which doctrine being verie new and strange in those daies, and he verie streightlie pursued by the bishops made his escape, and passed ouer into low Germanie, where he printed the bibles of his translation and sent them ouer into England, and therof made his gaine wherby he liued. But the bishops, namelie D. Stokesleie bishop of London, when he heard hereof, and minding to preuent that no such bibles should be dispersed within this realme, made inquirie where they were to be sold, and bought them all vp; supposing that by this meanes no more bibles would be had: but contrarie to his expectation it fell out otherwise. For the same monie which the bishop gaue for these bookes, was sent ouer by the merchant vnto this Couerdale, and by that meanes he was of that wealth and abilitie, that he imprinted as manie more and sent them ouer into [illegible] but he was then so narrowlie sought for, that he was driuen to remoone

mooue himselfe out of Flanders into Germanie, and dwelled vnder the Palsegraue of Rhene, where he found much fauour. First he taught yoong children, and hauing learned the Dutch toong, the prince Palatine gaue him a benefice, named Burghsaher, where he continued and liued verie well, partlie by that benefice, and partlie by the liberalitie of the lord Cromewell, who was his good lord and releeued him verie much. At length, when the religion was altered in England, and the gospell had a free passage, he returned and did verie much good in preaching of the same. And when the commotion in Deuon was for religion, he was appointed to attend the lord Russell, when he came to suppresse the same, and verie shortlie for his learning and godlie life was made bishop of this see; who most worthilie did performe the office committed vnto him. He preached continuallie vpon euerie holie daie, and did read most commonlie twise in the weeke in some one church or other within this citie. He was after the rate of his liuings a great keeper of hospitalitie, verie sober in diet, godlie in life, friendlie to the godlie, liberall to the poore, and courteous to all men, void of pride, full of humilitie, abhorring couetousnesse, and an enimie to all wickednesse and wicked men: whose companies he shunned, and whom he would in no wise shrowd or haue in his house and companie. His wife a most sober, chast, and godlie matrone; his house and houshold another church, in which was exercised all godlinesse and vertue. No one person being in his house, which did not from time to time giue an account of his faith and religion, and also did liue accordinglie. And as he had a care for the successe in religion, so had he also for the direction of the gouernement in ecclesiasticall causes. And bicause he was not skilful therin, neither would be hindered from his godlie studies, and be incombered with such worldlie matters, which neuertheles he would haue be doone in all vprightnesse, iustice, and equitie; he sent to Oxford for a learned man to be his chancellor, and by the ministerie of the writer hereof he procured and obteined one master Robert Weston doctor of the ciuill law, and afterwards lord chancellor of Ireland, vnto whome he committed his consistorie, and the whole charge of his ecclesiasticall iurisdiction; allowing vnto him, not onelie all the fees therevnto apperteining, but also lodged, and found him, his wife, familie, horsse, and man, within his owne house, and gaue him a yearelie pension of fortie pounds. And surelie the bishop was no more godlie and carefull of his part, concerning preaching; but this man also was as diligent and seuere in dooing of his office, without reproch of being affectionated or corrupted. And notwithstanding this good man, now a blamelesse bishop, liued most godlie and vertuous: yet the common people, whose old bottels would receiue no new wine, could not brooke nor digest him; for no other cause, but bicause he was a preacher of the gospell, an enimie to papistrie, and a married man. Manie deuises were attempted against him for his confusion, sometimes by false suggestions, sometimes by open railings, and false libels; sometimes by secret backbitings, and in the end practised his death by impoisoning; but by Gods prouidence the snares were broken and he deliuered. After that he had beene bishop about three yeares king Edward died, and then queene Marie hauing the crowne, the religion was altered, and he depriued. And notwithstanding the malice of prelats and archpapists was most bitter against him, and who had sworne his death: yet by the goodnesse of God he was most miraculouslie preserued, and deliuered from out of their hands, at the sute and by the meanes of the king of Denmarke: who so earnestlie sued, and so often wrote to the queene for him, that he was deliuered and sent vnto him; with whome after that he had staied a while, he went againe into Germanie to the Palsgraue, who most louinglie receiued him, placed him againe in his former benefice of Burghsaber, where he continued vntill the death of queene Marie. And then the preaching of the gospell being againe receiued, and hauing a free passage, he returned into England, but would neuer returne to his bishoprike, notwithstanding it was reserued for him, and

sundrie

sundrie times offered him; but liued a priuat life, continuing in London, preaching and teaching the gospell, so long as the strength of his bodie would permit; and at length being verie old and striken in yeares, he died, and was honourablie buried at saint Magnus church in London.

Iohn Voiseie. 44 Iohn Voiseie, after the depriuation of Miles Couerdale, was restored to this church, and for the better setling of the Romish religion did here staie for a while: but his mind was addicted to his owne countrie, that he returned thither, and made his onlie abode there, practising there what he could, to haue the making of kersies to come to some effect; but the same being more chargeable than profitable, came to small proofe. This man being verie old died in his owne house, with a pang, and was buried in his parish church there, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and fiue.

Iames Troble-field. 45 Iames Troblefield succéeded bishop Voiseie, and was consecrated in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and six, he was a gentleman borne, and of a good house, verie gentle and courteous; he professed diuinitie, but most zelous in the Romish religion, and yet nothing cruell nor bloudie. And yet that he might not séeme to doo nothing, he was contented to prosecute and condemne a giltlesse poore séelie woman, named Agnes Pirest for religion and heresie, and who was burned in Southingham for the same. It was laied to his charge (as dooth appere by an indictment taken at Lanceston, Die lunæ in quarta septimana quadragesimæ, anno Philippi & Mariæ secundo & tertio, before William Stanford then iustice of the assise) that she should denie the reall presence in the sacrament of the altar, and that the same was but a signe and a figure of Christs bodie, and that none dooth eat reallie eat the bodie of Christ but spirituallie. He was verie carefull to recouer some part of the lands of his bishoprike, which his predecessor wasted, and did obteine of quéene Marie, to him and to his successors, the fee farme of the manor of Crediton. After that he had béene bishop about two yeares, quéene Marie died; and he was depriued, and liued after a priuat life.

William Alleie. 46 William Alleie, in the second yeare of quéene Elisabeth, was chosen bishop, and installed the sixt of August, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and one. In all quéene Maries time, which were called the Marian daies, he trauelled from place to place in the north countrie, where he was not knowne: and sometimes by practising of physike, and sometimes by teaching of scholars, he picked out a poore liuing for himselfe and his wife, and so continued, being not knowne to haue béene a priest, during all quéene Maries time: after whose death he went to London, and there did read diuinitie lecture in Paules verie learnedlie, and to his great commendation: and from whense he was taken and made bishop of this citie. He was verie well learned vniuersallie, but his chiefe studie and profession was in diuinitie, and in the toongs. And being bishop, he debated no part of his former trauels, but spent his time verie godlie and vertuouslie. Vpon euerie holie daie (for the most part) he preached, and vpon the weeke daies he would and did read a lecture of diuinitie: the residue of his time, and free from his necessarie businesse, he spent in his priuat studies, and wrote sundrie bookes, whereof his prelections or lectures which he did read in Paules, and his poore mans librarie he caused to be imprinted: the like he would haue doone with his Hebrue grammar, and other his works, if he had liued. He was well stored, and his librarie well replenished with all the best sort of writers; which most gladlie he would impart and make open to euerie good scholar and student, whose companie and conference he did most desire and imbrace. He séemed at the first appearance to be a rough and an austere man, but in verie truth, a verie courteous, gentle, and an affable man; at his table full of honest speeches, ioined with learning and pleasantnesse, according to the time, place, and companie. All his exercises, which for the most part was at bowles, verie merrie and plesant,

void

void of all sadnesse, which might abate the benefit of recreation; loth to offend, readie to forgiue, void of malice, full of loue, bountifull in hospitalitie, liberall to the poore, and a succourer of the néedie, faithfull to his friend, and courteous to all men; a hater of couetousnesse, and an enimie to all euill and wicked men, and liued an honest, a godlie, and vertuous life. Finallie, he was indued with manie notable good gifts and vertues, onelie he was somewhat credulous, of a hastie beléefe, and light of credit, which he did oftentimes mislike and blame in himselfe. In his latter time he waxed somewhat grosse, and his bodie full of humors, which did abate much of his woonted exércises: and hauing béene bishop about eight yeares, he died the first of Aprill one thousand fiue hundred and seauentie, and was buried in his owne church.

William Bradbridge. 47 William Bradbridge, deane of Sarisburie, was the next bishop, and consecrated at Lambeth by Matthew Parker archbishop of Canturburie, the eightéenth of March one thousand fiue hundred and seauentie: he was a professor of diuinitie, but not taken to be so well grounded as he persuaded himselfe, he was zelous in religion, but not so forwards as he was wished to be. In his latter daies he delighted to dwell in the countrie, which was not so much to his liking, as troublesome to his clergie, and to such as had anie sutes vnto him. It was thought he died verie rich, but after his death it proued otherwise: he died suddenlie, no bodie being about him, at Newton Ferris, the ninth yeare of his bishoprike, vpon the nine and twentith of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1578, and was buried in his owne church. Thus farre the collection of Iohn Hooker, agréeing with the records.]

The seuentéenth daie of Iulie the quéenes maiestie being on the riuer of Thames, about nine of the clocke at night (betwixt hir highnesse manour of Gréenewich and Dartford) in hir priuie barge, accompanied with the French ambassador, the earle of Lincolne, and maister vicechamberlaine; it chanced that one Thomas Appletrée, a yoong man, and seruant to maister Henrie Carie, with two or thrée others, being in a bote on the Thames, rowing vp and downe betwixt the places aforenamed: the foresaid Thomas had a caliuer or harquebus charged with bullet, and shooting at random, by misfortune shot one of the watermen, being the second man next vnto the bales of the said barge (which sat within six foot of hir highnesse) cleane through both armes, and mooued him out of his place. For the which fact the said Thomas being apprehended and condemned to death, was on the one and twentith of Iulie brought to the water side, where was a gibbet set vp, directlie placed betwixt Dartford and Gréenewich. But when the hangman had put the halter about his necke, the right honorable sir Christopher Hatton capteine of the gard, and one of hir maiesties priuie councell, shewed the queenes maiesties most gratious pardon, and deliuered him from execution. This yeare Iohn Fox of Woodbridge, William Wickneie of Portsmouth, and Robert More of Harwich Englishmen, hauing béene prisoners in Turkie about the space of thirteene or foureteene yeares, with more than two hundred and sixtie other christians of diuerse nations, by killing their kéeper, maruellouslie escaped, and returned into their natiue countries.

f. Stow.

A traitorous fact of Thomas Appletrée.

Iohn Fox an Englishman deliuered two hundred and three score christians from captiuitie of the Turke.

This yeare in the moneths of September and October fell great winds and raging flouds in sundrie places of this realme, as in the towne of Newport: the cotages were borne downe, the corne lost, pasture ground ouerwhelmed, and cattell drowned. In the towne of Bedford the water came vp to the market place, where cupboords, chests, stooles, and fourms swam about the houses; their fewell, corne and haie was wrackt and borne awaie. Also the towne of saint Edes in Huntingtonshire was ouerflowed suddenlie in the night, when all men were at rest; and the waters brake in with such force, that the towne was almost all defaced; the swans swam downe the market place, and all the towne about the botes did flote. The towne

Winds and high waters.

of Gormanchester was suddenlie suppresst, their houses flowed full of water, when men were at rest, and their cattell with other things were destroied.

An. Reg. 22. The one and twentith of Nouember, sir Thomas Gresham knight agent to the quéenes highnesse, who had in his life built the roiall Exchange in London, betwéene six and seuen of the clocke in the euening, comming from the same Exchange to his house (which he had sumptuouslie builded) in Bishopsgate stréet of London, suddenlie fell downe in his kitchin, and being taken vp was found speechlesse, and presentlie dead, who afterwards was solemnlie buried in his owne parish church of saint Helen there, where he had prepared for himselfe a sumptuous toome or monument, without anie epitaph or inscription therevpon. This sir Thomas Gresham in his testament (which long before his death he had ordeined) bequeathed diuerse large legacies not yet performed.

Sir Thomas Gresham deceassed.

1580

The eight and twentith daie of March, one Francis aliàs Marmaduke Glouer was hanged on a gibet set vp for that purpose by the standard in Cheape, for wilfullie murthering sergeant Grace after he was by him arrested. Also on the next morrow, being the nine and twentith daie of March, the same gibet was set vp at Hog lane end vpon east Smithfield, néere vnto the tower of London, thereon to haue hanged one Richard Dod for murthering of mistresse Skinner a widow, in hir house thereby. But sir Owen Hopton lieutenant of the tower, commanding the officers perteining to the shiriffes of London backe againe to the west side of the crosse, tooke the shiriffe of the out shire with the prisoner into an house, and after long talke brought the prisoner forth againe, and deliuered him to the officers, to be by them brought backe to London. Then he caused the gibet to be taken downe and carried awaie at his pleasure, and without further contention (to my knowledge) the said Richard Dod was in the after noone of the same daie hanged at Tiborne.

Glouer a murtherer hanged in Cheape.

Dod executed for murther.

A great earthquake. On the sixt of Aprill, being wednesdaie in Easter weeke about six of the clocke toward euening, a sudden earthquake happening in London, and almost generallie throughout all England, caused such an amazednesse among the people as was woonderfull for the time, and caused them to make their earnest praiers to almightie God. The great clocke bell in the palace at Westminster strake of it selfe against the hammer with the shaking of the earth, as diuerse other clocks and bels in the stéeples of the citie of London and elsewhere did the like. The gentlemen of the Temple being then at supper, ran from the tables, and out of their hall with their kniues in their hands. The people assembled at the plaie houses in the fields, as at the Whoreater (the Theater I would saie) were so amazed, that doubting the ruine of the galleries, they made hast to be gone. A péece of the temple church fell downe, some stones fell from saint Paules church in London: and at Christs church neere to Newgate market, in the sermon while, a stone fell from the top of the same church, which stone killed out of hand one Thomas Greie an apprentise, and an other stone fell on his fellow seruant named Mabell Eueret, and so brused hir that she liued but foure daies after. Diuerse other at that time in that place were sore hurt, with running out of the church one ouer an other for feare. The tops of diuerse chimneies in the citie fell downe, the houses were so shaken: a part of the castell at Bishops Stratford in Essex fell downe. This earthquake indured in or about London not passing one minute of an houre, and was no more felt. But afterward in Kent, and on the sea coast it was felt three times; and at Sandwich at six of the clocke the land not onelie quaked, but the sea also fomed, so that the ships tottered. At Douer also the same houre was the like, so that a péece of the cliffe fell into the sea, with also a péece of the castell wall there: a péece of Saltwood castell in Kent fell downe; and in the church of Hide the bels were heard to sound. A peece of Sutton church in Kent fell downe, the earthquake being there not onlie

A waterquake.

felt, but also heard. And in all these places and others in east Kent, the same earthquake was felt three times to mooue, to wit, at six, at nine, and at eleuen of the clocke. The nineteenth daie of Aprill the ferrie at Lambeth was drowned with fiue men and foure horsses: other two men and fiue horsses swam to land and were saued. A ferrie drowned.

On the one and twentith of Aprill in the yeare 1580 departed this life master William Lambe esquier, sometime gentleman of the chappell in the reigne of king Henrie the eight, citizen of London, and free of the clothworkers. Of this mans almes-deeds and manifold charities, some before, some since his death put in effectuall practise, thus reporteth a memoriall recorded in print, agréeing in truth with his last will and testament: an extract whereof for others imitation is necessarilie here to be inserted. William Lambe esquier deceased, his almesdéeds.

This gentleman remembring that learning bringeth preferment, yea euen to them which are put baselie borne, as it pleased God to mooue him by his good and gratious spirit, he prooued himselfe by testimonials of his dooings a louer of learning, and a fauourer of euerie honest profession. For in the towne of Sutton Valens in Kent, this worshipfull gentleman at his owne costs and proper expenses erected a grammar schoole for the education of youth in the feare of God, in good maners, in knowledge and vnderstanding. The erection of a grammar schoole and necessarie allowance to the maister and vsher.

He also weieng with himselfe, that the labourer ought of right to haue his hire; and that, no man goeth to warre of his owne proper charge, besides other commodities which he thought méet and necessarie, hath allowed the master twentie pounds, and the vsher ten pounds, from time to time, as either place shall be supplied by succession, for their yearelie stipends and perpetuall pensions. To continue the rehersall of his good déeds in Sutton aforesaid, note his tender and pitifull heart toward the poore, for whose sustentation, maintenance, and reliefe, he hath builded six almes houses for the impotent, and hath giuen six pounds to be yearelie paied vnto them for their necessarie prouision. Almes houses built for the poore.

Moreouer, besides this charitable déed, to keepe still withinthe compasse of Kent, marke the singular loue which this gentleman did beare vnto learning; for the furtherance wherof, and the more incouragement of poore scholers, he hath giuen to the schoole of Maidstone ten pounds a yeare for euer, with this caueat or prouiso, that néedie mens children should be preferred to the enioieng of this singular benefit. Allowance for poore mens children to be kept at schole.

That this gentleman had not onelie a regard for the seed-plots of learning, to haue them watered with the springs of his bountie: but also a prouident eie, and a carefull hart for the profit of the commonwealth, the particulars following substantiallie doo prooue. For, séeing in his life time the decaie of sundrie trades, the ruine of diuerse occupations, and other inconueniences, which are like to grow to the vndooing of a multitude, except by policie they be preuented: of a méere affection (if I said fatherlie I were not controllable) he hath freelie giuen to the poore clothiers in Suffolke, to the poore clothiers of Bridgenorth in Shropshire, and to the poore clothiers at Ludlow in the said countie, three hundred pounds, to be paid by euen portions, to each seuerall towne of the said counties one hundred pounds a péece, for their supportation and maintenance at their worke and occupation. The commonwealth remembred. A reliefe to poore clothiers in diuerse places.

So little estéemed he the mucke of this world, in respect of dooing good, speciallie when he saw old age drawing him to his graue: of which mind it were to be wished all richmen would be (whom God hath made his stewards) when they wax crooked and bow backt, and (as the poet saith)

Obrepit canis rugosa senecta capillis.

Furthermore, the well of his weldooing not yet waxing drie, but yeelding liquor of reliefe verie largelie, hath watered other places. For, as the countrie, so likewise the citie (the citie I meane of London) hath cause, yea iust cause with open mouth to magnifie London the better by master Lambe.

magnifie the goodnesse of God, so mightilie working in this praiseworthie esquier. The memorable monuments, which shall liue when he is dead, and shall flourish when he is rotten, are witnesses of the loue, which he being a citizen bare vnto this citie.

A remembrance of Holborne conduit founded and finished in An. 1577.

For, let vs begin with the conduit which he of his owne costs, not requiring either collection or contribution, founded of late in Holborne, not sparing expenses so it might be substantiall, not pinching for charges so it might be durable and plentifull, as they can testifie which saw the seeking of the springs, the maner of making the trenches, the ordering of the pipes, lieng in length from the head to the said conduit, more than two thousand yards: and finallie, the framing of euerie necessarie appurtenance therevnto belonging. Besides this, means is made, by a standard, with one cocke at Holborne bridge to conueie the wast, which doth such seruice, the water thereof being both sweet, pleasant, and wholsome, as neither rich nor poore can well misse. Which great worke as he aduisedlie attempted, so he commendablie finished, hauing disbursed therabouts, of his owne costs and charges, to the sum of 1500 pounds.

The wast water at the bridge running at the standard.

Prouident considerations.

And yet further note the wisedome and prouidence of this gentleman, who considering that the right vse of a good thing might cut off manie occasions of vnthriftines and idlenesse, and knowing that we are placed in this world to follow the vocation wherevnto we are called: besides that, seeing the hardnesse of this age wherein we liue, that manie would worke if they had meanes, manie neglect and care not for worke though they haue meanes, some would willinglie withstand pouertie if they might, some had rather beg and doo woorse than giue themselues to labour, hath beene thus beneficiall to poore women that are glad to take pains, as to bestow vpon them a hundred and twentie pales, wherewith to carrie and serue water: an honest shift of liuing, though somewhat toilesome. To descend and come downe to other his almesdeeds, you shall vnderstand that he being a member of the right worshipfull corporation and societie of Clothworkers, was not forgetfull of that companie, vnto whome he hath giuen his dwelling house in London, with other lands, and tenements, to the value of thirtie pounds or thereabouts, by them to be thus bestowed: to wit, for the hiring of a minister to read diuine seruice thrise a weeke, that is, euerie sundaie, wednesdaie, and fridaie throughout the yeare, in the chapell or church belonging to his house, called by the name of saint Iames in the wall by Criplegate: and for foure sermons there yeerelie to be made and preached, a competent allowance.

Poore women benefited by the conduit.

The right worshipfull Clothworkers remembred.

Allowance for foure yearelie sermons.

Out of which sum also of thirtie pounds, it is prouided that a deduction be made by the said Clothworkers, for apparelling twelue men, and as manie women, in forme as followeth: that is to saie, to euerie one of the twelue men one freeze gowne, one locorum shirt, and a good strong paire of winter shooes: to twelue women likewise one freeze gowne, one locorum smocke, and a good strong paire of winter shooes, all readie made for their wearing: remembred alwaies that they must be persons both poore and honest vnto whome this charitable deed ought to be extended. Prouided also, that the execution hereof be done the first daie of October, orderlie from yeare to yeare for euer whiles the world dooth last. Moreouer, he hath giuen to those of his companie foure pounds freelie, not for a time, but perpetuallie: and thus doth his bountifulnesse manie waies appeare. To the parish of S. Giles without Criplegate, he hath giuen fiftéene pounds to the bels and chime, hauing meant (as it seemeth if they had taken time) to be more liberall in that behalfe. The said bels and chime were in his life, and also after his deth kept in good order according to his will: but afterwards vpon occasion some of them newlie cast became ill of sound and out of tune: a fault in some which would be amended. The poore of the parish aforesaid, by their reliefe in his lifetime secretlie ministred, haue iust cause to lament the losse of this right bountifull almoner. For by his means their succour was the more: now it

Euerie poore man and poore woman a shirt, a smock, a gowne, and a paire of shooes, &c.

Saint Giles without Criplegate benefited.

is

is to be feared it will be so much the lesse, by how much it may be supposed he incresed their reliefe. Thus regarded he not so much his priuat thrift, as the common good, giuing therein to the world a testimonie of christian prudence, whose nature is to prefer the benefit of manie before the profit of one, according to that of the poet:

Publica priuatis qui sapit anteferet.

This gentlemans distributions are so diuerse, and so manie, that the rehersall of them requireth a large discourse. It is well knowen, and that can the worshipfull companie of the Stationers witnesse, that this gentleman, for the space of these foure-teene or fiftéene yeares, whiles he liued, was pitifull to the poore of the parish of S. Faiths, and other parishes: in which said parish church, euerie fridaie ordinarilie throughout the yeare, distribution was made of their allowance by the hands of the said worshipfull Stationers, to whome that charge was and is committed: namelie, to twelue poore people twelue pence in monie, and twelue pence in bread. Neither is this charitable déed laid asleepe, but continued euen to the worlds end, for the perpetuall succor of the poore and impotent, a legacie of six pounds, thirtéene shillings and foure pence, allowed to that end; the bestowing whereof is in the hands of the said worshipfull societie of Stationers, the distributors of this almesse to the poore; who are put in mind to praise God for that prouision, in this request of the benefactor grauen in mettall, and fixed fast in the wall hard by his toome:

I praie you all that receiue bread and pence,
To saie the Lords praier before ye go hence.

Reliefe for the poore people. M. Lambes loue to the worshipfull Stationers.

Perpetuall prouision for the poore.

As for Christes hospitall, vnto the which he hath prooued himselfe a fatherlie benefactor, towards the bringing vp of the poore children, he hath giuen six pounds, which they shall inioie for the terme of fiue hundred yeares. Moreouer (marke the rare liberalitie of this vertuous gentleman) he hath giuen to the said hospitall one hundred pounds in readie monie, wherewith to purchase lands, that their reliefe, by the reuenues of the same, might be perpetuall: a notable deed, and an vndoubted worke of perfect christianitie. As for S. Thomas spitle in Southworke, toward the succour of the sicke and diseased, he hath giuen foure poundes yearelie, and for euer: so that we may sée in all his procéedings with what mercie he was mooued, with what pitie pricked: and finallie, in all respects how godlie giuen. And here by the waie it is to be noted, that wheras it was reported, that he gaue to the hospitall, commonlie called the Sauoie, founded by king Henrie the seuenth, to purchase lands for the behoofe of the said hospitall, one hundred pounds in monie: it is nothing so. For his beneficence towards that hospitall was staied, not thorough anie default in him; but bicause such agréements could not be concluded vpon, as he reasonablie required. Wherefore his contribution that waie ceased, sore (I dare saie) against his godlie will. Thus much I was desired to speake touching that matter, to the intent that nothing but plaine truth might be reported, with the contrarie whereof he was not a little offended.

Reliefe for Christes hospitall.

A purchase for the said hospitall.

Reliefe for S. Thomas spittle.

Why he staid his beneficence from the hospitall of the Sauoie.

And although offendors deserue rather to be punished than fauoured, wherevpon by politike gouernement it is prouided, that their bodies apprehended, be committed to appointed places of imprisonment: yet this good gentleman remembring that the holie Ghost willeth vs not to withdraw our hand from anie of our brethren in distresse, considering that charitie should not be parciall but indifferent, hath for the reléefe of the poore prisoners of the two Counters, of Newgate, of Ludgate, of the Marshalseie, of the Kings Bench, and of the white Lion, dealt verie bountifullie, and discréetlie: giuing vnto the two Counters, six pounds to be paied vnto them both by twentie shillings a moneth: and to the other prisons aboue mentioned, six mattresses a péece, the whole number being two doozen and a halfe. In consideration of which charitable déed, how deepelie they are bound, if they haue anie sparkle of grace, to thanke God for his goodnesse shewed vnto them by the ministerie of this gentleman,

Prisons for offendors.

Reléefe for poore prisoners.

A charitable worke indéed.

gentleman, all the world maie perceiue. It were iniurie offered, to let slip vnremembred his mindfulnesse of poore maides marriages: and how willing he was to helpe them, it appereth by his good gift of twentie pounds to be equallie diuided among fortie such in number by equall portions of ten shillings a péece; with this caueat, that these poore maides so to be married, should be of good name and fame: wherein marke how in all his bequests, wisedome is ioined as a yokefellow with his bountie.

Marriage monie for poore maids.

His loue towards his seruants.

Lastlie, and for conclusion, this discréet gentleman, carried awaie with the zeale of a good conscience, tendering the state of his seruants, left them also at a resonable good staie. For besides their halfe yeares boord freelie giuen and granted, he hath béene beneficiall to them in diuerse other respects, which I passe ouer vnremembred. But alas! these sorowfull seruants doo not a little lament the losse of so louing a maister. I omit the hundred and eight fréese gownes readie made, which he bequeathed at his funerall to poore people, both men and women; with the dispersing of the remnant of all his goods after his buriall, where need and reason required. And thus you see what monuments this gentleman hath left behind him, to beare witnesse to the world of the fruitfulnesse of his faith: which if (as saint Iames saith) it maie be iudged by works, and that it is a dead and a barren faith which declareth not it selfe by déeds: then the sequele maie be this, that the faith wherewith he (of whome this is written) was indued, sheweth it selfe to be the same faith which is wished, and I would to God were in the heart of euerie christian. As for his religion, it was sound; his profession sincere; his hearing of Gods word, attentiue and diligent; his vse of praier, deuout: in his sickenesse patient, willing to forsake the world, and to be with Christ, in whose faith he died; and lieth intoomed in a faire large vawt in saint Faiths vnder Paules, this epitaph grauen in brasse or copper, fixed vpon his graue stone, comprising a note of our mortalitie:

His faith was fruitfull.

As I was, so are ye:
As I am, you shall be:
That I had, that I gaue:
That I gaue, that I haue:
Thus I end all my cost:
That I left, that I lost.

Hitherto concerning maister Lambes almés-déeds, wherein thus much hath at large beene spoken for others example, whome as God hath indued with riches: so it were to be wished they would vse them no woorse.] The first daie of Maie, after twelue of the clocke in the night, was an earthquake felt in diuerse places of Kent, namelie at Ashford, great Chart, &c: which made the people there to rise out of their beds, and run to the churches, where they called vpon God by earnest praiers to be mercifull vnto them. Of this earthquake one writeth thus. Manie thousands haue heard and commonlie it is reported, that latelie in Kent an other earthquake was seene and felt, and so terriblie and sore the earth did tremble and quake, that it wakened people that soundlie slept, and had like to haue rocked them all asléepe that were awake. So fearefull was the matter, and so dreadfull is the wrath of God in time of visitation, and wicked season of iniquitie. This was a pretie naturall cause: in deed so I thinke. For the naturall diseases of man, and the naughtie filthinesse of the flesh (full of lust and infirmities) caused God for the correction of natures inclination, to make Douer, Sandwich, Canturburie, Grauesend, and sundrie other places tremble and shake.

I. Stow. An earthquake in Kent.

T. C.

The eightéenth daie of Maie, about one houre before sun setting, diuerse gentlemen of worship, and good credit, riding from Bodman in Cornewall towards Foie, there appeared to their séeming in the northeast, a verie great mist or fog, much like vnto the sea: and the forme of a cloud in the fashion of some great castell, with flags,

Castels and ships séene in the aier. *T. C.*

flags, and streamers thereon as it were standing in the sea, which presentlie vanished awaie. In whose stéed, and néere to the same place, appeared an other cloud which altered into the likenesse of a great argosie, furnished with masts and other necessaries; and hir sailes séeming full of wind, made hir waie on the southwest of the castell, hauing streamers and flags verie warlike, with two boats at either sterne. There incontinent appeared againe the forme of a castell, and behind the same came following on the southwest side, an other great argosie, furnished as the first. This being past, there appéered three or foure gallies with their masts and flags in warlike sort, hauing boats at their sternes; and thereby appeared other small clouds to the number of twelue, which altered into the proportion of the said castels, and one following an other, as soone as anie of them vanished other came in their rooms; and this continued the space of an houre. Shortlie after the sights in the aier aforesaid, a worthie Gentleman in the countrie writ to a right good gentleman in the court, that there was seene vpon a downe called Brodwels downe, in Summersetshire, three score personages all clothed in blacke, a furlong in distance from those that beheld them: and after their appearing, and a little while tarieng, they vanished awaie: but immediatlie, an other strange companie in like maner, colour and number appeared in the same place, and they incountered one an other, and so vanished awaie. And the third time appeared that number againe all in bright armour and incountered one an other, and so vanished awaie. Foure honest men which saw it, reporting the same abroad, were examined thereof, before sir George Norton, to whome they sware, that those things they had séene were true, as here before is rehearsed.

T. C. Woonders in Wiltshire and Summersetshire.

Moreouer, it is crediblie reported of manie honest men, that fiue miles from Blonsdon in Wiltshire, a crie of hounds was heard in the aier, the selfe same daie that the first earthquake was, and the noise was so great that was made, that they seemed three or foure score couples: whereat diuerse tooke their greihounds, thinking some gentlemen had béene a hunting in the chase, and thought to course: yet some of those that went out of their houses, séeing nothing below abroad, looked vpwards to the skies, and there espied in the aier fiue or six hounds perfectlie to be discerned. Now (to saie my fansie) I doubt not but thousands hold these newes for fables inuented for pleasure. But I protest before God and man, I can beléeue a great deale more stranger matter than this, in this strange world: for the people so estrange themselues from God by vsing manie strange fashions, and clapping on new conditions and natures, that except he shew some miracles, his godhead would quickelie be forgotten on earth, and men would beléeue there were no other world but this.

T. C.

The thirtéenth of Iune, about six of the clocke in the morning, at Shipwash within the baronie of Bothell in Northumberland, there happened a tempest of lightning and thunder, after the which, on a sudden came a great showre of haile, amongest the which were found stones of diuerse shapes maruellous to behold, as in the likenes of frogs, mattocks, swords, horsse shooes, nailes, crosses of diuerse sorts, skuls of dead men, &c. The seuentéenth day of Iune, in the parish of Blasedon in Yorkesliire, after a gret tempest of lightning and thunder, a woman of foure score yeares old, named Alice Perrin, was deliuered of an hideous monster, whose head was like vnto a sallet or headpeece, the face like vnto a mans except the mouth, which was round and small, like vnto the mouth of a mouse, the fore part of the bodie like to a man, hauing eight legs not one like another, and a taile halfe a yard long. Which monster brought into the world, besides an admiration of the diuine works of God, an astonishment at his iudgements. But of these we may saie as a stranger said sometime vpon the like occasion of prodigies and woonders successiuely insuing, not without weightie signification; to wit, that such things be as tales told to the deafe, verie few weieng in their minds the meaning and effect of strange acci-

Haile stones of strange shapes.

A monstrous birth.

dents,

dents, and therfore thinke vpon nothing lesse than a reformation of their wicked life: for the which things sake God sendeth these and manie such significant warnings, before he taketh the rod in hand, and whippeth vs till we smart: we then not looking to the meanes that prouoke this vengeance, as willing to auoid them: but murmuring at the iust iudge, vnder whose heauie hand we grone, and charging him to be the author of all misfortunes falling vpon vs: which Homer trulie séemeth right well to haue noted in this sense:

Iouis oratio apud Homerum.

Cur stulti incusant mortales numina cœli?
Et sibi nos dicunt autores esse malorum?
Cum præter fati leges in aperta ferantur
Damna, suæ mentis proprijs erroribus orti.

Soldiors transported into Ireland.

About the eightéenth daie of Iulie, the lord Greie tooke his voiage towards Ireland as lord deputie thereof, after whom was sent diuerse bands of lustie souldiors, both horssemen and footmen, vnder the leading of expert capteins, of whose prosperous and happie successe against their enimies, the Irish and others, diuerse pamflets haue béene published, and matter more at large is set downe in the historie of Ireland. The thrée and twentith of September, at fennie Stanton in Huntingtonshire, one Agnis wife to William Linseie was deliuered of an vglie and strange monster, with a face blacke, the necke red, mouth and eies like a lion, on the forehead a roll of flesh that might be turned vp with ones finger, on the hinder part of the head a lumpe of flesh proportioned like a fether, being hollow, with one eare growing on the lower part of the cheeke, his bellie big and hard, the armes big, hauing fiue fingers and a thumbe on either hand, and in place of toes on the left foot fiue fingers and a thumbe, on the right foot a thumbe and seuen fingers, and in the place of priuitie the shape both of male and female: a strange sight to be seene, and I feare, signifieth our monstrous life, which God for his mercie giue vs grace to amend, without procrastination or putting off from daie to daie, as the poet significantlie saith:

Monstrous birth.

Cras vultis, sed vult hodie vindex Deus, & cras,
Aut non vult, aut vos obruet atra dies.

Blasing star.

The eight daie of October, immediatlie after the new moone, there appeared a blasing star in the south, bushing toward the east, which was nightlie séene (the aier being cleere) more than two moneths.

Sergeants feast.

The eighteenth of October were made eight sergeents at law, to wit, William Fleetwood recorder of London, Edward Flowerdue, Thomas Snag, William Periam, Robert Halton, Iohn Clench, Iohn Pickering, Thomas Warmsleie; maister Snag before named was sicke, and therefore was sworne in his chamber at Greies inne, the other seuen were sworne at Westminster, and held their feast at the new Temple at London.

Proclamation against the Familie of loue.

The quéenes maiestie being informed, that in sundrie places of this realme, certeine persons secretlie taught damnable heresies, contrarie to diuers principall articles of our belèefe and christian faith, who to colour their sect named themselves the familie of loue, and then as manie as were allowed by them to be of that familie to be elect and saued, and all others of what church soeuer they be, to be reiected and damned. And for that vpon conuenting of some of them before the bishops and ordinaries, it was found that the ground of their sect is mainteined by certeine lewd, hereticall, and seditious books, first made in the Dutch toong, and lastlie translated into English, and printed beyond the seas, and secretlie brought ouer into the realme, the author whereof they name H. N. &c. And considering also it is found, that those sectaries held opinion, that they may before anie magistrat or ecclesiasticall or temporall, or anie other person, noi being professed to be of their sect, by oth or otherwise denie anie thing for their aduantage: so as though manie of them are well knowne to be teachers and spreaders abroad of these dangerous and damnable

damnable sects; yet by their owne confession they cannot be condemned. Therefore hir maiestie being verie sorie to sée so great an euill, by malice of the diuell to be brought into this hir realme, and by hir bishops and ordinaries she vnderstandeth it verie requisit, not onelie to haue those dangerous heretiks and sectaries to be seuerelie punished; but that also other meanes be vsed by hir maiesties roiall authoritie, which is giuen hir of God to defend Christs church, to root them out from further infecting of hir realme: she hath thought méet and conuenient, and so by hir proclamation commandeth, that all hir officers and ministers temporall shall in all their seuerall vocations assist the bishops of hir realme, and all other person to search out all persons dulie suspected, to be either teachers or professors of the foresaid damnable sects, and by all good meanes to proceed seuerelie against them, being found culpable by order of the lawes ecclesiasticall or temporall; and that all search be made in all places suspected, for the books and writings mainteining the said heresies and sects, and them to destroie and burne, &c: as more at large may appéere by the said proclamation, giuen at Richmond the third of October, and proclamed at London on the ninetéenth daie of the same moneth. The quéenes maiesties purpose to root out this pestilent sect.

About this time there arriued vpon the west coast of Ireland, a certeine companie of Italians and Spaniards, sent by the pope to the aid of the earle of Desmond in his rebellion, which fortified themselues stronglie nére vnto Smerwike, in a fort which they called castell del Ore, there erecting the popes banner against hir maiestie. Which when the lord Greie of Wilton deputie of Ireland vnderstood, he marched thitherward, and on the sixt of Nouember, hearing of the arriuall of the Swift, the Tigre, the Aid, the Merlion, and other of the quéenes maiesties ships, and also of thrée barks fraughted from Corke and Limerike with vittels, on the morrow after marched towards the fort, vnto the which he gaue so hot an assault, that on the ninth of Nouember the same was yéelded, all the Irishmen and women hanged, and more than foure hundred Spaniards, Italians, and Biscaies put to the sword: the coronell, capteins, secretarie, and others, to the number of twentie saued for ransome. In which fortresse was found good store of monie, biskit, bakon, oile, wine, and diuerse other prouisions of vittels sufficient for their companie for halfe a yeare, besides armour, powder, shot, and other furniture for two thousand men and vpwards. Victorie against the Irish and other in Ireland.

The eight and twentith daie of Nouember were arreigned in the kings bench, William Randoll for coniuring to know where treasure was hid in the earth, and goods felloniouslie taken were become; Thomas Elks, Thomas Lupton, Rafe Spacie, and Christopher Waddington, for being present, aiding, and procuring the said Randoll to the coniuration aforesaid; Randoll, Elks, Spacie, and Waddington were found guiltie, and had iudgement to be hanged; Randoll was executed, the other were reprieued. An. Reg. 23. Randoll hanged for coniuring.

About the 24 of December in the town of Walsham in the countie of Sussex, a child of eleuen yéers old, named William Withers, laie in a trance for the space of ten daies without anie sustenance, and at the last comming to himselfe he vttered to the standers by manie strange spéeches, inueieng against pride, couetousnesse, coldnesse of charitie, and other outragious sins. To behold this child there resorted diuerse godlie and zealous preachers, as also knights, esquiers, and gentlemen, all of them hearing and séeing that which was woonderfull. And among others that came thither, there was a gentleman of great credit and worship, with certeine of his men to heare and behold the child: who hauing espied a seruingman that had béene there with his maister two times, whom he had sharplie tawnted for his great and monstrous ruffes, spake vnto him verie vehementlie, and told him that it were better for him to put on sackecloth and mourne for his sinnes, than in such abhominable pride to pranke vp himselfe like the diuels darling, the verie father of pride and lieng, who sought by the exercise of that damnable sinne to make himselfe a preie Strange spéeches of child. Pride in great ruffe reproued and reformed in a seruingman.

a preie to euerlasting torments in helfire. Wherevpon the seruingman, as one prickt in conscience, sore sorowed and wept for his offense, rent the band from his necke, took a knife and cut it in péeces, and vowed neuer to weare the like againe. This for the strangenesse thereof will be condemned as a lie, speciallie of vnbeléeuers and peruers worldlings, whose hearts are so hardened, that they will not beléeue though one rise from the dead, or though God should speake vnto them from heauen (as the poet noteth trulie) which he hath doone in times past;

Ab. Hart. in R. L.

——solióque tremendus ab alto
Altitonans cœlo signa stupenda dedit.

Against Iesuits and massing priests.

About the twelfe daie of Ianuarie proclamation was published at London for reuocation of sundrie the quéenes maiesties subiects remaining beyond the seas vnder colour of studie, and yet liuing contrarie to the lawes of God, and of the realme: and also against the reteining of Iesuits and massing priests, sowers of sedition, and other treasonable attempts, &c. The thirteenth of Ianuarie a man was drawne to saint Thomas of Waterings, and there hanged, headed, and quartered, for begging by a licence wherevnto the quéenes hand was counterfeited.

One executed for counterfeiting the quéenes hand.

Parlement at Westminster.

On the sixteenth daie of Ianuarie, the lords and barons of this realme began to sit in the parlement house at Westminster: and on the twentith daie of Ianuarie the quéenes maiestie went from White hall to the parlement house by water. Whereas a great chalenge of iusts was signified by waie of deuise before hir maiestie on Twelfe night last past, to haue beene performed the fiftéenth daie of Ianuarie, hir maiesties pleasure was for diuerse considerations the same should be deferred vntill the two and twentith daie of the same moneth; on which daie the same was most couragiouslie accomplished in the accustomed place at Westminster, where manie staues were valiantlie broken, but through the great concourse of people thither repairing, manie of the beholders, as well men as women, were sore hurt, some maimed, and some killed, by falling of the scaffolds ouercharged.

Iusting at Westminster.

Mice denoure the grasse in Daneseie hundred.

This yeare about Hallowntide last past, in the marishes of Daneseie hundred, in a place called Southminster, in the countie of Essex, a strange thing happened. There suddenlie appeared an infinite multitude of mice, which ouerwhelming the whole earth in the said marishes, did sheare and gnaw the grasse by the roots, spoiling and tainting the same with their venemous teeth; in such sort that the cattell which grased thereon were smitten with a murreine and died thereof. Which vermine by policie of man could not be destroied, till now at the last it came to passe, that there flocked togither all about the same marishes such a number of owles, as all the shire was not able to yeeld: whereby the marsh holders were shortlie deliuered from the vexation of the said mice.

1581.

Banketting house at Westminster.

This yeere (against the comming of certeine commissioners out of France into England) hy hir maiesties appointment, on the six and twentith daie of March in the morning (being Easter daie) a banketting house was begun at Westminster, on the south west side of hir maiesties palace of White hall, made in maner and forme of a long square, thrée hundred thirtie and two foot in measure about; thirtie principals made of great masts, being fortie foot in length a peece, standing vpright; betwéene euerie one of these masts ten foot asunder and more. The walles of this house were closed with canuas, and painted all the outsides of the same most artificiallie with a work called rustike, much like to stone. This house had two hundred ninetie and two lights of glasse. The sides within the same house was made with ten heights of degrées for people to stand vpon; and in the top of this house was wrought most cunninglie vpon canuas, works of iuie and hollie, with pendents made of wicker rods, garnished with baie, rue, and all manner of strange flowers garnished with spangles of gold, as also beautified with hanging toseans made of hollie and iuie, with all maner of strange fruits, as pomegranats, orenges, pompions, cucumbers,

How this banketting house was garnished and decked with artificial deuises.

grapes,

grapes, carrets, with such other like, spangled with gold, and most richlie hanged. Betwixt these works of baies and iuie, were great spaces of canuas, which was most cunninglie painted, the clouds with starres, the sunne and sunne beames, with diuerse other cotes of sundrie sorts belonging to the quéenes maiestie, most richlie garnished with gold. There were of all manner of persons working on this house, to the number of thrée hundred seuentie and fiue: two men had mischances, the one brake his leg, and so did the other. This house was made in thrée wéeks and three daies, and was ended the eightéenth daie of Aprill; and cost one thousand seuen hundred fortie and foure pounds, nineteene shillings and od monie; as I was crediblie informed by the worshipfull maister Thomas Graue surueior vnto hir maiesties workes, who serued and gaue order for the same, as appeareth by record. The costs and charges of this banketting house.

On the sixteenth daie of Aprill arriued at Douer these noblemen of France (commissioners from the French king to hir maiestie) Francis of Burbon prince dolphin of Auergne, Arthur Cossaie marshall of France, Lodouic Lusignian lord of Laneoc, Tauergius Caercongin countie of Tillir, Bertrand Salignacus lord Mot Fenelon, monsieur Manaissour, Barnabie Brissen president of the parlement of Paris, Cland Pinart, monsieur Marchmont, monsieur Veraie; these came from Grauesend by water to London, where they were honorably receiued and interteined; and shortlie after being accompanied of the nobilitie of England, they repaired to the court and banketting house prepared for them at Westminster, as is afore said, where hir maiestie Noblemen of France arriued at Douer.

——(decus illæ Britannûm
Gemmáque non alijs inuenienda locis)

with amiable countenance and great courtesie receiued them: and afterward in that place most roiallie feasted and banketted them. Also the nobles and gentlemen of the court, desirous to shew them all courtesie possible fittest for such estates, and to sport them with all courtlie pleasure, agréed among them to prepare a triumph, which was very quicklie concluded: and being deuised in most sumptuous order, was by them performed in as valiant a manner to their endlesse fame and honor. The chiefe or chalengers in these attempts were these: the earle of Arundell, the lord Windsore, maister Philip Sidneie, and maister Fulke Greuill, who calling themselues the foure foster children of desire, made their inuention of the foresaid triumph in order and forme following.

The gallerie or place at the end of the tiltyard adioining to hir maiesties house at Whitehall, wher as hir person should be placed, was called and not without cause, The castell or fortresse of perfect beautie, for as much as hir hignesse should be there included; whereto the said foster children laid title and claime as their due by descent to belong vnto them. And vpon deniall or anie repulse from that their desired patrimonie, they vowed to vanquish and conquer by force who so should séeme to withstand it. For the accomplishing whereof they sent their challenge or first defiance to the quéenes maiestie: which was vttered by a boie on sundaie the sixtéenth of Aprill last, as hir maiestie came from the chappell, who being apparelled in red and white, as a martiall messenger of Desires fostered children, without making anie precise reuerence at all, vttered these spéeches of defiance from his masters to hir maiestie, the effect whereof insueth. The excellent inuention of the triumph.

O ladie, that dooth intitle the titles you possesse with the honor of your worthinesse, rather crowning the great crowne you hold, with the fame to haue so excelling an owner, than you receiuing to yourselfe anie increase, keeping that outward ornament: vouchsafe with patient attention to heare the words which I by commandement am here to deliuer you, wherein if your ears (vsed to the thankesgiuing of your people and the due praises of the earth) shall féele a statelie disdaine to heare once the sound of a defie, yet dare I warrant myselfe so far vpon the replie and deceiuing shew The first defie or challenge.

of rare Beautie, as that malice can not fall from so faire a mind vpon the sealie messenger, whose mouth is a seruant to others direction. Know yée therefore alonelie princesse, that herby (for far off they are neuer) there lies incamped the foure long haplesse, now hopefull fostered children of Desire: who hauing béene a great while nourished vp with that infectiue milke, and too too much care of their fierie fosterer (though full oft that drie nursse despaire indeuored to weine them from it) being now as strong in that nurture, as they are weake in fortune, incouraged with the valiant counsell of neuer fainting Desire, and by the same assured, that by right of inheritance euen from euer, the fortresse of beautie dooth belong to hir fostered children: lastlie, finding it blazed by all toongs, ingraued in all hearts, and proued by all eies, that this fortresse built by nature is seated in this realme: these foure I saie and saie againe, thus nourished, thus animated, thus intituled, and thus informed, doo will you by me, euen in the name of iustice, that you will no longer exclude vertuous Desire from perfect Beautie. Whereto if you yéeld (O yéeld for so all reason requireth) then haue I no more to saie, but reioice that my saiengs haue obteined so rightfull and yet so blissefull a request. But if (alas but let not that be needfull) Beautie be accompanied with disdainefull pride, and pride waighted on by refusing cruelitie: then must I denounce vnto you (wo is me, answer before it be denounced) that they determine by request to accomplish their claime. And bicause they will better testifie to the world, they haue bin brought vp vnder the wings of honorable Desire, this honorable forewarning they send you: that vpon the foure and twentith daie of this moneth of Aprill they will besiege that fatall fortresse, vowing not to spare (if this obstinacie continue) the sword of faithfulnes and the fire of affection. Now if so it fall out, the worthie knights of your court (mooued with passion in themselues) disdaine of my senders boldnesse or parciall liking (which I most doubt) to the maiestie of your eies, will either bid them battell before they approch, or suffering them to approch, will after labour to leuie the siege: they protest to meet them in what sort they will choose, wishing onelie it may be performed before your owne eies, whome they know as euen in iudgement as daintie in choosing: where if so they list, first at the tilt in so manie courses, as your selfe shall please to appoint: and then if anie will call them to the course of the field with lance and sword, they hope to giue such true proofes of their valour, as at lest shall make their desires more noble. Vowing on the other side, that if before the night part the fraie, they doo not ouercome all them that come in against them, they will yeeld themselues slaues vnto you for euer. This therefore O quéene (greater in that you are queene of your selfe, than in passing the whole compasse of the earth) haue I deliuered my charge, not as a challenge to your knights, against whome (but in so iust a cause) they acknowledge themselues vnable to match the meanest: but as a plaine proclamation of war, vnles the fortres of Beautie, that hath woone so manie to loose themselues, be speedilie surrendered. And now it shall be séene what knights you haue, whome Beautie may draw to resist a rightfull title. And I for my poore part mooued by that I séein you (though I serue your enimies) will dailie praie that all men may see you, and then you shall not feare anie armes of aduersaries: or if enimies you must haue, that either they may haue the mind of them that send me, or their fortune in that they haue long desired.

Desire and hir foure fostered children.

Vertuous desire not to be excluded from perfect Beautie.

The challenge made and how to be tried.

The fortresse of Beautie.

At which daie abouesaid for certeine vrgent occasions, the said challenge and triumph, by hir maiesties commandement, was deferred till the first daie of Maie; at which daie for like causes it was further deferred till the next mondaie following, being the eight daie of Maie; and so till Whitsun mondaie, when they first began to performe it. The said daie being come, the foure foster children had made preparation to besiege the fortresse of Beautie, and thereto had prouided a frame of wood, which was couered with canuas, and painted outwardlie in such excellent order, as

Vrgent causes why the challenge was deferd.

if

if it had bin verie naturall earth or mould, and caried the name of a rowling trench, which went on wheeles, which waie soeuer the persons within did driue it. Vpon the top whereof was placed two cannons of wood, so passing well coloured as they séemed to be in déed two faire field peeces of ordinances, and by them was placed two men for gunners clothed in crimson sarcenet, with their baskets of earth for defense of their bodies by them. And also there stood on the top of the trench an ensigne bearer in the same sute with the gunners, displaieng his ensigne, and within the said trench was cunninglie conueied diuerse kind of most excellent musike against the castell of Beautie. These things thus all in a readinesse the challengers approched, and came from the stable toward the tiltyard, one after another in braue and excellent order as followeth.

The order of the rowling trench with most excellent inuentions.

First the earle of Arundell entred the tiltyard, all in gilt and ingrauen armour, with caparisons and furniture richlie and brauelie imbrodered, hauing attendant vpon him two gentlemen vshers, foure pages riding on foure spare horsses, and twentie of his gentlemen. All which aforesaid were apparelled in short clokes and venetian hose of crimson veluet, laid with gold lace, doublets of yellow sattin, hats of crimson veluet with gold bands and yellow feathers, and yellow silke stockes. Then had he six trumpetters that sounded before him, and one and thirtie yeomen that waited after him apparelled in cassocke coats, and venetian hose of crimson veluet, laid on with red silke and gold lace, doublets of yellow taffatie, hats of crimson taffatie, with yellow feathers, and yellow worsted stockings.

The earle of Arundels entrie the first daie and his attendants.

After him procéeded the lord Windsore, in gilt and ingrauen armour, with caparisons and furniture richlie imbrodered with gold, hauing attendant on him foure pages riding on foure spare horsses, and foure and twentie gentlemen, all apparelled in short cloakes of scarlet, lined through with orange tawnie taffatie, and laid about with siluer lace, doublets of orange tawnie sattin, venetian hose of orange tawnie veluet, blacke veluet caps, with siluer bands and white feathers, and siluered rapiers and daggers, with scabberds of blacke veluet: foure trumpetters and two footmen in cassocke coats and venetian hose of orange tawnie veluet, and blacke veluet caps with siluer bands and white feathers, foure groomes of his stable leading of his foure horsses, in cassocke coats and venetian hose of orange tawnie taffatie and orange tawnie felts with siluer bands, and white feathers. Then had he three score yeomen in coats of orange tawnie cloth, with the vnicorne of siluer plate on their sléeues, and orange tawnie felts with siluer bands and white feathers.

The lord Windsors entrie the first daie and his attendants.

Then procéeded maister Philip Sidneie, in verie sumptuous maner, with armour part blew, and the rest gilt and ingrauen, with foure spare horsses, hauing caparisons and furniture verie rich and costlie, as some of cloth of gold imbrodered with pearle, and some imbrodered with gold and siluer feathers, verie richlie and cunninglie wrought: he had foure pages that rode on his foure spare horsses, who had cassocke coats, and venetian hose all of cloth of siluer, laied with gold lace, and hats of the same with gold bands and white feathers, and ech one a paire of white buskins. Then had he a thirtie gentlemen and yeomen, and foure trumpetters, who were all in cassocke coats and venetian hose of yelow veluet, laied with siluer lace, yellow veluet caps with siluer bands and white fethers, and euerie one a paire of white buskins: and they had vpon their coats, a scrowle or band of siluer, which came scarfe wise ouer the shoulder and so downe vnder the arme, with this poesie, or sentence written vpon it, both before and behind, Sic nos non nobis.

M Sidneis entrie, now sir Philip Sidneie and his attendants.

Then came maister Fulke Greuill, in gilt armour, with rich and faire caparisons and furniture, hauing foure spare horsses with foure pages riding vpon them, and foure trumpetters sounding before him, and a twentie gentlemen and yeomen attending vpon him, who with the pages and trumpetters were all apparelled in loose ierkins of tawnie taffatie, cut and lined with yelow sarsenet, and laid with gold

M. Fulke Greuils entrie with his traine of attendants.

lace

lace, and cut downe the arme and set with loopes and buttons of gold, venetian hose of the same lined (as aforesaid) laied with gold lace downe the side with loopes and buttons of gold, with ech a paire of yelow worsted stockings, and hats of tawnie taffetie with gold bands and yelow feathers. Hauing thus all entered the tiltyard, they proceeded on with the rowling trench before them, which staid against the queene, and they passed by, as though they would behold the Fortresse of beautie; and so went about the tilt. At last the boie that vttered the first defiance pronounced these speeches to hir maiestie.

The second defie or chalenge.

If the message latelie deliuered vnto you had beene beleeued and followed (O quéene) in whome the whole storie of vertue is written, with the language of beautie; nothing should this violence haue néeded in your inuiolate presence. Your eies, which till now haue béene onelie woont to discerne the bowed knées of knéeling hearts, and inwardlie turned, found alwaies the heauenlie peace of a swéet mind, should not now haue their faire beames reflected with the shining of armour, should not now be driuen to see the furie of desire, nor the fierie force of furie. But sith so it is (alas that so it is) that in the defense of obstinate refusall there neuer groweth victorie but by compassion; they are come: what néed I saie more, you see them, readie in hart as you know, and able with hands as they hope, not onelie to assailing but to preuailing. Perchance you despise the smalnesse of number. I saie vnto you, the force of desire goeth not by fulnesse of companie. Naie rather view with what vnresistable determination themselues approch, and how not onelie the heauens send their inuisible instrument to aid them: but also the verie earth the dullest of all the elements, which with naturall heauinesse still striues to the sleepie centre: yet for aduancing his enterprise is content actiuelie (as you shall sée) to moue itselfe vpon itselfe to rise vp in height, that it maie the better command the high and highminded fortresses. Manie words, when deeds are in the field, are tedious both vnto the speaker and hearer. You sée their forces, but know not their fortunes: if you be resolued, it boots not, and threats dread not. I haue discharged my charge, which was euen when all things were readie for the assault, then to offer partlie a thing not so much vnused as gratious in besiegers. You shall now be summoned to yéeld, which if it be reiected, then looke for the affectionat alarme to be followed with desirous assault. The time approcheth for their approches, but no time shall staie me from wishing, that howsoeuer this succéed, the world maie long inioie hir chiefest ornament, which decks it with hir selfe, and hir selfe with the loue of goodnesse.

Meaning the musike within the mount.

Wherewith the mount mooued and rose vp in height.

The rowling trench mooued néere to the quéene.

Which spéech being ended, the rowling trench, or mount of earth was mooued as nèere the queenes maiestie as might be, which being setled, the musike plaied verie pleasantlie, and one of the boies being then accompanied with cornets, summoned the fortresse with this delectable soong, here vnder noted.

The fortresse summoned in soong.

Yeeld, yeeld, ô yeeld, you that this fort doo hold,
which seated is, in spotlesse honors feeld,
Desires great force, no forces can withhold:
then to desires desire, ô yeeld ô yeeld.
Yeeld yeeld ô yeeld, trust not on beauties pride,
fairenesse though faire, is but a feeble sheeld,
When strong desire, which vertues loue dooth guide,
claimes but to gaine his due, ô yeeld ô yeeld.
Yeeld yeeld ô yeeld, who first this fort did make,
did it for iust desires, true children beeld,
Such was his mind, if you an other take,
defense herein dooth wrong, ô yeeld ô yeeld,
Yeeld yeeld ô yeeld, now is it time to yeeld,
before th' assault begin, ô yeeld ô yeeld.

When that was ended, an other boie turning himselfe to the foster children and their retinue, soong this alarme with plesant voice, and seemelie countenance.

The alarme soong.

Alarme alarme, here will no yeelding bee,
such marble eares, no cunning words can charme,
Courage therefore, and let the statelie see,
that nought withstands desire, alarme alarme.
Alarme alarme, let not their beauties mooue,
remorse in you to dpo this fortresse harme,
For sith warre is the ground of vertues loue,
no force, though force be vsed, alarme alarme.
Alarme alarme, companions now begin,
about this neuer conquered wals to swarme,
More praise to vs we neuer looke to win,
much maie that was not yet, alarme alarme.
Alarme alarme, when once the fight is warme,
then shall you see them yeeld, alarme alarme.

Which ended, the two canons were shot off, the one with swéet powder, and the other with swéet water, verie odoriferous and pleasant, and the noise of the shooting was verie excellent consent of melodie within the mount. And after that was store of pretie scaling ladders, and the footmen threw floures and such fancies against the wals, with all such deuises as might seeme fit shot for desire. All which did continue till time the defendants came in.

The shooting off of the two canons, the one with swéet water, and the other with swéet powder.

Then came in the defendants in most sumptuous maner, with euerie one his seruants, pages, and trumpetters (hauing some more, some lesse) in such order as I haue here vnderplaced them, with euerie one his sundrie inuention, which for that some of them be mysticall and not knowne to manie, I omit therefore for breuities sake to speake of anie. Yet such spéeches as were spoken or presented for them to hir maiestie, so manie as were, or at the least as I could come by, I haue here in their order placed them, whereby their inuentions for whome they were spoken, are therein plainelie declared. Therefore I referre you to the reading of them hereafter. But thus the defendants enterred the tiltyard, one after an other as followeth. First maister Henrie Greie, sir Thomas Perot, maister Anthonie Cooke, maister Thomas Ratcliffe, maister Henrie Knolles, maister William Knolles, maister Robert Knolles, maister Francis Knolles, maister Rafe Bowes, maister Thomas Kelwaie, maister George Goring, maister William Tresham, maister Robert Alexander, maister Edward Dennie, maister Hercules Meautus, maister Edward Moore, maister Richard Skipwith, maister Richard Ward, maister Edward Digbie, maister Henrie Nowell, maister Henrie Brunkerd. And afterwards in the middest of the running came in sir Henrie Leigh, as vnknowne, and when he had broken his six staues went out in like maner againe. So passing on one after an other when sir Thomas Perot and maister Cooke came to the end of the tilt, ouer against the quéenes maiestie, one of their pages arraied like an angell vtterred these spéeches vnto hir.

The maner of the defendants comming in.

The defendants names that ran at tilt.

Despaire, no not despaire (most high and happie princesse) could so congeale the frozen knight in the aier, but that desire (ah swéet desire) inforced him to be hold the sun the earth, whereon as he was gazing with twinkling eie (for who can behold such beames stedfastlie?) he begun to dissolue into drops, melting with such delight, that he séemed to preferre the lingering of a certeine death before the lasting of an vncerteine life. Such is the nature of ingrauen loialtie, that it chooseth rather to haue the bodie dissolued, than the mind disliked. Thus consuming with content (a swéet sickenesse is conceipt) and pining with more than speakeable passions, he suddenlie beheld that sun to be besieged which he so deuoutlie serued. Wherewith boiling in no lesse disdaine, than surprised with immoderat pensiuenesse, he vttered these words:

The spéech of sir Thomas Perot and maister Cooke to the quéene.

words: O Ioue, if thou meane to resolue nature into contraries; why doo I liue to sée it? If into nothing, why doo I liue at all? If the foot scale the head, there is no rest; if desire ouershoot dutie, there is no reason: and where either of these are, there can be no rule. And so setting more sighs than maie be numbred by ciphers, this present time (ah griefe) this present time, that honest and faire hearted frozen knight died (what said I) euen that which againe with griefe I must say died, whose ghost making speedie passage into the Elisian fields (for what more swift than a soule) in the midst of the infernall multitude, with schréeches, cries and clamors made both heauen and hell to redouble this eccho: O times, O men, O corruption of maners! The sun is besieged, the sun (O mischiefe) the sun is besieged. Which strange and vnacquainted termes caused not onelie murmuring amongst the ghosts beneath, but a musing amongst the gods aboue: who as well to represse the tumults, which might haue risen among the shadows, as to reuenge the pride which began to grow on the earth, sent downe an angell with this commandement; Go descend, and cause Adam and Eue to appeare on the earth in that sort as they were in paradise, that the world may know them and woonder at them. For seeing out of their loines haue issued those preposterous limmes, I know none more fit to correct them. Certes none more willing. They will attempt anie thing for thy sake, and seruice of that earthlie, and yet (O strange conceipt) most heauenlie sun. For as they were before driuen from their desire, bicause they desired to know the best: so now shall they be driuen vnto their desire, which they couet to honour most. This shall be their reward, they shall come néere and yet shall not search, and be they farre off, it shall warme. A cloud maie sometimes barre their sight, but nothing shall depriue them of the safegard: yet command them to be humble in affection, though feruent, least they séeme to disdaine that pride in others which they desire themselues.

By the sun is meant hir maiestie, called before the fortresse of beautie.

Sir Thomas Perot and master Cooke were both in like armour beset with apples and fruit, the one signifieng Adam and the other Eue, who had haire hoongall downe his helmet.

The angell speaketh to the quéene.

The sun in the highest delighteth in the shadow which is shortest, nourisheth the tree whose root groweth déepest, not whose top springeth loftiest. This commission and counsell ended, all things were in a moment accomplished with such celeritie (for to the gods time is tied) that they were sped so soone as they were spoken. And now most renowmed and diuine sun, Adam and Eue being present, vouchsafe to heare somwhat in their behalfs pronounced. Sir knights, if in beséeging the sunne ye vnderstood what you had vndertaken, ye would not destroie a common blessing for a priuat benefit. Will you subdue the sun? Who shall rest in the shadow where the wearie take breath, the disquiet rest and all comfort? Will ye bereue all men of those glistering and gladsome beams? What shall then prosper in the shining, but you will clime it by the raies? O rare exhalations! Brothers you may be to desire, but sons ye are to ill hap, which thinke you can not sinke déepe inough into the sea, vnlesse you take your fall from the sun. Desist you knights, desist, sith it is impossible to resist: content yourselues with the sunnes indifferent succor, suffer the iuniper shrub to grow by the loftie oke, and clame no prerogatiue where the sun grants no priuilege; for being of the same mettall that others are, the sun will worke the like effects, as she doth in others. The giants would haue bin gods, if they could haue scaled the heauens; and you no lesse than stars could you conquer the same: but as their throwing hill vpon hill did manifest their pride, but nothing further their pretense; so your laieng chalenge vpon claime, and conquest vpon chalenge, may well proue a will but no worthinesse; a desire to reach but no possibilitie to recouer. In which your soaring assaies if you chance to fall, the only comfort you haue is to crie with Phaeton, Magnis excidimus ausis. But if no persuasions may mooue your minds, know yée proud knights, there are that haue hearts as big as mounteins, and as far aboue you in prowesse as ye are aboue all in presumption, yet not so vaine (which ye terme valiant) to assalt the sun. And whie? bicause it is impregnible. We content to inioie the light, yée to eclipse it; we to rest vnder the féet, yée to run

He speaketh to the chalengers in the behalfe of the two knights Adam and Eue.

Magnis excidimus ausis, the crie of Phaeton at his fall.

ouer the head; we to yéeld to that which nothing can conquer, you to conquer that which maketh all men captiues. But were it possible that head could deuise, courage attempt, or hand execute anie thing that might shew the depth of our vnspotted loialtie, soone should be séene (and for your selues too soone) that your enterprises should be of as small account then, as now they are of likelihood; so déepe an impression is ingrauen in our thoughts, for the maiestie of that sun which now persing our eies hath fullie subdued our hearts, that we are prest in hir defense to offer the whole world defiance. In proofe whereof I am charged to throw downe this gantlet, which who so dareth take vp, shall féele both the heat of their iust conceiued quarrell, and the reproch of their owne deserued follie, not by riding in breaking a few staues to end the strife, but at tourneie, or what else soeuer they can deuise, or dare aduenture to win the benefit of Beautie. Thus most renowmed and diuine Beautie, whose beams shine like the sun, haue Adam and Eue aduentured to defend the sun. The same I call Beautie the light of the world, the maruell of men, the mirrour of nature, on which their incounter if those fauourable gleames may fall, they will not onlie thinke to haue doone good herein, but to be restored againe to paradise. The one meaneth to repose his trust in a woman, who like Eue cannot be beguiled, the other to rest on a saint which by a serpent will not be tempted. Thus being placed in the garden of your graces, O of all things most gratious, where vertues grow as thicke as leaues did in paradise, they will take héede to tast of the forbidden fruit, contented to behold, not coueting to take hold. And for that it hath beene long argued, and no arguing can end, whether the first offense came by the crudelitie of Adam, or the simplicitie of Eue; the one defending his fault by sound arguments, the other excusing hirs by sharpe answers: they most humblie sue for this, that either by six courses betwéene them the quarrell may be ended, or by your highnesse peremptorie sentence determined. For they both being in the world, are desirous that one might beare the blame of both. And what herein your excellencie shall set downe, there is none shall gainesaie; for whensoeuer the question shall be mooued, no other reason shall be allowed or liked than this; Elizabetha dixit. This speach being thus ended, sir Thomas Perot and master Cooke procéeded backward on the otherside of the tilt. And when master Ratclife came likewise against the queene, one of his pages pronounced these spéeches in his masters behalfe to hir maiestie.

The defendants gantlet throwne downe, &c.

The defendants sute and desire.

So manie were the misfortunes (most renowmed and beautifull princesse) of the desolate knight my master, as neither the shortnesse of the time will suffer me to repeat, nor the greatnesse of the mysterie to remember. But let this suffice, that some there were and so manifold, that geometrie whereon the body of man hangeth could not beare being intollerable, nor the mind which consisteth in arithmetike number being infinit. Thus alwaies crossed by fortune, whose crossing is no blessing, he determined to separate himselfe as far from societie, as his actions were from successe; who wandering through manie deserts, yet finding as he thought no place desolate, happened at the last to come to a cliffe adioining to the maine sea, couered all with mosse, whereon he was walking: much delighted with the solitarie seat, but not well liking the cold situation, he suddenlie sunke into a hollow vault, surprised at the first with feare, but séeing it at the last a place of succor, he accounted his former miseries méetlie appeased by this present fortune. In this den he vsed for his bed mosse, for his candle mosse, for his céeling mosse, and vnlesse now and then a few coales, mosse for his meat: a drie food God wot and a fresh, but so moistened with wet teares, and so salt, that hard it was to coniecture, whether it were better to féed or to fast. Here he gaue himselfe to continuall meditation, separating his mind from his bodie, his thought from his hart, yea diuorcing himselfe from himselfe, in so much that with his strange diet and new conceits he became so inchanted, that neither

M. Ratclifs spéech to the quéene.

A mossie cliffe.

Mosse and nothing but mosse.

ther the remembrance of others, nor a thought touching himselfe could enter into his mind: an alteration seldome heard of, that the place whereas he was shrowded in, should make him to forget who he is. Liuing thus a long time, for that no lim should seeme short, rising according to his maner to walke in the mosse in the grisping of the day, he espied vpon the shore certeine men either cast awaie by shipwracke, or ouer boord by pirates, vnto whome he went; and perceiuing by their plaints one which laie dead amongst them to be their master, inquired whense they were? But they not willing to repeat their misfortunes, opened the bosome of the gentleman, and pulled out a scroll conteining a claime, a challenge, naie a conquest of Beautie. At the sight whereof, suddenlie (quoth he) Beautie! and therewithall appalled paused, entring by litle and litle out of his present melancholies into his former misfortunes, who as one awaked out of a long dreame began thus to debate. O Beautie, where thy fortresse is founded I know, but what these brethren should meane I maruell; for as I am assured that to win thée none could be so fortunate, so did I thinke that to claime thée none could be so fond; when as thou O diuine Beautie art of euerie one to be desired, but neuer to be conquered of Desire. But as the eagle beholding the sunne, coueteth to build hir nest in the same, and so dimmeth hir sight: so they vewing the brightnesse of Beautie are incensed to conquere it by Desire. And what then? Bicause she is inuincible shall I be indifferent? No, I will forsake this caitife cottage, and will take arms to defend that Beauties castell. Nothing shall remooue me from mine attempt, which being performed, nothing can mooue me. Yea but she hath seruants alreadie a number; I but vnles I be there, not the whole number: but manie were famous, but none more faithfull: yet alas, if thou go, thou shalt euer be infortunat: better alwaies infortunat, than once disloiall. Which words being ended, he demanded whether they would in like case aduenture with one of no lesse courage than their master, but certeinlie of greater affection: whose seruice he hauing vpon small intreatie obteined, for that belike they were desirous to see the euent for the which they had suffered such aduentures, he departed to his caue, hewing a shield out of the hard cliffe inriched onelie with soft mosse: a double signe of his desire, thinking that nothing could manifest Beautie so well as Pythagoras walnut, a tender rine and a hard shell. And now most excellent and diuine Beautie, diuine it must néeds be that worketh so heauenlie, sith he is called from his solitarie caue to your sumptuous court, from bondage to libertie, from a liuing death to a neuer dieng life, and all for the sake and seruice of Beautie: vouchsafe his shield, which is the ensigne of your fame, to be the instrument of his fortune. And for prostrating himselfe to your féet, he is here readie prest to aduenture anie aduentures for your gratious fauour.

A claime or conquest of beautie conteined in a scroll.

A similitude.

Here the boie deliuered M. Ratclifs shield to the queene.

Which spéech being ended, he retired backe as the rest. And after him came the foure sonnes of sir Francis Knolles, one after an other, according to their age, and all in like armour: who comming to the end of the tilt, staied till these spéeches were vttered by one of their pages, who being apparelled like vnto Mercurie, pronounced these spéeches in the knights behalfes to hir maiestié.

Here enter the foure sons of sir Francis Knolles.

Report hath bruted all abroad, that desperat Desire with a woonderfull armie of affections hath laid his siege against the inuincible fortresse of péerelesse beautie, and that the chiefest champions of this most famous enterprise are foure of fansies fellowes, foster brothers to desire, and drie nurst by despaire, valiant knights, and honorable personages, whose hautie hearts deserue renowme at least, for venturing to win the golden fléece without Médeas helpe. The giants long ago did scale the clouds men saie, in hope to win the fort of Iupiter. The wanton youth, whose waxen wings did frie with soaring vp aloft, had scapt vnscorcht if he had kept a meaner gale below. So falles it out in this attempt, desire vaunts to conquer

The spéech of the foure sons of sir Francis Knolles, pronounced by their page being apparelled like vnto Mercurie.

Desire and Beautie.

Beauties

Beauties fort by force, wherein the goddesse keepes continuallie watch and ward, so that desire may despaire to win one inch of hir against hir will. Hir statelie seat is set so high, as that no leuell can be laid against hir walles: and sooner may men vndertake to hit a starre with a stone, than to beat hir braue bulworkes by batterie. No vndermining may preuaile, for that hir fort is founded vpon so firme a rocke, as will not stir for either fraud or force. And is there anie hope to win by famine such a fort as yeelds continuall food to all hir foes. And though they feed not fat therwith, yet must they either feed thereon or fast: for Beautie is the onelie bait whereon desire bites; and loue the chiefe restoritie that ladie Beautie likes, so that she can no more be left without meat, than men can liue without minds. Of all affections that are, desire is the most worthie to woo, but lest deserues to win Beautie: for in winning his saint, he looseth himselfe: no sooner hath desire what he desireth, but that he dieth presentlie: so that when Beautie yéeldeth once to desire, then can she neuer vant to be desired againe. Wherfore of force this principle must stand, it is conuenient for desire euer to wish, and necessarie that he alwais want. O rare and most renowmed Beautie, O goddesse to be honored of all, not to be equalled of anie, become not now a prisoner: your fortresse is inuincible. No doubt desire will content himselfe with a fauourable parlée, and wait for grace by loialtie, not chalenge it by lance; although he make neuer so braue. The world dooth know that ladie Beautie néeds no rescue to raise this siege, for that she sits aboue all reach, hir heauenlie lookes aboue when she so lists can dazell all mens eies. But though she list not vse those means, yet it is méete that all hir seruants come and shew themselues deuout to doo hir will; perchance hir pleasure is to sée the forts tried of these foure foster friends. O happie, ten times happie they whose hap shall be with fauour of hir deitie, to take in hand this braue attempt: in hope whereof these foure legitimate sonnes of despaire, brethren to hard mishap, suckled with sighes, and swathed vp in sorrow, weaned in wo, and drie nurst by desire, long time fostered with fauourable countenance, and fed with sweet fansies, but now of late (alas) wholie giuen ouer to griefe and disgraced, by disdaine, are come with readie hearts and hands, to prooue against these other foure, that desire dooth not deserue one winke of good fauour from ladie Beauties smiling eies, for threatning to win hir fort by force. They doubt not the victorie, if onelie they may find some like shew from their saint in fauour of their enterprise. If Mercurie haue said amisse, blame those bright beams which haue bereft him of his wit: if well, vouchsafe one becke to bid him packe awaie.

Why desire deserues least to win beautie.

The foure sonnes of sir Francis Knolles.

These spéeches being ended, both they and the rest marched about the tilt, and so going backe to the nether end thereof prepared themselues to run, euerie one in his turne, each defendant six courses against the former challengers; who performed their parts so valiantlie on both sides, that their prowesse hath demerited perpetuall memorie, and worthilie woon honor both to themselues and their natiue countrie, as fame hath the same reported. When this daies sport was thus accomplished, the boie that vttered the defiances, in these few speeches tooke his goodnight of the quéene.

The running at the tilt.

In the triall of this debatefull question (O your selfe) what can be said more than is? You sée that séeing begins to faile. Night the ordinarie truce maker, though no truce be treated (if at least your presence make it not lightsome) will wrap all in hir blacke and mourning wéeds, perchance mourning, for that the noblest desire hath béene subiect to vndeserued torments: and therefore these knights, by the authoritie of darkenes verie vndesirouslie are compelled to depart from whence they came. To conclude, thus much they command me in their names to confesse, that such excellencie they find in your knights, and in comparison of them such vnablenesse in their selues, that if desire did not banish despaire as a traitor out of his

The boie that vttered the defiance, in this speech tooke his good night of the quéene.

kingdome, it would haue alreadie vndermined their best grounded determination: but no inward nor outward wound, no weakenesse, no wearinesse, can dant desire, nor take awaie the naturall effects that follow it. Therfore hauing left them no other courage than desire, no other strength than desire, no other beginning or ending cause but desire, they will continue this hard and hardie enterprise to morow. In the meane time they can find no place in their hearts that dooth not wish you as swéet rest, as Psyche was conueied vnto by the gentle Zephyrus, and if be it possible by the same ghest visited. They wish that when your lids looke vp your eies may be brightened, to see to morow a better daie than this, and therewithall so singular successe, as you may long, fréelie, and ioyfullie inioy your selfe, to the delight of lookers, and woonder of markers. ¶ This said, and all the triumphant shewes ended, the knights in verie comelie and conuenient order (as they came) departed:

Et fessos soluunt artus, mollissima quæque
Gustant, & dulci membra quiete fouent.

Here entereth a most excellent and braue charriot, with rare, curious and costlie worke with the foure chalengers in it which charriot was verie curiouslie shadowed with fine lawne.

The next daies shew was doone in this order. The foure foster children of desire entered in a braue chariot (verie finelie and curiouslie decked) as men forewearied and halfe ouercome. The charriot was made in such sort, as vpon the top the foure knights sat, with a beautifull ladie, representing desire about them. Wherevnto their eies were turned, in token what they desired. In the bulke of the charriot was conueied roome for a full consort of musike, who plaid still verie dolefull musike as the charriot mooued. The charriot was drawne by foure horsses according to the foure knights, which horsses were apparelled in white and carnation silke, being the colours of desire. And as it passed by the vpper end of the tilt, a herald of armes was sent before to vtter these spéeches in the knights behalfe to hir maiestie.

The first spéech the second daie.

No confidence in themselues, O most vnmatched princesse, before whome enuie dieth, wanting all néerenes of comparison to susteine it, and admiration is expressed, finding the scope of it void of conceiuable limits, nor anie slight regarding the force of your valiant knights, hath incouraged the foster children of desire to make this daie an inheritour of yester daies action: but the wing of memorie alas, the sworne enimie vnto the wofull mans quietnesse, being constantlie held by the hand of perfection, and neuer ceassing to blow the cole of some kindled desire, hath brought their inward fire to blaze forth this flame vnquenchable by anie meanes: till by death the whole fewell be consumed. And therefore not able to maister it, they are violentlie borne whither desire draweth, although they must confesse (alas) that yester daies braue onset should come to such a confession, that they are not greatlie companied with hope, the common supplier to desires armie. So as now from summoning this castell to yéeld, they are fallen lowlie to beseech you to vouchsafe your eies out of that impregnable fortresse, to behold what will fall out betwixt them and your famous knights: wherin though they be so ouerpressed with the others valour, that alreadie they could scarselie haue béene able to come hither, if the charriot of desire had not carried them: yet will they make this whole assemblie witnesses so farre of their will, that sooner their soules shall leaue their bodies than desire shall leaue their soules. In that onelie standeth their strength that gaue them their first courage, and must be their last comfort. For what resistance is there where not onlie they are met with forren enimies, such as statelie disdeine, which looketh from so high a tower to poore desire, that though (in it selfe) it be great, yet in her eies (so seated) it séemeth small, or such on the other side as vnfortunat despaire, which maketh the countrie so barren where they laie their siege, that it would take awaie all the food of fansie; but euen ciuill warre yesterdaie grew betwixt them and others who beare the same badge of desire: that they doo so, as thus bestead they are brought to this faire passe, to desire no more, but that this

Hope the supplie to desirs armie.

death

death or ouerthrow maie be séene by those eies who are onelie vnhappie, in that they can neither find fellows nor sée themselues.

Which spéech being doone, the defendants came in, in such order as they came in the daie before. Therefore I shall not need to make a new repetition of the same, sith all hath béene touched alreadie. Then went they to the tourneie, where they did verie noblie, as the shinering of the swords might verie well testifie: and after that to the barriers, where they lashed it out lustilie, and fought couragiouslie, as if the Gréeks and Troians had dealt their deadlie dole. No partie was spared, no estate excepted, but ech knight indured to win the golden fleece, that expected either fame or the fauour of his mistresse, which sport continued all the same daie. And towards the euening the sport being ended, there was a boie sent vp to the quéene being clothed in ash coloured garments in token of humble submission, who hauing an oline branch in his hand, and falling downe prostrate on his face, and then kneeling vp, concluded this noble exercise with these words to hir maiestie.

Tourneies and barriers couragiouslie tried.

Most renowmed princesse of princes, in whome can nothing obteine victorie, but vertue. The foster children of desire (but heires onelie to misfortune) send me to deliuer in such words as sorrow can affoord their most humble hearted submission. They acknowledge this fortresse to be reserued for the eie of the whole world, farre lifted vp from the compasse of their destinie. They acknowledge the blindnesse of their error, in that they did not know desire (how strong soeuer it be) within it selfe to be stronger without it selfe than it pleased the desired. They acknowledge they haue degenerated from their fosterer in making violence accompanie desire. They acknowledge that desire receiued his beginning and nourishment of this fortresse, and therefore to commit vngratefulnesse in bearing armes (though desirous armes) against it. They acknowledge noble desire should haue desired nothing so much, as the flourishing of that fortresse, which was to be estéemed according to it selfes liking. They acknowledge the least determination of vertue (which stands for the gard of this fortresse) to be too strong for the strongest desire, and therefore they doo acknowledge themselues ouercome, as to be slaues to this fortresse for euer, which title they will beare in their foreheads, as their other name is ingrauen in their hearts. For witnesse thereof they present this oliue branch to your presence, in token of your triumphant peace, and of their peaceable seruitude, whereby they present themselues as bondmen by those bonds, which the losse of life can onelie loose. Onelie from out of that which was theirs they craue thus much, to giue some token to those knights, which maie be iudged to haue doone best in ech kind of weapon, or who by his deuise hath come in best sort in this desirous strife. This being doone, they being now slaues (in whome much dutie requireth) for feare of offense, dare saie no further: but wish from the bottomé of their captiued hearts, that while this realme is thus fortified and beautified; desire maie be your chiefest aduersarie.

The last spéech to the quéene signifieng the humble hearted submission of the foure foster children of desire.

An oliue branch presented to the quéene.

Which speech being ended, hir maiestie gaue them all praise and great thanks, which they estéemed so well, and thought themselues rewarded according to their owne wishing: and so they departed ech one in order, according to the first comming in. And thus ceassed these courtlie triumphes, set foorth with most costlie brauerie and gallantnesse, whereof I maie saie as the academicall poet sometime said at the gratious entering of hir maiestie into Cambridge,

Hîc cocco murex, aurum superatur ab auro
Naturam certant vincere quæque suam:
Nil ibi sat pulchrum, quamuis pulcherrima quæque,
Et quamuis vincant omnia, victa iacent.

The one and twentith of Iune in the night, the lowest images (which were of Christs resurrection, of the virgin Marie, and of kings and bishops of this realme) about

Crosse in Cheape defaced.

about the crosse in Cheape (being six square) on all the sides, were broken an defaced; wherevpon two daies after, proclamation was made thorough out the citie, that who so would bewraie the dooers thereof, should haue fortie crownes for their labour: but nothing came to light. The seauen and twentith of Iune, Thomas Butcher brewer, was conuicted in the Guildhall of London, for that he as principall and others as accessaries, to the number of a thousand persons, on the fiue and twentith of Iune last past, about ten of the clocke in the night, with force of armes, in west Smithfield of London, and other streets of the citie congregated themselues, and with diuerse exclamations, prouoked the people in maner of rebellion, contrarie to the peace and statutes of the realme. On the eight and twentith of Iune, the same Thomas Butcher, being areigned at the Iustice hall in the old Bailie, was found giltie, and had iudgement to be whipped on the next market daie from Newgate thorough Smithfield, Long lane, Aldersgate street, saint Martins le grand; and so thorough the citie to the bars without Aldgate, and then to be committed to Newgate. On the 30 of Iune, the same T. Butcher, being deliuered vnto Iames Mase and other beadles, to haue receiued execution, as is aforesaid he being whipped from Newgate into west Smithfield, was there rescued, taken from the beadles, and sent to shift for himselfe abrode: for the which fact the one and twentith of Iulie, William Downe, I. Hand, T. Harres, and T. Appowell, three shoomakers and a brewer, were whipped from Newgate to the middest of Smithfield, and there set on the pillorie, whereon they stood from ten of the clocke till twelue, and from thense againe committed to prison. The thirteenth of Iulie, Richard Cox doctor of diuinitie, sometime schoolemaister to king Edward the sixt, deane of Westminster, and of Christs college in Oxenford, and of late bishop of Elie deceassed, and was buried at Elie: whose epitaph (alluding to his name and the execution of his charge, wherein he was iust) hereafter followeth:

Thomas Butcher whipped and rescued.

Foure men whipt and set on the pillorie.

Bishop of Elie deceassed.

Vita caduca vale, saluete vita perennis,
Corpus terra tegit, spiritus alta tenet.
In terra Christi gallus Christum resonabam,
Da Christe in cœlis te sine fine sonem.

This yeare were to be séene in London two Dutchmen of strange statures, the one in height seauen foot and seauen inches, in bredth betwixt the shoulders three quartern of a yard and an inch, the compasse of his brest one yard, an halfe, and two inches; and about the wast one yard, quarter, and one inch; the length of his arme to the hand a full yard: a comelie man of person, but lame of his legs (for he had broken them with lifting of a barrell of beere.) The other was in height but three foot, had neuer a good foot, nor anie knée at all, and yet could he danse a galliard, he had no arme, but a stumpe to the elbow or little more on the right side, on the which, singing, he would danse a cup, and after tosse it about three or foure times, and euerie time receiue the same on the said stumpe; he would shoot an arrow néere to the marke, flourish with a rapier, throw a bowle, beat with an hammar, hew with an axe, sound a trumpet, and drink euerie daie ten quartes of the best béere, if he could get it. About the seauenteenth of Iulie, I saw these men in the parish of saint Peter vpon Cornehill, the taller sitting on a bench bareheaded, the lesser stood on the same bench, and hauing on his head a hat with a feather, was yet the lower. Also the taller man standing on his feet, the lesser (with his hat and feather on his head) went vpright betwéene his legs, and touched him not.

Two men of strange statures to be séene.

The eightéenth of Iulie, Euerard Hance, alias Ducket, a seminarie priest, was in the sessions hall in the old Bailie of London arreigned, where he before the quéenes iustices affirmed that himselfe being now in England was subiect to the pope in ecclesiasticall causes, and that the pope hath now the same authoritie here in England that he had an hundred yeares past, and which he hath now at Rome, with other traitorous

Euerard Hance executed.

traitorous speeches: for the which he was condemned to be drawne, hanged, and quartered, and was executed accordinglie on the last of Iulie. At the same sessions were brought from the Fléet, the Gatehouse, Newgate, and the Counters, sundrie prisoners, indicted for refusing to come to church; all which being conuicted by their owne confession, had iudgement according to the statute, to paie twentie pounds for euery moneth of such wilfull absence from the church. The first of Nouember, monsieur Francis duke of Anion, the French kings brother, and other nobles of France (hauing latelie arriued in Kent) came to London, and were honourablie receiued, and retained at the court with banketting, and diuerse pleasant shewes and pastimes, of whome more hereafter in place conuenient.

Men arreigned for not comming to church.

Monsieur duke of Anion came into England.

On mondaie being the twentith of Nouember, Edmund Campion, Rafe Sherwin, Lucas Kerbie, Edward Rishton, Thomas Cotcham, Henrie Orton, Robert Iohnson, and Iames Bosgraue. All these before named persons were brought vnto the high barre at Westminster: where they were seuerallie, and altogither indicted vpon high treason, the sum whereof followeth in briefe as thus. That these persons, contrarie both to loue and dutie, forsooke their natiue countrie, to liue beyond the seas, vnder the popes obedience, as at Rome, Rheimes, and diuerse other places: where (the pope hauing with other princes practised the death and depriuation of our most gratious princesse, and vtter subuersion of hir seat and kingdome, to aduance his most abhominable religion) these men hauing vowed their allegiance to the pope, to obeie him in all causes whatsoeuer, being there, gaue their consent; yea vttermost furtherance they might, to aid him in this most traitorous determination. And for this intent and purpose they were sent ouer to seduce the hearts of hir maiesties louing subiects, and to conspire and practise hir graces death, as much as in them laie, against a great daie, set and appointed, when the generall hauocke should be made, those onelie reserued that ioined with them. This laied to their charge, they boldlie and impudentlie denied. Wherevpon a iurie was impanelled, their owne confessions, their owne writings, and credible witnesses viua voce produced to their faces, approuing them giltie of the former allegations, as hereafter followeth.

Ex libro cui titulus A discourie of Edmund Campion dedicated to certeine lords of the counsell.

Edmund Campion with diuerse others arreigned of high treason.

The forenamed parties indictment.

The end why the said seminaries were sent ouer into England.

After the indictment was read vnto them, and their answer, that it was beyond their power to proone them faultie in such matters, so stiffelie they stood in their apparant impudencie; first was mooued to them sundrie treasons past, attempted against hir maiestie by those of their sect and disposition: yet notwithstanding the vttermost of their malice, how mightilie God had defended his chosen Elisabeth, returning their dealings to their owne destruction. Among sundrie these treasonable practises, which the pope, the ancient aduersarie to hir maiestie hath at diuerse times set abroch, the rebellion in the north may remaine as a witnesse of his excéeding malice and spite against hir grace and gouernement. Wherto let vs ad the bull sent ouer by Iohn Felton, which traitorouslie he placed on the bishop of Londons gate: in which bull, the pope vtterlie excommunicated hir maiestie, she was an heretike, he had dispossessed hir of hir crowne and dominion, she was not the lawfull quéene of this realme, and hir subiects were not bound to obeie anie of hir laws or decrées; but they were all frée, and perfectlie discharged of their allegiance to hir, so that they might lawfullie, when time serued so conuenient for them, both stirre rebellion against hir, and also enter into armes against hir maiestie. The popes will in this hath bin put in execution, as through the ill demeanor of diuerse persons to him affected it was mooued in the north, where mainteining themselues on the authoritie of the pope and his traitorous bull secretlie dispersed abrode, they entred into a plaine and manifest rebellion. The like was put in practise in Ireland through doctor Sanders and other traitors, who there ioined themsefues togither vnder the popes standard, to bring to passe their secret appointment in this realme. Through their persuasions and dealings, the people were mooued in the popes name to fight against their lawfull

The rebellion in the north, onlie through the popes meanes.

The sum of the popes bull which our Englishmen beyond the seas hold as their authoritie to rebell against hir maiestie.

Doctor Sanders his rebellion in Ireland, through whome the people were seduced to fight against their lawfull princesse.

full princesse vnder his banner; and to rebell against hir so notoriouslie as they might. The incouragement to this great disobedience they receiued through doctor Sanders a fugitiue and ranke traitor to his prince and countrie, as also through diuerse Iesuits both English and Irish, whose hypocriticall shew of holinesse and diuellish persuasions on the behalfe of the pope their maister and head, intised a multitude of the people there to change their profession in religion, and to yeeld themselues to the popes authoritie, whereby they should renounce the most certeine and iust title of hir maiestie: and when foren forces should be assembled there, they to ioine with them in their intent, and so traitorouslie rebell against their lawfull souereigne. All these practises tooke their originall from the pope, as well by sending his secret messengers, as also by his traitorous bull, which being sent by Pius quintus, is neuerthelesse confirmed (in the former authoritie) by this pope Gregorie the thirteenth, and remaineth in hope to take effect at some time or other, for which he doth watch opportunitie as conuenientlie as he maie. But God the iust auenger of all causes, as he hath hitherto preserued hir maiestie and this litle Iland from all their malicious attempts and practises, and hath deseruedlie throwne the yoke of their shame on their owne necks: so will he no doubt continue his fatherlie care, that his children shall be preserued, and their aduersaries confounded. But saith Campion: What is this to vs here present? What apperteineth this to our indictment? We are here both seuerallie and all together indicted of high treason; and for that that is obiected against vs we must answer. Let not other mens offenses be laid to our charge, that we should answer for other mens falts committed long since. Some of vs were then but nouices here in the vniuersities, and were altogither ignorant of these matters. What haue we to doo with anie thing that they did? They that were offendors, let them answer to what you can lay against them. For vs that be here at this instant, you must either saie; Thou Campion didst this thing, or thou (naming some of the other) committedst this offense, and thervpon bring your proofes and witnesses, otherwise you shall neuer be able to touch vs. As for these assertions, for the strength they haue against vs, I will not estéeme it worth a penniworth of pippins. And therefore to your indictment.

This bull remaineth in his former force by this pope, onelie a toleration for the straitnesse to the subiects therein amended.

Campion desireth not to heare how these treasons tooke their originall, and how from time to time they haue béene enterprised and confounded: wherefore to blind the peoples eies he maketh this counterfeit answer.

This answer so smoothlie deliuered, and with such coie lookes and protestation of action gested, that all the standers by gaue perfect notice of the man, both of his nature and disposition, as also of his prompt and ingenious wit, to shadow an absolute truth with a shew of great wisedome and learning. For this he knew right well, that before he came to that place, he had woone a maruellous goodlie report, to be such a man as his like was not to be found, either for life, learning, or anie other qualitie that might beautifie a man. So that by his fauorers and frends it was blowen abrode, that we had neither doctors, nor others that were worthie to enter disputation with him, he was so farre aboue them all, that they might not deale with him. Hereto doo the great titles which they adorne him withall giue credit, saieng thus:

Ex libello quodam famoso.

Quid? Campiano deerat doctrina perito,
Doctrinæ natus qui penetrale fuit:
Cui fuit in primis sponsata scientia cunis,
Quíque puer nulli mente secundus erat:
Ingenuas iuuenis qui sedulus imbibit artes,
Vírque videbatur vix habuisse parem, &c.

Now being brought vnto a publike triall, it stood him vpon to argue somewhat of the praise that had béene giuen him: wherefore in verie quaint and familiar eloquent gloses he stood vpon quirks and fine deuise of spéech, thinking as he had deluded manie before, so at that present he might blind the eies of iustice, and acquite himselfe of his horrible tresons. But as truth sheweth most braue when she goeth bare and naked, and deceipt finest when he is cunninglie florished; euen so the poore

habit of the one discouered the proud hart of the other, and confounded his boldnesse with hir sacred brightnesse, giuing all men to vnderstand, that Veritas vincit omnia. And bicause Campion would haue made such a cunning conueiance of the matter, as though it neither might or could attaint him or anie of them: it was giuen him to vnderstand, that they would not alone touch him in the sequele of the former causes, but them all, and he that thought himselfe the cléerest. Wherevpon doctor Sanders and doctor Bristow, their traitorous writings in defense of the popes bull exhibited against hir maiestie, were read vnto them, how they both allowed it, and also the rebellion in the north. Afterwards it was manifestlie prooued to their faces, that Bristows booke in allowance thereof, named his motiues, was especiallie commanded to be vsed amongest them both at Rome and at Rheimes, euerie one being expreslie charged not to be without one of these bookes.

Doctor Sanders and doctor Bristows bookes were there read vnto them, wherin most traitorously they defended the rebellion against hir maiestie.

This with open mouths they altogither denied, some that they had neuer séene it, and some that they neuer heard of anie such commandement: when as Iohn Hart one of their owne fellowes had auouched it, and therevnto subscribed. Besides, my selfe when * I came to Rheimes, saw them as common amongst them, as the litle catechisme here amongst children, the inequalitie of the number considered. Againe, at Rome they were as common likewise in the seminarie, and among the Englishmen in the citie, for * my selfe had it, and one of doctor Allens catechismes deliuered me, with great charge to embrace it as my chiefe instruction. My companion that went with me had one likewise; the rest of the witnesses had seene how common they were, and in what reuerence and authoritie they estéemed them: yet these men would with shamelesse faces denie it; yea, and if they might haue beene so credited, would haue sworne against it. This manifest reproofe they would not grant vnto, but Campion taketh vpon him to wrest it according vnto his humor, by answering that the booke was not so ill as they tooke it for, nor deserued anie such iudgement of preiudice. Now he thought he could not be taken tardie, but supposed his argument to passe vnreprouable; for that in the new imprinting of this booke, such matters as did most sharplie touch them, were abridged, thinking none of the former bookes should come to light. But here Campion ouershot himselfe, for so slie an answer could not couer so foule a blemish. When they had notably conuicted them of these matters, which with obstinacie they still denied, they came to the intent of their secret comming ouer into this realme, which was for the death of hir maiestie, and ouerthrow of the whole realme, which should be by domesticall rebellion and forren hostilitie, the sum whereof in briefe is thus. This little Iland, God hauing so bountifullie bestowed his blessings vpon it, that except it proue false within it selfe, no treason whatsoeuer can preuaile against it, and the pope being hereof verie well persuaded, by reason that all his attempts haue prooued of no effect: he hath found out a meane, whereby he assureth himselfe to spéed of his desire. Secret rebellion must be stirred here at home among our selues, the harts of the people must be obdurated against God and their prince: so that when a foren power shall on a sudden inuade this realme, the subiects thus seduced must ioine with these in armes, and so shall the pope atteine the sum of his wish. And all this must be wrought by certeine locusts of the popes seminaries mainteined at Rome and Rheimes, arriuing in England, and dispersing themselues into such places, where they thinke themselues to be surest, some in one place, and some in another; and disguising themselues like gentlemen, seruingmen, or what apparell they may find meetest for them, haue accesse to manie and sundrie places, where hauing reconciled some, their frends must likewise be of the same stampe. And so, what from father to son, husband and wife, kinsman and acquaintance, a number are seduced and brought into their detestable dealings. For, after they haue gotten anie litle ground within them to build vpon, then

Campion answered this point subtillie, because in the last edition of the booke the chiefe matters against themselues were abridged.

The generall determination how to bring to passe their intent in this realme.

Their owne confession how they behaue themselues when they come into England.

* *M. A.*

then doo they laie vnto them, what a generall bloudie daie is toward England, that the pope and other forren princes haue fullie determined to ouerrun the realme; then better it were for you (saie they) to yéeld your selues willinglie, than to sée so horrible a slaughter, both of your princesse, and all that dare presume to take hir part. Your selues, yea and your freends shall abide the same hard iudgement, except you ioine with vs in this action. Thus through terrifieng, and a thousand traitorous fetches they haue; one friend bringeth another, and one kinsman another. So that, as they themselues will make their boast, in short time they doubt not to haue the most part of all England; yea and further they presume, that hir maiestie thinking hir selfe in most safetie, shall then be soonest of all beguiled and deceiued. These are the men that make themselues so sound and substantiall, that they are as true subiects to hir maiestie as the best of vs. Yea, saith Campion, neuer shall you prooue this, that we came ouer either for this intent or purpose; but onelie for the sauing of soules, which meere loue and conscience compelled vs to doo, for that we did pittie the miserable estate of our countrie. But where are your proofes (saith he), these are but quirkes by the waie, our liues I perceiue standeth vpon points of rhetorike, you haue shewen vs the antecedent, now let us haue the Ergo. With this continuall course of boldnesse and impudencie, Campion and his fellowes would grant nothing, but stiflie denied euerie cause: and Campion he tooke it for a custome to wrest euerie thing as pleased him, saieng: that the iurie were not men learned, and therfore causes of conscience ought not to be committed to them, neither was that barre appointed to define on causes of conscience: wherfore, all that you doo (saith he) is but to bring vs in Odium with the iurie. After this order he deluded the people, appealing still to the deuoutnesse of his conscience: bicause he saw the matter brought to the verie push that would generallie conuict them all, for the witnesses were produced and sworne, Harts confession and their owne writings before them, so that they would remooue them from their ordinarie illusions.

Campion coloureth their comming ouer, affirming it was for the safegard of soules.

When he had no other shift he fell into these words.

The deposition of G. Eliot.

George Eliot, one of the ordinarie yeomen of hir maiesties chamber, vpon his oth gaue foorth in euidence as followeth. That he, liuing here in England among certeine of that sect, fell in acquaintance with one Paine a préest: who gaue him to vnderstand of a horrible treason intended against hir maiestie and the state, which he did expect shortlie to happen, the order how and after what manner in bréefe is thus. That there should be leuied a certeine companie of armed men, which on a sudden should enterprise a most monstruous attempt: a certeine companie of these armed men should be prepared against hir maiestie, as manie against my L. of L. as manie gainst my L. T. as manie against S. F. W. and diuerse other, whose names he dooth not well remember. The deaths of these noble personages should be presentlie fulfilled, and hir maiestie vsed in such sort, as modestie nor dutie will not suffer a subiect to rehearse: but this should be the generall crie euerie where, Queene Marie, queene Marie. It was also appointed and agreéd vpon who should haue this man of honours roome, and who should haue that office, euerie thing was determined, there wanted nothing but the comming ouer of such préests and others, as were long looked for. Vpon this report, this aforenamed George Eliot tooke occasion to question with this Paine, how they could find in their hearts to attempt an act of so great and horrible crueltie, considering how high an offense it should be to God, beside great dangers might arise thereby. Whereto Paine made answer, that the killing hir maiestie was no offense to God, nor the vttermost crueltie they could vse to hir, or anie that tooke hir part, but that they might as lawfullie doo it as to a brute beast: and himselfe would be one of the formost in executing of this villanous and most traitorous action.

Meaning the quéene of Scots.

A most traitorous and villanous answer: of euerie true subiect to be read with reuerence of the person.

By this you may perceiue, that the death of hir maiestie and ouerthrow of this

realme

realme was throughlie agréed vpon, and fullie determined: there wanted nothing but opportunitie, for preests both then and after came ouer continuallie to further it, so much as in them laie. To the said effect did A. M. vtter most odious matter, the reading whereof would make anie true English hart quake and tremble: and to write it, what loiall subiect is able to abide? And therefore as deriued from the diuell to his dearlings we omit the same; counting it more loialtie to lull such deuises and consultations asléepe, than to publish them to the world in blacke and white: due reuerence to the principall obiects alwaies reserued. All which abhominable stuffe, circumstances of times, places, persons, and other particulars dulie pondered, giue euident demonstration what affection these fellowes affoord their lawfull quéene and countrie: well is he that can imagine most against hir maiestie, and highlie is he esteemed that beareth the most traitorous hart to hir. Yet Campion and the rest of his fellowes they plead ignorance in all these causes, they bolster vp one another with large protestations, railing words, and subtill surmises: affirming that they were not sent hither for anie such intent; which is as vntrue, as we know it for truth, that the Lord God liueth in heauen.

No iot of their good will wanted, if God did not (as he dailie dooth) preuent their purposes.

Campion nor his fellowes will grant to anie thing, but raile and vse bold speéches, whereby their guiltie consciences were discouered.

For this * I am able to saie my selfe, that at diuerse other times, it was whispered among them in the seminarie; that shortlie there should be préests appointed for England, to win the people against the appointed time when as a great armie should be readie to ioine with them: and Campion, who was then at Praga in Bohemia, he was spoken of amongst them all, to be a rare and singular fellow, and therefore generallie was taken for a méet man to be sent about such a message, so that they iudged he should be sent for to be a chiefe man in this matter. Well (saith Campion) it may be they had such an opinion of mé, which in my selfe I find not to be deserued; and it may be that I was appointed to be sent into England, according as those other preests were, for the sauing of soules and benefit of my countrie: must it follow then that we are sent to practise the death of the quéene, and to seeke the ruine of our countrie? Alas, this is a hard case, and I desire you of the iurie to marke it, for these are but shadowes without anie substance. This you are to note, that we which enter into that Blessed societie of the Iesuites: we doo as it were forsake the world, vowing our selues to chastitie and sinceritie of conscience, to obeie our superiours, and to be readie to go whither they shall appoint vs. If they send vs to the Indies, or to anie such places, where the people haue not the true catholike faith: we are bound by dutie in conscience to go whither they appoint vs. And shall it then be said that we come for the destruction of the prince and countrie, where we settle our selues? Alas, that were a hard case, for christian charitie willeth vs to comfort one another, and if we can to get the sheépe into the fold which hath long run astraie. And when we heare confession, we doo not persuade them to anie disobedience; for that is against the nature of confession: God forbid that we should once thinke anie such thing.

* *M. Ar*

Campion couered their traitorous intents vnder the sauing of soules.

A holie kind of life were it not for the B.

Note here the perfect image of hypocrisie.

Behold the subtill shifts that he found out still to flie vnto, yea though the manifest disproofe laie before them, yet would he find some cauill or other: for not onelie the euidence of their generall determination beyond the seas was shewed them, but also the traitorous articles were there read vnto them, which Iohn Hart had copied out for doctor Allen (concerning the procéeding of these traitorous causes, and for which he went purposelie to Rome to confer with the pope about) and subscribed vnto, that they were certeine and true, as also their owne confessions and writings were laid open before them, approouing them notablie guiltie of the matters aforesaid; and yet in their lieng pamphlets scattered here and there in sundry hands, they haue faces of brasse to report, that

When manifest proofes of their treasons were laid before them, they would in no wise grant their guiltinesse.

Insidiæ sanctos implicuere viros.

Charles Sled, who sometime serued master doctor Morton in Rome, in whose house there

there was manie matters determined, both by doctor Allen when he came to Rome, and diuers other doctors liuing there in the citie, as also diuerse of the seminarie: he likewise vnderstood of the prouision for the great daie, that it was generallie spoken of among the Englishmen: and to be more certeine he kept a iournall or booke of their dailie dealings, noting the daie, time, place, and persons present at their secret conferences, and verie much matter hath he iustified against them. One Cradocke a merchant, when he was in Rome, he vnderstood the aforesaid determination, and how that doctor Shelleie the English prior, who is a knight of the Rhodes, for that he somewhat spake against such crueltie to be vsed to his natiue countrie, was somewhat misliked of himselfe, and had almost béene turned out of his office. And this aforesaid Cradocke being in prison there for the space of twentie moneths and more: it was said to him, that he might account himselfe blessed of God that he was there, bicause he should not sée the grieuous ruine of his natiue countrie. He that hath but halfe an eie may sée how these matters concord and agrée togither, and noting euerie thing as it lieth, may plainelie sée their horrible and traitorous deuises.

Consider euerie matter and then iudge how they concord and agrée togither.

And further, there was a little booke in Latine, which they themselues brought ouer with them, it was there openlie read vnto them: wherin was certeine rules and orders prescribed, how they should behaue themselues here in England, and how if they were demanded of anie thing, they should make answer indirectlie: or to take the word itselfe, according as it is mentioned in the booke, they must answer Sophisticè, whereby is meant as thus. If they be examined as concerning their allegiance to hir maiestie, they will make their answer after this maner; She is our lawfull souereigne ladie and quéene, and we obeie hir. But then obiect vnto them, Will you obeie hir, notwithstanding the popes excommunication, or anie thing that he commandeth to the contrarie? Then will they answer: We desire you not to charge our consciences, and that you would not enter so deepe into our consciences, we trust the pope will not command vs anie thing against hir: and a hundred such like sléeuelesse answers they make, neuer agréeing to anie certeintie, but holding the pope in more reuerence than they doo hir maiestie.

A booke which they vse as their instruction, how to answer to euerie question sophisticallie.

To doo their dutie is a weightie burden to their consciences, and therefore they abide in their obstinacie and blindnesse.

For this consideration they carrie with them, that if by their shew of humilitie and their deuised order of craftie answering, they might mooue our magistrats to haue a good opinion of them, and not to deale so strictlie as law and their deseruing dooth worthilie merit: then they might with lesse suspect go about their holie fathers businesse, in that their sophisticall answers couered so foule an abuse. And then so manie as come after them, purposely sent about the same affaires, séeing their passage made before them, and being schooled after the same maner: they might withdraw the hearts of a number of hir maiesties subiects, by such meanes as is before largelie expressed; so that destruction should come vpon vs, before we had discouered their trecherous dealings. But God be thanked, as all their deuises haue had their deserued successe, this sophisticall order hath sped alike with them for companie: and this let them fullie assure themselues, that what meanes soeuer they séeke against their princesse and countrie, God will reward them after their owne dealings.

To Campion himselfe the former questions were put foorth at the barre: and this answer he made to them. She is my lawfull souereigne ladie and quéene, and I doo obeie hir. But when he was demanded, although the pope did expresselie command him the contrarie; if he would neuerthelesse faithfullie obeie hir? Oh then! they must not so deepelie enter into his conscience, that barre was not a barre to define on causes of conscience: that question touched his conscience, wherefore he flatlie said he might not answer it. No, no, he knew full well that the traitorous affaires he came about, would not allow him such a direct answer as they had looked for, and gladlie would haue had, that of a Saule they might haue made him a Paule. Wherefore his secret and guilefull behauiour made perfect appéerance of his wicked

Campion his owne answer as concerning his allegiance to hir maiestie.

intent

intent; which he shadowed vnder the counterfeit cloke of sauing soules, and reconciling his countriemen to the catholike faith, vnder the sweet bait of the amiable title of the societie of Iesus, to which order hauing bequeathed himselfe (and become a resolute and obstinate votarie) he thirsted after the kingdome of heauen; if we maie beléeue their owne report concerning Campion, of whome they saie:

Nominis inde tui sancto deuotus Iesu
Ille sodalitio cœlica regna sitit.

Here it can not be greatlie amisse, to rehearse vnto you the cause why this pope hath tolerated the former bull, seeing this sophisticall kind of answering grew chieflie thereby. When anie of these secret messengers should be sent about their holie fathers determination here in England, to reconcile, shriue, and win hir maiesties subiects to their diuelish intent: if such misaduenture should happen to them, that their secret delings came to the eares of iustice, then they fell into the danger of law. Wherfore to shadow their subtiltie, and to prosecute the effect of their message, the pope thought good to harten them by this sophisticall addition. For well we know, and themselues likewise are not ignorant thereof, that being examined, if they should denie the quéenes maiestie to be their supréme princesse and gouernesse in all causes: then they fell into condemnation by hir lawes. Againe, if they denied the authoritie of the pope, as of force they must néeds doo, if they will estéeme themselues good subiects, and manifest a dutifull and obedient heart to hir maiestie: then they breake their vow made to the pope, and so fall into his curse and condemnation likewise: so that this is certeinlie appointed them, to cleaue faithfullie to the one, and vtterlie to forsake the other.

The cause why this pope hath tolerated the former bull of Pius Quintus.

Yet that they might haue as much fauour and friendship, as the furtherance of such a cause required: this hard clause (being well scanned of diuerse our English doctors and others, both at Rome and at Rheimes) was thorough earnest sute deliuered to diuerse of the cardinals, who laieng their heads togither, and throughlie searching the bottome of euerie doubt: a toleration for that strict point was found out, which was ordeined as you haue heard before. Then in all the hast the pope was giuen to vnderstand thereof, who respecting what might be for his benefit, and what might turne to his discommoditie, authorised them this former toleration, which (God be thanked) carried as slender strength as the rest of his practises hath doone. Yet all this being knowne to vs, Campion and his fellowes will grant no knowledge, but pleade still their deuout consciences. *An other of their owne bookes was also there* read vnto them, wherein was other orders prescribed them, how they should handle a nobleman, how a gentleman, and how a poore man: which being openlie read before them, gaue all there present to vnderstand, how assuredlie they had appointed the course for their treason. A number of inuincible proofs passing against them, they came at last to the point of their coming ouer; how suddenlie, how hastilie, and all thorough a generall appointment. Campion, he had staid a long time at Praga in Bohemia, and on a sudden he was hastilie sent for to Rome: by his owne confession he knew not wherefore, but the message was in such hast, that he must come thither with all speed.

Our English doctors conferring with the cardinals found out the meane for this toleration.

An other booke how to handle all maner of persons to win them to their intent.

Campion sent for from Praga to go with other priests appointed for England.

When he came to Rome, he staied there but fiue daies; in which time, receiuing the sum of their charge from the pope, as is their vsuall woont, and their father generall deliuering them what he hath in office: he was dispatched from thense with other préests, who had their Viaticum from the popes treasurie, and were all especiallie appointed for England. These préests were sent (as all other are) about the chéefe cause, for that none come from thense but onelie for that purpose. The estate of the cause before expressed, it is too manifest, that Campion and his fellowes are guiltie of the matters obiected against them. For this you are to remember, that none must staie there without they will be préests; when they receiue their préesthood, they enter into

The priests are there onelie mainteined for this purpose, and none come from thense, but about this cause, which proueth them altogither giltie.

into their oth, which oth conteineth the summe of the treason: so that all which come from thense (hauing taken that oth) come about the execution of the treason, in that none but they that are especiallie sent, can haue their Viaticum of the pope; and then he sending them, the case is too euident.

Let not a light iudgement passe ouer a matter of so great respect, let the popes intent of keeping them there be considered, the great malice and spite that he beareth hir maiestie and the relme, and then their oth to execute his commandements; all these laid togither, discouereth the depth of their trecherie. But what answereth maister Campion to this? He confesseth that he was quietlie setled at Praga, and little expected anie such hastie sending for: beside that, he went to Rome with great speed, tarrieng there no longer than fiue daies, as is before expressed, and that he receiued his Viaticum of the pope, when as he was dispatched thense with other preests, purposelie appointed for England, and that he came no otherwise than they did, nor for anie other intent than for the benefit of soules, as he still termed it: but he would not grant that he came for anie treason.

Campion granteth, he came as the other priests did to reconcile and shriue: but he will not allow that he came for anie treason.

So that to seduce hir maiesties subiects, to persuade them from their duetie and obedience, and to ioine themselues in such sort, as their princesse and countrie must be destroied thereby: this is no treason in his opinion. Howbeit, Campion and his fellowes pleaded ignorance still, they saw and would not see, they were so craftilie schooled. Iames Bosgraue, he was at Vilna in Polonia, and as he confessed himselfe, he vnderstood that there was preests appointed for England: vpon which report he came awaie from thense in verie great hast. And in his passage, he mentioned to one in the ship, who was sworne, and confessed the same before certeine iustices, that there was such matter towards in England, as hath beene before expressed: and therevpon he sought to haue woone him, if his purpose could haue taken effect. Campion seeing this begun somewhat to touch the quicke, and that in truth it discouered the dealings of them all: he taketh vpon him to answer on his behalfe, for that they all reposed themselues on him.

Iames Bosgraue his hastie comming from Vilna, when he heard that priests were appointed for England.

He saith, that if Bosgraue did heare such news, that there were papists appointed for England, whie should they take hold on so small a cause? Flieng reports are not to be credited, for albeit he heard such newes, how knew he, if they were certeine or no? Againe (quoth he) the man hath beene long out of England, and he doth not speake English perfectlie: it maie be then that some word maie escape him vnawares, which you are not to build vpon, considering the defect of the man, for he maie peraduenture speake he knoweth not what. And where you saie, that such a one hath auouched before certeine iustices, that he vsed such and such words to him; where is the man, we are not to credit a written paper, what know we if it be true or no? Let vs heare him selfe saie so, and then we will beleeue it. See what a number of shifts he had continuallie to wast the time, and all to no purpose. The mans owne confession was there, wherto himselfe had subscribed, and foure or fiue iustices set their hands to it for the certeintie thereof; yet this was not sufficient to answer them.

Campion frequenteth his accustomed order of subtil answering.

Traitors will neuer beleeue anie truth, especiallie if it touch themselues.

Robert Iohnson he was likewise at Auinion in France, from whense he came also in great hast, vpon the report he had heard of priests that were appointed for England. Now there is another thing to be considered, that these men, setled where they were, by their owne confession they must not depart from thense without they be appointed by their superiors, then it is easie to be answered, that they came by their superiors appointment at this present: and as the generall determination was, so they came all for one cause and intent. Edward Rishton, he being here in England, wrote a letter to Richardson a priest, and who is likewise condemned amongest them; which letter was there openlie read to his face. How there were foure goldsmiths of his occupation latelie come ouer, who indeed were priests, and how all things went successiuelie forwards. And Campion being in the Tower wrote a letter vnto

Robert Iohnson his comming from Auinion in France.

Edward Rishtons letter to Richardson one of the condemned.

vnto Pownd likewise, wherein he gaue him to vnderstand that he was verie sorie, that through his frailtie he had bewraied those, at whose houses he had béene so fréendlie interteined; wherefore he asked God hartilie forgiuenesse, and them all whome he had so highlie offended. But (saith he) as for the chiefe matter that is as yet vnreuealed, and come racke come rope, neuer shall that be discouered. A number of matters more were brought against them, which to rehearse, would require a farre more large discourse: but to be bréefe, in the end, this was the full and certeine issue. That these men, when they were beyond the seas; the generall agréement and determination amongest them, was to worke the death of our most gratious princesse, to destroie hir dominion, and to erect such as pleased them when this aforesaid daie should take effect. And that their comming ouer, was to seduce hir louing subiects to win their obedient hearts from hir, so that they should be in a readinesse to ioine with a foren power, and so they should likewise be destroiers of their princesse and countrie. And that in the meane while they themselues sought to accomplish hir maiesties death, so much as in them laie.

Campions letter to maister Pownd in the Tower.

Campion was resolute in the chiefe matter.

This was manifestlie prooued by verie large and ample euidence, credible witnesses, and their owne confessions and writings: whereon the iurie, hauing wiselie and discreetlie pondered and searched and séene into the depth of euerie cause, worthilie and deseruedlie gaue them vp all guiltie of the treasons whereof they were indicted and arreigned. Which being doone, after a godlie and comfortable exhortation, persuading them patientlie to suffer and abide the death for them appointed, and to be heartilie sorie for their greeuous and hainous offenses, the sentence of death was pronounced on them: that they should depart to the places from whense they came, and from thense to be drawne on hurdles to the place of execution, where they should be hanged till they were halfe dead: then to be cut downe, their priuie members to be cut off, and their entrailes taken forth, and to be burned in the fire before their eies: then their heads to be cut off, their bodies parted into foure quarters to be disposed at hir maiesties pleasure, and the Lord God to receiue their soules to his mercie. Afterwards they were conueied from thense with botes to a place of landing for them appointed, from whense they were conducted to the Tower of London, diuerse of them giuing foorth sundrie lewd and dishonest spéeches: as Thomas Coteham, seeing so manie people to behold them, desired that fire and brimstone might fall from heauen, to destroie both the citie and all that were in it: with diuerse other wicked words, which for modesties sake I omit here to rehearse, desiring God in mercie to giue men better grace.

Sentence of death denounced against Campion and his confederats.

On the next daie, being tuesdaie and the one and twentith daie of Nouember, there was brought to the said high barre these persons following; Iohn Hart, Thomas Foord, William Filbie, Laurence Richardson, Iohn Shert, Alexander Brian, and Iohn Collington. Alexander Brian, he had shauen his crowne himselfe, and made him a crõss of a peece of a trencher, which he held in his hand openlie and praied to: which when he was rebuked for, he boldlie and stoutlie made answer; that his crowne was of his owne shauing, and he had good hope to doo it againe. In breefe, they were all indicted on the selfe same treasons as they were the daie before; and Iohn Harts traitorous sermon which he made at Rhems against hir maiestie auouched to his face, their owne writings and confessions with substantiall witnesse produced against them, so that they were found giltie of their treasons, as the other were before them, except Iohn Collington, he was quit of the former high treason by the Iurie.

A verie holie thing, but verie meet for his deuotion.

On fridaie being the first of December, Edmund Campion Iesuit, Ralfe Sherwin, and Alexander Brian seminarie priests, being condemned for high treason against hir maiesties most roiall person, as also for traitorous practises, touching the subuersion of the true and vndoubted religion here mainteined, with the vtter ruine and ouer-

Execution of Campion, Sherwin, and Brian.

throw

throw of this realme of England, were drawne from the Tower of London on hurdles, to the place of execution appointed, garded with such a sufficient companie as might expresse the honor of iustice the larger in that behalfe. Being come to the place of execution, where diuerse of hir maiesties honorable councell, with manie honorable personages, and gentlemen of worship and good account, beside a multitude of people not here to be remembred attended their comming; Edmund Campion was first brought vp into the cart, where after the great rumor of so manie people somewhat appeased, he spake thus.

Campion in his confession implieth a defense of his innocencie.

First he began (the people then present expecting his confession) with a phrase or two in Latine, when immediatlie after he fell into English in this maner. I am here brought as a spectacle before the face of God, of angelles, and of men, satisfieng my selfe to die as becommeth a true christian and catholike man. As for the treasons that haue béene laid to my charge, and I am come here to suffer for; I desire you all to beare witnesse with me, that thereof I am altogither innocent. Wherevpon answer was made to him by one of the councell, that he might not seeme to denie th' objections against him, hauing béene prooued so manifestlie to his face, both by sufficient witnesse and euidence. Well my lord (quoth he) I am a catholike man and a priest, in that faith haue I liued hitherto, and in that faith I doo intend to die; and if you esteeme my religion treason, then of force I must grant vnto you, as for anie other treason I will not consent vnto. Then was he mooued as concerning his traitorous and hainous offense to the quéenes most excellent maiestie. Whereto he answered; She is my lawfull princesse and quéene. There somwhat he drew in his words to himselfe whereby was gathered, that somwhat he would haue gladlie spoken: but the great timiditie and vnstable opinion of his conscience, wherein he was all the time euen to the death, would not suffer him to vtter it.

Campion noted to be verie vainglorious.

Here is with iudgement a deepe point and high matter to be considered, that this man alwaies directing the course of his life to a vaineglorious imagination, and alwaies couetous to make himselfe famous, at this instant made a perfect discouerie of himselfe. For being somewhat learned, all matters whatsoeuer (as you haue heard before) he bare awaie with a maiesticall countenance, the visor of vanitie aptlie fitting the face of onelie hypocrisie; what was sound he would make sophisticall, what was the infallible truth of it selfe he would carrie in his owne conceipt, and delude the people with a pleasant quirke, or some such stuffe, onlie to purchase him credit and affection. And he was not to learne to set a coragious countenance on euerie such slight reason, whereby he peruerted manie, deceiued more, and was thought such a champion, as the pope neuer had the like. But now behold the man, whom neither racke nor rope should alter, whose faith was such as he boasted inuincible: feare had caught hold on this braue boaster, and terror entred his thoughts, whereby was discouered his impudent dissimulations. Now let it with patience be mooued a little, that the outward protestations of this man vrged some there present to teares, not entring into conceipt of his inward hypocrisie to make a plausible definition of this perillous deceiuer, not by coniecture, but by proofe it shall be thus answered.

Campion described.

A further description of Edmund Campion.

Edmund Campion, as it is by men of sufficient credit reported at what time he spent his studie here in England both in the hospitall, and also at the vniuersitie of Oxford, was alwaies addicted to a maruellous suppose in himselfe of ripe iudgement, prompt audacitie, and cunning conueiance in his schoole points: wherethrough he fell into a proud and vaineglorious iudgement, practising to be eloquent in phrase, and so fine in his quirks and fantasticall coniectures, that the ignorant he woon by his smooth deuises, some other affecting his pleasant imaginations he charmed with subtiltie and choked with sophistrie. The learned, who beheld his practises and peremptorie order of life, pitieng his follie, and wishing him a more staied determination, lothed

his

his maners; yet loued the man, bicause christian charitie willed them so to doo. Now this glorious Thraso hauing by his libels made himselfe famous, and vnder shew and suppose of great learning (though indeed being approoued, found verie simple to the speeches giuen of him) subdued manie to affect him verie much, when he was taken he knew it stood him vpon, not to loose the credit openlie he had woone secretlie. Wherefore in his former ridiculous maner, both in prison, at his arreignment, yea and at his death, he continued the same in all points, which the foulnesse of his treasons blemished euerie waie. Now indeed, as our English nation is both louing and pitifull; so manie seeing the gifts of God so well bestowed on the man, and by him applied to so great abuse, through naturall kindnesse bemoned his case, wishing he had not fallen into so traitorous a cause. Then was mooued to him againe his treasons and hainous offenses against the quéenes maiestie, which impudentlie he still denied, séeming to vtter words on the behalfe of one Richardson, one likewise of the condemned traitors, taking on his conscience that it was not he. Which hath bin prooued to the contrarie, for that it is knowne how this Richardson is he, who distributed Campions libels and bookes abrode: and when he was put to his oth, whether it was he or no, he refused to sweare on his behalfe. And because the world might be fullie resolued, that (notwithstanding all the pretended and colourable meanes he could vse for his excuse and innocencie) he was to suffer death deseruedlie as a traitor, &c. There was read to his face in the hearing of the assemblie a pamphlet published by authoritie as followeth.

Campions curious care to keepe the credit he had woone in England.

AN ADUERTISEMENT AND DEFENSE FOR TRUTH

AGAINST HIR BACKEBITERS, AND ESPECIALLIE AGAINST THE WHISPERING FAUOURERS AND COLOURERS OF CAMPIONS AND THE REST OF HIS CONFEDERATS TREASONS.

ALTHOUGH at the late arreignements at Westminster of Edmund Campion, and other his complices condemned there of sundrie high tresons, it was manifestlie declared and fullie prooued, how they all, vnder pretense of the names of Iesuits, seminarie priests, and other persons of like condition, had secretlie come into this realme, by sending of sundrie persons authorised by the pope, to mooue the people by their secret persuasions to change their professions in the matter of religion, of long time quietlie established in this realme, and to be reconciled to the obedience of the pope, and withdrawen from their naturall allegiance due to the queenes maiestie, and by these meanes to be readie in their hearts and minds and otherwise prouided, to ioine their forces as well with such as their heads and superiors which sent them intended speedilie to procure to be sent into this realme, as with other rebellious subiects by them to be thereto also excited, of purpose to depriue hir maiestie of hir life, crowne, and dignitie; in like maner as latelie hath beene notoriouslie attempted and put in execution by doctor Sanders an arrant and detestable traitor, and whilest he liued one of the said Campions companions, and by other English and Irish Iesuits and traitors in Ireland, where they had first by their like secret meanes and persuasions, intised a great multitude of people of that land, first to change their profession of religion, and to acknowledge the popes authoritie, and to renounce the iust authoritie of hir maiestie: and so departing from their allegiance, vpon the arriuall of forren forces they did enter into a manifest rebellion, against the which almightie God the iust auenger of rebels by his goodnesse hath giuen hir maiestie (through

The true occasion of Campions and other of his stampe coming into England.

The euill practises of the Iesuits in Ireland.

The proceeding of iustice against Campion, &c. defamed.

hir good ministers) power to the vanquishing, not onelie of those forren forces, but also of a great number of the rebels there. Yet it is maliciouslie, falselie, and traitorouslie by some of the secret fauourers of the said Campion, and other the said condemned traitors whispered in corners, that the offenses of these traitors were but for their secret attemptings as Iesuits, by exhorting and teaching: with shriuing, massing, and such like arts, to mooue people to change their religion, and to yeeld their obedience to the pope as Christs vicar (although the same be of themselues offenses verie heinous, and seeds of sedition not allowable by the laws of the realme) whereas in verie truth neuerthelesse it did manifestlie appeare vpon their indictments, and at their arreignements, by sundrie confessions of some of their owne companions, and by manie good proofes and witnesses produced and sworne before their faces, that their facts whereof they were arreigned and condemned, were such as were in truth hie tresons committed against hir maiesties roiall person, and against the ancient lawes and statutes of this realme, which manie hundred yeres past were in force against like traitors, and not for facts of doctrine or religion, nor yet for offenses against anie late or new statutes, the same being manie conspiracies at sundrie times beyond the seas, at Rome in Italie and other places, and lastlie at Rheimes in France, where there are nourished by the popes authoritie in seminaries multitudes of English Iesuits, seminarie priests, and fugitiues, whereof their heads and gouernors vse continuallie in their sermons, and in their bookes publikelie printed, as traitors to declare their traitorous minds as far forth as they can, to the depriuation of the queenes maiestie of hir life and crowne; to which ends the said Campion and his said companions, by procurement of their said heads, came secretlie into this realme, to mooue the subiects to renounce their naturall obedience; and according to a bull of the last pope Pius published to persuade all sorts with whom they durst secretlie deale, that hir maiestie by the said popes excommunication was not the lawfull queene of the realme, nor that the subiects were bound to obeie anie of hir lawes or ministers: but that they were all free, and discharged of their obedience and allegiance, and that they might lawfullie; yea that when time might serue, they ought to take armes against hir maiestie, as in the late rebellion in the north was manifestlie by like meanes put in execution, and as now also latelie was notoriouslie attempted in Ireland, by stirring vp the people in the popes name, and vnder his standard to an open generall rebellion. And to haue brought these things to passe in this realme, was the comming into this realme of the said Campion and his complices most manifestlie tried and prooued: as if by Gods goodnes by their apprehensions, after their secret wandrings and disguisings of themselues in a great part of the shires of the realme, these traitors had not beene now staid, and by iust punishments ordered to be executed, there would haue appeered such mischiefe as is lamentable to be thought of; to the danger of hir maiesties person, and to the hazard and ruine of the whole realme by inuasion of the same with forren enimies, and by raising of inward warre within the realme; the end and euent whereof, as of warre ciuill, can not be without great greefe mentioned or imagined.

Campion and his complices offense was ranke treason.

The sum and drift of pope Pius his seditious bull.

Much mischiefe preuented by the timelie attaching of Campion and his like.

And to the further reproofe and condemnation of the said Campion and other the traitours now condemned, they being all seuerallie and earnestlie required at the place of their arreignement to declare what they thought of the said popes bull (by which hir maiestie was in the popes intention depriued of the crowne) and of doctor Sanders, and of Bristowes traitorous writings in maintenance of the said bull, and allowance of the rebellion in the north, and of Sanders traitorous actions in Ireland: and being likewise demanded what they did thinke if the present pope should publish the like bull: none of them all, but one onelie named Rushton, could be persuaded by anie their answers to shew in anie part their mislikigns either of the former bull, or of doctor Sanders, or Bristowes traitorous writings or actions, or of the

How the traitors stood opinioned to the said factious bull, &c.

the pope that now is, if he should now publish the like bull against hir maiestie; so as they did apparantlie shew their traitorous harts still fixed to persist in their diuelish minds against their naturall allegiance; whereof God giue all good subiects, being true Englishmen borne, grace to beware, and in no sort to giue eare or succour to such pernicious traitors, howsoeuer they shall be couered with hypocrisie, and false and fained holines of Rome.

This aduertisement read and heard, the time by pitifull delaies began to passe awaie, in so much that the executioner was now to fall to his charge whervpon Campion was exhorted to praie with the people in English; naie, to doo so he was desired, howbeit he would not: but said his Pater noster in Latine, and desired all those of the household of faith to saie one Credo for him. Manie indirect answers he made, as when he was mooued to aske the queene forgiuenesse, and when the preacher requested him to shew some signe of a penitent sinner, then shortlie he replied; You and I, we are not of one religion. After a few silent praiers to himselfe, the cart was drawen awaie, and he committed to the mercie of God. There he hanged till he was dead, when being cut downe, he was bowelled and quartered, according as it was appointed by iustice. Rafe Sherwin seemed a man of better iudgement, more learned, and more obedient; he said the Lords praier in English, beleeuing in God that made him, in Christ his sonne that saued him, and in the Holieghost that sanctified him: and according to the saieng of S. Augustine, desired Iesus, that he would be to him Iesus, as much to saie, as his sauiour and redeemer. He likewise confessed himselfe a catholike man and a preest, intending to die in that faith. But when the treasons were mooued to him, he likewise did make deniall thereof. He asked the queenes maiestie forgiuenesse, and desired that she might long liue and reigne ouer vs. Then was read to him the booke of the aduertisement, which before had beene read to Campion, and after a few praiers he likewise ended his life. Alexander Brian seemed more obstinat and impious, vsing verie little signe of repentance, and hartie humilitie:- he vsed manie praiers to himselfe, and spake verie little worthie the rehearsall. Iustice being executed on him, he and Sherwin were quartered, according as Campion had beene before him.

Rafe Sherwins behauiour at his death.

Alexander Brians demeanour at his death.

¶ No sooner had iustice giuen the blow of execution, and cut off the foresaid offenders from the earth; but certeine enimies to the state politike, and ecclesiastike, greatlie fauouring them, and their cause, which they falselie gaue out to be religion, dispersed abroad their libels of most impudent deuise, tending to the iustifieng of the malefactors innocencie, to the heinous and vnrecompensable defamation of the course of iustice and iudgement against them commensed and finished; in somuch that speaking of the daie whereon they died, they blushed not to intitle them martyrs, saieng among other things not publishable, as in these few verses extracted followeth:

Ex libello quodam famoso.

Vna dies viuos pariter cæsósque videbat,
In cœlum missos vidit & vna dies:
Aeternísque breui gaudent pro marte coronis,
Hæc sunt martyribus dona parata pijs.
Fœlix illa dies mensis fuit illa Decembris,
Martyrijs donans cælica regna tribus:
Fœlix quæ sanctum suscepit terra cruorem,
Quem cæcata odij fuderat ira* tui:
Supremúmque manens fœlix constantia finem,
Atque in conspectu mors pretiosa Dei, &c.

* Alludit ad Angliam.

Thus slanderouslie against the administration of iustice scattered these vipers brood their lieng reports, therein to the skies aduancing the children of iniquitie as spotlesse: yea forging most monstruous fables, put them in print; as though God

Mr. Fl. Ex concione apud crucem Paulinam per D. Sellar 6. Feb. 1586.

and nature had suffered violence to their vnappeasable indignation, for that men of such integritie forsooth and extraordinarilie sanctified, suffered so shamefull a death; in somuch that it was bruted abroad not by men, but brute beasts, that on the selfe same daie whereon Campion was executed, the riuer of Thams did neither eb nor flow, but stood still. O miracle! Whether this were a lie or not, as all the world may sweare it was no truth: this is certeine and vndoubted, that there was found a facultie about Campion a little before his death, wherein authoritie was giuen him from the bishop of Rome Gregorie the thirteenth, to execute the sentence of the bull published by Pius Quintus against all the queens maiesties subiects as heretiks, &c: and yet this man forsooth (albeit notorious) died not for treason but for religion, as with fowle mouths they are not ashamed to saie:

Relligio crimen non mala vita fuit.

Monsieur duke of Aniou departeth out of England.

But of this matter inough, and now to the processe of English accidents after this tragicall narration.] When the queene of England and the monsieur euen duke of Aniou vnderstood by report made to hir maiestie and his highnesse by monsieur de Pruneaux (who had beene sent ouer a little before from the duke to the prince of Orange, and had prosecuted the treatie the former yeares as his ordinarie ambassador) what good will and great longing he had found in the prince of Orange, who was come into the Ile of Walkeren with a great number of gentlemen, and with the deputies of the states, and of the chiefest of the best cities of the low countrie to receiue his highnesse, and to doo him most humble seruice; and when they had also heard the ambassage of the lords of Ohain and Iunius, sent from the lords of the state to the duke, to shew vnto him the exceeding great desire which all the people had to see his highnes, for the present ratifieng of the former couenants that had passed betwixt them: for accomplishing whereof it was needful that he should passe ouer with all speed: whereby the same thing was confirmed which had beene declared oft afore by the lord of mount saint Aldegond, ordinarie ambassador to hir maiestie and his hignes: vpon the intelligence of these things, it was resolued by hir maiestie and his highnes, that the monsieur should depart. Wherevpon the queene calling the lord Howard, commanded him (for the earle of Lincolne was then sicke) to take vpon him the charge of the admerals ship, and to go to Rochester, and there to choose vessels meet for transporting of the monsieur and his traine, and to furnish them with men of war, mariners, and all manner of necessaries as well of war as of vittels. Which thing was doone with such diligence and speed, that the ships being readie with all things in lesse than eight daies, passed out of the riuer of Rochester and the Thames, and were conueied to the downes neere to the town of Sandwich, where the monsieur was to take shipping. And for so much as the monsieur came into England accompanied but with a few princes and lords, and they also had left their traine in France, and some of the same lords were sent backe againe afterward by his commandement and for his seruice; the queene determined to giue him a companie and traine meet for his greatnesse, taking his iournie about so great and noble exploit. And therefore (as agreeing with hir highnesse hart) she commanded the earle of Leicester master of hir horsses, the lord of Hunsdon gouernour of Berwike hir maiesties neere kinsman,

* Nempe Anna Henrici 8 vxor, sereniss. reginæ Elisabethæ genetrix.

——(cuius fuerat matertera pulchra
Reginæ genetrix Henrici nobilis* vxor)

and the lord Howard the viceadmerall (of whom the first two were of hir priuie councell, and all three were knights of the order of the garter) to attend vpon him, and to assemble as great a number of English lords and gentlemen as could be gotten in so little time, to honour him withall; wherevnto the said lords obeied verie willinglie. And there went with them to accompanie them, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Windsore, the lord Sheffield, the lord Howard, the lord Awdlie second sonne to the

the late duke of Norffolke: master Philip Sidneie nephue to the forenamed erle of Leicester, sir George Careie, and master Iohn and Robert Careie all three sonnes of the said lord of Hunsdon; maister William Howard brother of the said lord Howard, sir Thomas Sherleie, sir Thomas Perot, sir William Russell, sir William Drurie, and sir George Bowser knights, and a great number of gentlemen: namelie, maister Henrie Windsore brother to the lord Windsore, master Iohn Borough, brother to the lord Borough, master Walter Ralegh, master George Carew, master Edward Hobbie, master Francis Darcie, master Michaell Stanhoope, master William Knols, master Francis Knolles, master George Digbie, master Thomas Vauasor, master Anthonie Mildemaie, master Henrie Nowell, master Nicholas Georges, master Michaell Harecourt, master Fulke Greuill: so as the whole traine that attended vpon the said earle, was to the number of an hundred gentlemen, and more than three hundred seruing men. The lord of Hunsdon had of gentlemen and others togither to the number of a hundred and fiftie; and the lord Howard had as manie: besides manie more, whereof diuerse were hir maiesties seruants. The queene determined to accompanie the monsieur to the sea side and yet neuerthelesse commanded the said lords to keepe their course, and to attend vpon his highnesse to the said place, with all maner of solemnities, interteinments, and feastings. He on the other side desired and besought hir maiestie not to depart from London, as well for that the iournie would be painefull vnto hir; and for that he saw the weather faire and wind fauorable, and therefore was loth to loose anie occasion of performing his voiage with all speed. But he could not preuaile.

The queenes maiestie lodged at Rochester.

Wherevpon hir maiestie tooke hir iournie with hir whole court, the first daie of Februarie, and lodged that night at Rochester. The next daie abiding still at Rochester, hir maiestie shewed him all hir great ships which were in that place, into most whereof his highnesse and the prince and lords of his traine entered, not without great admiration of the French lords and gentlemen, who confessed that of good right the queene of England was reported to be ladie of the seas. Also he beheld how all these ships were readie furnished and well appointed. And hir maiestie told him that all those vessels and furniture of them should doo him seruice, when soeuer he would imploie them; for the which he most humblie thanked hir maiestie, and so after all the great ordinance had beene shot off, they returned for that daie againe to Rochester. The third day they went to Sittingborne, where dining both togither, the queene was serued after the English mauner by the greatest ladies of hir court; and the monsieur after the French manner by the gentlemen of his traine, which ladies and gentlemen dined afterwards togither. Then his highnesse besought hir maiestie againe to go no further, declaring vnto hir that the faire weather passed awaie. But notwithstanding his intreatance the queene went on still to Canturburie. At which place, after one daies tarriance, when she had openlie feasted all the French nobilitie, either part tooke their leaue of other, not without great griefe and shew of verie great amitie, especiallie betweene hir maiestie and the monsieur. Which thing was perceiued also in the lords and gentlemen of both nations, and likewise in the ladies, to all whome it was like griefe to depart after they had beene conuersant and had liued friendlie and brotherlie togither by the space of three moneths, without anie change or alteration of good willes. But the honor which inforced his highnesse, asswaged his griefe, and made him to proceed on his iournie with the said prince and lords of both nations.

The queenes maiestie accompanied the monsieur to Canturburie where they and their traine parted.

The sixt daie of the same moneth, whereas he was determined to haue taken ship, he was counselled to lodge that night of Sandwich, because the wind was somewhat changed. Howbeit, some of the English gentlemen, namelie maister Killegreie, master Diar and diuerse others, to eschew thronging at their imbarking went to Douer, and there taking ship the same night laie a while at anchor, and somewhat after

after midnight sailed awaie with certeine other vessels. The seuenth daie in the morning about nine of the clocke his hignesse tooke the sea in three great ships of war. In the greatest of them named the Discouerer, sailed the monsieur himselfe with the earle of Leicester, and the lord Howard the viceadmerall; in the second called the Sentinell went the prince Dolphin; and in the third was the countie of Louall and the lord of Hunsdon. Now as his highnesse was yet at anchor, there came a post from a lord of England, who brought him word that the states of the low countries were reuolted, and namelie the citie of Antwerpe, and therefore he praied him not to depart vntill he had more certeine newes. Notwithstanding this, his highnesse determined to depart, and so sailed awaie with fifteene ships: and he had so faire weather (which continued euen vntill after his entering into Antwerpe, and his feasting and solemne interteinement there) that the heauen, the winds, the sea, and the earth seemed all to fauour his voiage, and to further the gladnesse which the people shewed in receiuing him with so great good will.

The prince of Orange taketh order for the interteinment of the monsieur.

In the meane time the prince of Orange, seeing the time fit, departed from Middleborough, where he had taried the monsieurs comming six weekes and more, and came to Flushing to take order for all things that were requisit for the honorable and commodious interteinement of so great a prince. At the which place, vnderstanding by the letters of the said lords ambassadours and others, that the monsieur was departed from London and come to Canturburie: and therefore thinking it would not be long yer he arriued there: he dispatched monsieur Treslon his viceadmerall of Zeland, with a little pinnesse called the Chase, to go before to meet the monsieur: commanding him that as soone as he had discouered his fleet, he should giue him a watchword thereof by the shot of two cannons. Monsieur Treslon hauing about noonetide discouered the ships that were parted from Douer, and thinking that they had beene the great fleet, gaue his watchword, which was the cause that a certeine vessell went foorth to the sea to meet his highnesse: but anon after perceiuing his errour, he returned to Flushing, where by and by the fleet of Douer arriued. Then monsieur Treslon going foorth, found the monsieur and the great fleet betweene Newport and Dunkirke: where after salutation giuen and taken on either side, the monsieur standing vpon the hatches of his ship, espied his owne secretarie named Nephue standing likewise vpon the hatches of the Chase: to whome he sent his shipbote, commanding him to come aboord to him, which thing he did, and there aduertised the monsieur that as concerning the reuolting of the states there was no such matter, but that all things went verie well, and that his highnesse was waited for with great longing. That daie, by reason the wind was turned northeast, they could go no further, but were faine to cast anchor ouer against a place called Ostend, where they passed that night, waiting for the tide the next morning. His ships were perceiued by them of Flushing, where after midnight arriued the lord of S. Aldegond, who assured the prince of Orange, that the next morning the monsieur would arriue there with the tide. Wherevpon the prince of Orange and the prince of Espinoie with a great number of gentlemen tooke the sea the next morning; but bicause the tide was against them, and on the other part the monsieur hauing a side wind with him was constreined to hast to the land. By meanes whereof the prince, being not able to come aboord to him with his ship, was faine to turne saile backe againe to Flushing, where the prince Dolphin had taken land alreadie, and sought euerie where for the prince his brother. When they had imbraced and saluted one an other like brethren; the prince of Orange, perceiuing the monsieur to approch verie neere, tooke the water againe. But when he perceiued him to come downe into his bote to take land, he turned backe againe, and hied him so fast that he tooke land before him, and there tarried his comming. As soone as he was arriued, while he was yet in his bote readie to come aland, the prince receiued him with great reuerence: and imbracing

Nephue the monsieurs secretarie.

The lord of S. Aldegond, the prince of Orange and the prince of Espinoie, &c.

Embracing of the knee.

bracing his highnesse knee, because he saw the weather was cold said vnto him in few words, that he was verie glad to see that happie daie, which had beene so long expected, wherein he had the honor to behold his highnesse, and to offer vnto him his most humble seruice, with goods and life, and all that he had besides; hoping that by meanes of his highnesse, that countrie hauing indured so great aduersitie, should now be fullie set at libertie. Wherevnto the monsieur answered verie wiselie and brieflie. And when he had imbraced him with such honor as was due in respect of his age and dooings; he came aland, and was brought by the prince to the palace of the citie: howbeit not without great difficultie, by reason of the great prease of men of war and other people pestering one an other, the folke of that countrie thronging to see his highnesse, and the Englishmen which as then were come downe thither in great numbers preasing to know the prince of Orange. In the meane while the trumpets and drums sounded with such noise that the aire rang of it, and all the ordinance shot off, as well of the queenes ships as of the other ships, wherof the number was great which laie then in the rode, with so great roring and thundering; that they conueied the newes of his highnesse happie arriuall in the low countrie to Calis, and to other places of France. They of Flushing shot two peales, with so great noise by reason of the great number of the peeces that are in the towne, that all the ground rang of it. The monsieur found in that place all sorts of his officers: for his household and his gard of Swisses and Frenchmen, departing from Calis and Bollongne foure daies afore, were come to Middleborough.

The monsieur landeth.

Lustie discharging of guns on all sides.

The magistrates of the citie waited for him at the gates of the citie, who told him by the mouth of their recorder, that they were verie glad of his comming, and thought themselues happie to see him, in hope, that by his guiding and gouernement they should see their countrie restored to tranquillitie, and set vp againe in hir former renowme. The states of Brabant speaking by the mouth of monsieur van Stralen Amptman of Antwerpe, after their welcomming of him, declared with what mind the noble and good cities of Brabant had expected him, beseeching him most humblie to honor the countrie of Brabant with his presence out of hand. Next then the deputies of the citie of Bruxells (besides the declaration which they made of their owne good will, and generallie of all the peoples of that countrie) declared also particularlie, with what great good will and affection his highnesse had beene waited for in that citie, the cheefe seat of the lords of that countrie; and that after so manie mischeefes which they had suffered for withstanding the tyrannie of the Spaniards, next vnto God they had not anie hope, but in the comming of his highnesse their prince and lord. Afterward they of Antwerpe were heard, who declared the affection of the people toward his highnesse, their long longing for him, and the great desire which they had to see their prince and souereigne. The colonels and capteins of the towne spake afterward, and declared vnto him how carefullie and diligentlie they had kept the citie, in hope to put it shortlie into his hands, and reioising likewise at his comming.

The monsieur verie ioifullie receiued.

Antwerpe reioiseth at the monsieurs comming.

Vnto all these orations his highnesse answered verie sagelie and brieflie, as vnto all the residue, to the well liking and contentment of all that stood by. The prince of Orange tarried a while with the monsieur in the towne house of the citie: and then taking his leaue, went to visit the princes and lords of both the nations that came with him to see how they fared, and to take order that they should want nothing, so far forth as the abilitie of the towne of Flushing (which is none of the greatest) could extend, where such prouision was made, that all were well lodged and serued, notwithstanding that aboue fiue hundred men of the onelie English lords were come aland that daie. All that after noone was spent in feasting, in making of bonefires, in fireworks, in sounding of trumpets, and in all maner of tokens of ioie, which all men

English lords and their retinues.

men vttered vniuersallie for the comming of so great a prince. Also the foure members of Flanders, which came by the counsell of the prince of Orange, waited to present themselues vnto him at Middleborough.

Thre waies to Middleborough.

The prince of Orange, perceiuing that the monsieur was minded to go the next daie to Middleborough, told him that there were three waies, the one about the castell of Ramekins, to enter in at the great channell of Middleborough by the bout of the foreland: an other by the little channell through the countrie: and that he had kept ships in a readinesse to go the outer waie, and a great sort of botes to go the inner waie, because his highnesse could not iorneie either by coch or on horsse-backe by reason of the winter, and there was but onelie one causeie whereby folke trauelled ordinarilie on foot. The monsieur beholding the fitnesse of the time, for indeed it was verie faire weather, and vnderstanding that the waie was not past a good French league in length, vndertooke to go it on foot, and so did all the rest of the princes, lords, and gentlemen, as well of the same countrie as of France and England. A great sort of the monsieurs house, which were lodged alredie at Middleborough, came to meet him, speciallie his gard of Frenchmen and Swissers. A good waie out of the towne the magistrate of Middleborough came to meet him, as it were, about a third part of the waie, and there making an oration to him told him, of the great and long desire which all the people had of his comming, and that the people of Middleborough for their owne part thought themselues greatlie honored, in that he had vouchsafed to come to their citie, offering all dutifulnesse vnto him. His gard also met him in the same place, and then began the Swissers to march on in their order, striking vp their drums after their manner. Moreouer, six companies of the citizens well armed and well araied stood imbattelled without the towne, who kept their place till the monsieur was past, and then they followed after leisurelie behind.

The monsieur is met going to Middleborough.

The deputies of the states of the earledome of Zeland waited his comming at the towne gate; who hauing declared the gladnesse which they conceiued, reioised at the happie successe which his highnes had had in making the peace in France, and in rescuing the citie of Cambraie by his armie and in his owne person, and in his passing into England, which they knew he had taken vpon him for none other cause than for the furtherance of the affaires of those countries; and finallie for that hauing put his person in danger of that passage, he was now happilie arriued in Zeland, most humblie thanking his highnesse, and declaring what hope they had conceiued of his presence, and therewithall offering right humblie whatsoeuer their dutie required.

The deputies of the states of the earledome of Zeland.

The monsieur would doo as the companie did.

At the entrie of the gate one brought him a coursor of Naples, but he determined with himselfe (seeing that the princes and lords had not their horsses there) to go through with his iornie on foot, and so entred into the citie of Middleborough in this order. First went the magistrates of the citie with their vnder officers and ministers of iustice. Next them the deputies of the states of Zeland. After them followed diuerse gentlemen of all the three nations, with the deputies of the cities of Brabant, and of the foure members of Flanders. Then marched the Swissers after their accustomed fashion; in whose traine were a great sort of noblemen and also gentlemen, of whome the most part were Englishmen of the retinue of the three lords sent thither by the queene. Behind them insued as it were in one troope togither, the prince Dolphin, the earle of Leicester, the prince of Espinoie, the countie de Lauall, the lord of Hunsdon, the lord Howard, and the rest of the lords. Then came the monsieur himselfe, hauing on his left hand somewhat more than halfe a pase beneath him, the prince of Orange, of whome he alwaies asked some question. After him followed his gard of Frenchmen, and after them the gard of the prince of Orange; and last of all the six ensigns that stood in battell raie without the citie, and ten others which had marshalled the streets vnto the market place, where all the rest of the citizens

The earle of Leicester and other English lords.

citizens were imbattelled. Throughout all the stréets from the gate to the monsieurs lodging, there were railes, and at euerie tenth pase on either side were burning cressets. And so his highnesse and all the nobilitie which accompanied him, passed on, marueilled to sée so goodlie a citie in so little an Ile, and so néere to thrée other good towns, not distant one from another aboue one league. But most of all they wondered at the beautie of the marketsted, and of the common hall of the citie. His highnes lodging was verie well and richlie hanged and furnished, considering the small respit that the inhabitants had, so as he was verie well and commodiouslie lodged, both he and all the princes, noblemen, and gentlemen of all nations that attended vpon him. That euening was passed in feasting, in making of bonfires in the stréets, in artificiall fireworks vpon the towers and stéeples, and in sounding of trumpets. The next morning the twelue deputies of the foure members of Flanders speaking to his highnesse by the mouth of monsieur Taiard the recorder of Gant, declared at large the great goodwill of all the people of Flanders towards him, and that like as they had beene of the first that had sent vnto him, so they hoped to be of the first that should yéeld all humble seruice and subiection vnto him. Whereunto his highnesse answered verie discréetlie, as his custome was. He passed the rest of the time in plaieng at tennis with the prince of Orange, and after with other lords.

Burning cressets on each side.

The monsieur Taiard recorder of Gant.

The thirtéenth daie he had a solemne feast made him in the townehall, where his highnesse commanded the tables to be prepared of purpose, that he might haue the companie of the prince Dolphin, the prince of Orange, the earle of Leicester, the prince of Espinoie, the countie de Lauall, the lord of Hunsdon, and the lord Howard. For the lords of England were highlie regarded and honored euerie where, both in respect of hir maiestie which sent them, and also for the worthines of their persons. The feast was excellentlie well furnished of all things, and speciallie of tapistrie worke and other deuises of sugar; insomuch that both the Frenchmen and Englishmen confessed, that they had not béene woont to sée such manner of seruices in their countries. The fourteenth daie the prince of Orange would néeds go sée the putting of the ships in a readinesse, which should carrie the monsieur and his traine, which were in number foure and fiftie, and therefore he would haue gone to the foreland of Middleborough. Whereof the monsieur hearing would néeds go with him. On thursdaie the fiftéenth of that moneth, his highnesse went to sée the towne of Ermwiden, which is about halfe a league from Middleborough. And vnderstanding that the English lords were gone to sée the towne of Vere, (called by strangers Camfer by reson of the passage that was sometime in the towne of Campe which is now drowned) he also tooke bote and went thither, where all the companie was verie well receiued by the inhabitants, notwithstanding that they were taken vnprouided. The sixteenth daie his highnesse was determined to haue taken ship, but there arose so great a storme, that the mariners councelled him to forbeare the sea for that daie: by reason whereof his imbarking was deferred till the next morrow, at which time his highnesse with all his traine sailed awaie. He himselfe was caried in a ship painted all ouer with his owne colours beset with a number of flags and pensils of the armes of Aniou. The residue had their accustomed flags so greatlie feared of the Spaniards, belaied with the colours of the prince of Orange. This fléet came that daie against Beerland in the Ile of south Beueland, where they cast anchor and spent that night there. The next daie being arriued luckilie at Lislo, after manie shot of ordinance from the fort and from the ships of warre which accompanied his highnesse, they did cast anchor againe. He himselfe went aland, and laie that night in the capteins lodging longing for the morning. This fort of Lislo is builded a thrée leagues beneath Antwerpe vpon the point of a dike or causeie in the parish of Lislo. The place is so commodious, that with a musket a man may easilie shoot from the

A solemne feast held in the townehall.

The monsieur goeth to sée the towne of Ermwiden.

The monsieurs ships painted with his owne colours.

The fort of Lislo.

one banke of the riuer Skeld to the other; and by reason that the streame of the riuer and the tide of the sea, which passeth that waie twise a daie, doo make it crooked, that place being occupied by the enimie, might greatlie hinder and annoie the sailing thereof. And therefore the citizens of Antwerpe following the aduise and platforme laid forth by the prince of Orange, bestowed great cost in fortifieng that place, which hath a great tower with great bulworks rampires, and ditches, and is so well strengthned and flanked to the purpose, and hath the water so at commandement, that as now it is not to be woone by anie force. The next daie being mondaie, the ninetéenth daie of Februarie, his highnesse departed thense to make his entrie into the renowmed citie of Antwerpe.

The monsieur prepareth to make his entrie into Antwerpe.

THE ROIALL INTERTEINEMENT

OF THE RIGHT HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCE, FRANCIS THE FRENCH KINGS ONELIE BROTHER, BY THE GRACE OF GOD DUKE OF BRABANT, ANIOU, ALANSON, BERRIE, &c, INTO THE CITIE OF ANTWERPE.

IN all great and statelie shewes and assemblies, they that are the authors and setters foorth of them, indeuour to beautifie and commend as much as they can the things which they offer to the sight of those whome they intend to honour, and of those which resort thither from strange places, to delight themselues with the beholding of them. The ancient historiographers describe vnto vs manie great triumphes, and statelie interteinements of emperours, kings, and great capteins, and they forget not to put into their writings the great costlinesse and charges, and whatsoeuer else was set foorth to the shew, to content the eies of the beholders. And albeit that neither gold, siluer, pretious stones, tapistrie, cloth of silke, fine linnen, diuersities of vessels, nor varietie of paintings were spared, but all such things haue inriched those shewes: yet notwithstanding, there is not anie thing that hath yéelded greater grace, beautie, and contentment to such assemblies, than the multitude and brightnesse of armorie and of things perteining to martiall affaires, as engines, artillerie, and shewes of cities and castels beaten downe or taken by force from the enimies. And therefore in the Romane empire (which excelled all the other not onlie in conquests, martiall discipline, and politike order of gouernment, but also in sumptuousnes and roialtie) although infinit numbers of publike games and exercises were exhibited by them being the greatest lords of the world, who not onelie spared not anie thing that was in their owne power, but also made the cities and countries, which were anie waie bound vnto them, to send vnto them whatsoeuer rare and exquisit things they could come by, to serue their turnes in the shewes which they exhibited to the people: yet notwithstanding their triumphes haue so borne the bell aboue all the rest, that the word triumphing which commeth thereof, hath béene applied to all high, great, and statelie dooings. Not that in their other shewes anie thing was spared, which might content the eies euen of couetous folke, or satisfie the bloudthirstie harts of such as tooke no pleasure but to behold the sheading of bloud, yea oftentimes of mans bloud before their eies: but in their triumphings nothing was so glorious as the armorie and personages of the great capteines that had béene conquerors, which thing contented the beholders far more without all comparison.

The finest shew that can be made what it is.

The triumphs of the Romans excelled all their other shewes.

And

And therefore when men intend to betoken the exceeding huge greatnesse of Rome, they terme it the triumphant Rome, which importeth as much as the rich, wealthie, and victorious Rome, replenished with great numbers of noble capteines, and valiant souldiors. And this terme is come of the great numbers of triumphs, which were séene there in the times of the Scipios, Paules, Claudies, Metelles, Pompeis, Cesars, and others. True it is that the other shewes, also were verie glorious and beautifull to behold, and did (I wote not how) tickle the harts of such as were fed with the beholding of their riches and of the infinite numbers of lions, tigres, panthers, beares, and sword plaiers incountring one another to the death: but yet the beholding of a goodlie companie of men armed in goodlie armour, marching in good order (besides the contenting of the sight, which is far better than to sée riches) dooth also wonderfullie rauish mens minds, and driue the beholder into an astonishment, setting him after a sort besides himselfe; and yet neuerthelesse filling him with a ioy and contentation surmounting all others. For as in the pleasures of the bodie, those seeme greatest which doo most alter the senses with their pleasantnes: so fares it also with the delights of the mind, which become so much the greater, when admiration being matched with them, dooth also moreouer rauish the vnderstanding, and set a man as it were out of his wits. And therefore when great personages (who can better iudge of matters than plaine simple folke can) doo make discourse of things that are beautifull and desireable to behold: they speake of gold, siluer, pretious stones, pictures, vessels, tablets, and diuers other exquisit iewels: but yet they passe ouer those things and stand not vpon them. But when they come to talke of faire armour, good horsses, and such other things as belong to knighthood and chiualrie: then they make such tariance vpon them, as they hold it for a thing fullie agréed vpon and granted, that in beautie and glorie nothing is comparable to a goodlie armie.

Other shews of the Romans verie gallant.

A comparison betwéene the pleasures of the bodie and delights of the mind.

Onelie this matter remaineth still in question vndecided; namelie, whether is the pleasanter sight, to sée three or foure great battels of footmen well appointed in bright armour, well flanked with small shot, and with their great ordinance before them: or to sée as manie squadrons of horssemen, or else two or three hundred ships furnished with their flags and banners, and ranged in order as if they were readie to giue battell. But as for the rest of all goodlie things, all men are fullie agréed that they come nothing néere to anie of those thrée, and much lesse doo them all thrée togither, if a man might behold them all at once: as it is reported that at one instant a man might haue séene the great armie of Xerxes both footmen and horssemen ranged in battell raie: and also the two fléets of the Persians and of the Greekes fighting vpon the sea by Salamine, where by the wisedome and valiantnesse of Themistocles, the Gréekes got that famous victorie of the Persians. In mine opinion that is the cause why the glad receiuing and ioifull entering of Francis duke of Brabant into the citie of Antwerpe seemed so goodlie and roiall to all such as saw it: in so much that there hath not beene anie of them which hath not confessed that he neuer saw the like. And yet were there verie manie present at it, as well of the same countrie as of strangers, which haue séene manie statelie and roiall meetings, both in the same citie and in other cities of the low countries, and also in other great cities of other countries, as Paris, London, Rone, and Lions: and yet neuertheles the common voice is, that this last hath passed all the rest. And trulie the citie had no more but six daies respit to prepare for it, as I said before: in somuch that they could not put to making anie worke of silke, nor of gold and siluer beaten or wouen, nor anie imbroderie: no nor in so short time make anie meane apparell new, nor anie rare costlinesse of imageries, pillers, triumphall arches, or other pageants: but were constreined to make a shift with such things as they had in a readinesse aforehand of their owne store.

A question vndecided touching gallant and glorious shewes.

The respit that Antwerp had to prouide for this triumphant shew.

In other interteinments there haue in deed beene séene great plentie of riches and roialties in attires of kings and quéenes, princes and princesses, lords and ladies, citizens and their wiues; but in this interteinment no such were séene: howbeit there was not anie grosenesse, nor ought that might not well beséeme the neatnesse and finenesse of that people, although it came nothing neere the sumptuousnesse of other interteinements. As touching triumphall arches, chariots, portraitures, and such other shewes; although there were manie wittie inuentions and agreeable to the time: yet haue men séene of them in other places, which might match these. And as touching the number of their people, although it was great: yet it is well knowen that Paris excéedeth them in that behalfe. But the onelie reason of this contentment commeth chéeflie of the great number of people in armour, being not fewer than twentie thousand, in so good and so faire armour: and of their order and obedience, and of the small noise which all that huge multitude made: in somuch that if it had not béene for the thundering of the canons, and the sounding of trumpets, clarions, halboies, and other instruments, there was no more noise than is among a councell of graue men. That then was in mine opinion the onlie verie cause, which was greatlie furthered by their beholding of the monsieur of Brabant, who representing the statelinesse of old time, was clothed in a large mantell, with the bonnet of his dukedome vpon his head: so that among that great number of people (which were so well armed, that thrée of the best cities in christendome could not shew so manie faire armors of their owne) his highnesse resembled a pretious stone or iewell set in fine gold. And bicause that they which were the beholders thereof (for they could not be euerie where nor see euerie thing) will be verie glad to vnderstand of the things that so escaped them, and delight their minds now with the remembrance of the things which they saw before, as they delighted their eies and minds with the beholding of them that daie: and strange nations, to whom the fame of that so renowmed daies worke is come, will take pleasure to vnderstand the same, whereof they could not be beholders. Therefore is this booke set foorth, for the satisfiing of all men, and also to make it knowen to a number of men (who partlie for enimitie, partlie for enuie, and partlie for other surmises and mistrusts will not beléeue it) with what mind and affection the prince of Orange, and the other lords and noblemen of Brabant, the good cities, and the small townes, and namelie the most renowmed citie of Antwerp, haue receiued their new prince and souereigne lord.

Paris for multitude of people passeth.

Monsieur of Brabant his attire and habit.

The cause why this report was published in print.

The ninetéenth daie of the foresaid moneth in the forenoone, the monsieur the duke of Aniou departed from Lislo and sailed towards Antwerpe, hauing in his companie but twentie ships, for the rest had gotten to Antwerpe afore, as well to put themselues in a readinesse as for other affaires. And he came about eight of the clocke nigh to the new towne, and passing along by the townes side, left the foreland of Flanders on his right hand and the towne on his left, and passed beyond all the towne and the place where the castell was. By the waie he heard all the canons shot off from that part of the towne which faceth the riuer, and from a great number of ships which rode at anchor there: and he saw all the wharfes furnished with men of warre of the citie, well armed, who welcommed him with their shot, and were answered againe by the ships of warre that accompanied him, conducted by monsieur de Treslon and the viceadmerals, and diuerse capteins of Flushing. And so the first foot that he did set on land in Brabant, was at a village called Kiell, which is at the canon wharfe at Antwerpe. The states of Brabant, the magistrates of the citie, and diuerse other states, comming in like order on horssebacke to the same place with their trumpets, sergeants and heralds, apparelled in cotes of the armes of Lothier, Brabant, and Limborough, alighted there, and waited on foot at the wharfe to receiue his highnesse, and to shew him the good will and affection of the states and people. But the prease of people was so great, which resorted thither to sée the prince,

The monsieur saileth toward Antwerpe.

The monsieur landeth at a village in Brabant.

prince, whome they looked for to be their duke; and [illegible]e there were so manie impediments in his landing; that it was found better for them [illegible] by the aduise of the prince of Orange to returne backe, and to tarie for his highnesse vpon a theater which was prepared for him.

This theater was set vp towards a corner of the castell, and opened towards the citie, so as his highnesse being there, might at one time view both the citie and the castell, and behold the counterscarffes: the déepe ditches full of faire water cléere to the verie bottome of the chanell, inclosed on either side with hewne stone: the great and faire buildings, the goodlie walles, beautifull to looke on and verie thicke: and the broad rampires garnished with trees planted by hand, that it resembled a little forest. The monsieur was brought vp to this theater accompanied with the prince Dolphin the onelie sonne of the duke of Montpanuser: the earle of Leceister, and other English lords representing the quéene of England: the princes of Orange and Espinoie, the countie de Lauall, the other English lords, the countie de Chateauroux and a great sort of the barons, lords and gentlemen, besides the chiefe magistrats and maisters of the companies of the citie of Antwerpe.

A theater erected for the monsieur to shew himselfe vpon to the people.

Prince Dolphin, the earle of Leicester, &c.

The lords of the state of Brabant waiting vpon the theater, came dutifullie downe to go and méet his highnesse; which thing he perceiuing, did stand still. Then the prince of Orange stepped foorth to take his place among the states, as one of the chiefe lords and barons of the duchie of Brabant. As soone as they had saluted his highnesse, and with great humblenesse kissed his hand, they mounted vp the steps againe with him, after whome followed the princes and lords of France and of Enggland: and when they were come vp aboue, they ranged themselues on either side. There was set for the monsieur a chaire couered with cloth of gold, wherein he sat him downe. And vpon the theater there was likewise a trauerse of cloth of gold, and all the theater was couered with tapistrie. On the front of the theater on the highest part thereof were the armes of the marqueship of the holie empire: and a little beneath them on the right hand did stand the armes of Brabant with a wreath of fruits; and on the left hand stood the armes of the citie of Antwerpe. Also there were set vp two banners of silke azured with the armes of Aniou, and in one partition were written these same verses:

Kissing the monsieurs hand.

A chaire of estate.

Banners with the armes of Aniou.

O noble prince, whose footsteps faith
and gentlenesse preserue:
Receiue thou here the honour which
thy vertue dooth deserue.
That these low countries maie at length
take breath by meanes of thee,
And thou a father to vs all
in name and dooings bee.

After that euerie man had taken his place, and silence was made, the states of Brabant began their oration by the mouth of monsieur de Hesseiles doctor of both the lawes, secretarie to the said estates, and one of their councell. The summe whereof was, that the barons, noblemen, and deputies of the chiefe cities, and of the other good townes, representing the states of the duchie and countrie of Brabant, hauing now the good hap to sée among them and to behold face to face the prince, in whome next vnto God they had wholie set the hope of their deliuerance, and of the establishing of their ancient rest and libertie, did highlie thanke the almightie Lord, which had shewed them that fauour: taking it for an assured warrant, that he of his infinite goodnesse and prouidence, had not forgotten nor forsaken their iust quarrell: but had chosen his highnesse to be the defender of his people and the administrer of his iustice: to the end that Gods glorie, and to his owne honour and renowme, the stormes of all troubles, and of all other things that annoied their estate,

The summe of monsieur de Hesseiles oration to the monsieur.

estate, might by the beames of his princelie maiestie, wisedome, and prowesse be chased awaie; and the brightnesse of their former prosperitie heretofore knowne to all nations, he made to spring vp and shine foorth againe. In respect wherof they gaue his highnesse most humble thanks for the singular loue and good will, which he of his owne onelie motion and princelie disposition had vouchsafed to continue towards them vnto that instant, notwithstanding all the crosse dealings and practises that cunning heads could skill to put foorth to the hindrance of their affaires, forsomuch as they were not ignorant that for their calamities and miseries sakes, nothing could haue fallen in, which could haue made more to the fauour and furtherance of their case. Which thing they had esteemed and would estéeme for euer, as a péerelesse president of his incomparable staiednes and rare constancie: for the which, and for the great number of his other benefits and gratious dealings towards them, they were and euer should be bound to acknowledge themselues indebted to his highnesse with all faithfull obedience, and were readie that daie (by Gods grace) to submit themselues to him, as his humble vassals and subiects. And although they doubted not but that his highnesse did well vnderstand, and was fullie satisfied, not onelie of the generall causes which had vniuersallie mooued the states of the prouinces of the low countries togither, to sue to him for succour, and to put themselues into his hands: but also of the particular causes, which the states of that duchie and countrie of Brabant had to renounce their obedience to the king of Spaine: yet notwithstanding, to the intent to put his highnesse in remembrance therof, and to confirme that sacred resolution and high enterprise of his, builded therevpon; and moreouer to yéeld some reason of all their dooings to the princes and noblemen, and vnto the rest of that whole companie, who for the honour of his highnesse were come thither of courtesie, to further the solemnitie of his interteinment: to the intent that at this his repaire thither (which alwaies was called ioifull) they might vtter the more good will and gladnesse of heart; they would saie no more but this, that as long as the dukes of Brabant (speciallie since the falling of that duchie into the hands of the dukes of Burgognie, and other the famous ancestors of his highnesse) gaue themselues vnto the gouerning of their subiects by themselues, thereby making it to appéere that they loued them, and were not carelesse of them; they reaped so great commodities and notable seruices at their hands, that their names and puissances became oftentimes renowmed, yea and sometimes dreadfull to the greatest monarchs, kings, and common-wealths of christendome, whereof their warres and conquests made proofe: howbeit that of those things, as of matters familiarlie knowne by the histories, it was not requisit to make discourse in that place and time, which were appointed to greater matters. But after that their dukes and princes either by other allurements, or being withheld in their other countrie and seigniories, began to leaue them for a time, and afterward at length to forget them, abandoning them to the pleasure and will, and sometimes also to the lust and couetousnesse of their vnder officers, whereof the king of Spaine had lastlie finished and perfected vp the worke, leauing them disdainefullie as husbandlesse and fatherlesse, vtterlie destitute of his presence by the space of twentie yeares; it came to passe, that hauing altered and changed almost all the whole state of the countrie, and committed the offices to such as by the lawes and priuileges of the countrie were not capable of them; or rather to such as would giue most for them, and yet the vnsatiable couetousnesse, malice, and excéeding tyrannicall lordlinesse of the Spaniards being not contented therewith: in the end, when they had abused the whole common-wealth after their owne lust, they grew into so great pride, that they fell to snatching of the priuat goods and substance of the inhabitants, to liuing vpon the labour and sweat of the poore: yea and to rauishing the chastitie of mens wiues and daughters: and (to fill vp the measure of all abhomination and crueltie) they fell to taking awaie the liues, and to

The states thankefulnes signified.

They acknowledged themselues indebted to the monsieur.

The secretarie vnto the states falleth to the point of the matter.

The king of Spaines officers full of tyranicall lordlines and villanie.

sucking the bloud of those which sought by all meanes to please them. Wherevpon in the end the great and righteous God (who hath a care of his seruants) being offended thereat, made that people (who had aforetimes beene of great valour) to call to mind their former state and libertie: and gaue them both will and courage to mainteine the same, in such sort as they had receiued from their forefathers. Which thing they said could not be better doone than by the election which the said states of Brabant, vnited with the other prouinces, had made of his highnesse person to be their prince and lord, of purpose to bring all things backe to their former order; hauing first sought (howbeit in vaine) for all remedies of their mischiefes, and of the disorders of the estate, from the causes and welsprings thereof. Declaring that the dukes in old time had béene of great valour, prowesse, and power; and had made manie renowmed voiages and exploits of warre, and that amongest others, they had chosen a duke of Aniou heretofore, who had béene equall with the rest in chiualrie and feats of armes, as their conquests and dominions witnessed: that they had had their princes gentle, mild, gratious, familiar, and fauourable to their subiects: and that his highnesse had in that behalfe alreadie giuen such proofes of his gentlenesse, truth, and soundnesse, that to their seeming, some ancient duke of Burgognie was raised vp again vnto them. Insomuch that in his onelie highnesse, they firmelie beleued themselues to haue recouered whatsoeuer good renowme the duks of Brabant, Aniou and Burgognie could haue left vnto them. Wherefore, insomuch as there remained no more, but to proceed in the performance of the chiefe worke, which it had pleased the souereigne God to put into the hands of his highnesse, and of the said states to performe that daie: they on their part were readie and resolute to doo him the homage, fealtie, dutie, and obedience, which loiall subiects and good vassals ought to doo to their rightfull princes: of which sort they trusted in God without doubting, that his highnesse was, and that he would promise by solemne oth vnto God so to continue.

The cause why the states of Brabant made the monsieur their prince and lord.

The states loialtie and fealtie signified by their secretarie.

Herevnto his highnesse answered in effect, that intending not to hold the states with long talke, but onelie to be mindfull of the honor and good will which they had vouchsafed to yéeld to him, in that among so manie other great princes, they had chosen him out to deliuer them from the oppression and tyrannie of the Spaniards, and to rule them according to their customes, lawes, and priuileges: he thanked them hartilie for it, assuring them that the iustnesse and equitie of their case, their honourable dealings in his behalfe, and the loue which they had shewed him, had made him to resolue with himselfe to take vpon him their protection, and the restablishing of their ancient libertie, and to hazard therein whatsoeuer abilitie God had put into his hands, and whatsoeuer else it should please the king his lord and brother, and the queene of England, of their fauour to bestow vpon him; yea euen to the shedding of his owne bloud and the spending of his life.

The monsieurs answer to the foresaid oration.

The monsieurs promise euen to the shedding of his bloud.

This doone the foresaid monsieur Hessels told his highnesse, how it was the custome there, to proclame openlie before the people in the Dutch toong the points and articles of the ioifull entrance, which the dukes of Brabant are bound to promise and sweare at their admission. Herevpon, when as one held the said articles translated into French, readie to rehearse them point by point after the proclaming of them in Dutch, forsomuch as the daie was farre spent, and communication had béene had thereof alreadie, the monsieur to win time thought it expedient, by the aduise of the prince of Orange, that they should be read but onlie in Dutch. Which thing was doone by the said monsieur Hessels, with a new preface added to the articles, conteining breeflie the reasons and causes of that dealing. After the reading of the said articles, it was demanded of his highnes whether he liked of them, and whether he were contented to be sworne to them, or whether it were his pleasure to be further satisfied of them? Wherevpon he said to the prince of Orange, that forsomuch as he had séene the articles, and conferred of them with him as they came by ship out

The monsieur is content to sweare to the articles agréed vpon.

out of Zeland, he held himselfe well satisfied with them, and was well contented to sweare vnto them. Which speech of his was foorthwith proclamed, and with further declaration, that for their better contentation his highnesse was desirous to haue them all knowne, that although the said articles were read but onelie in Dutch, yet would he of his owne good mind, with aduised deliberation and certeine knowledge be sworne vnto them.

Two oths that dukes of Brabant were accustomed to take.

Then did the said monsieur Hessels recite vnto the people in the Dutch toong, the first oth which the dukes of Brabant were of old time accustomed and bound to take for the obseruing of the said articles. Which doone, deliuering the booke wherein it was conteined to messier Thierreie de Leisfield chancellor of Brabant, he read the same oth againe openlie in French, and the monsieur spake it after him word for word. Then the monsieur Hessels taking the booke againe, told the people that the dukes of Brabant made an other second oth to the barons, noblemen, cities, boroughs, and all the inhabitants and subiects of the countrie, to be to them a good and iust prince, and not to deale with them after his owne will, nor by waie of rigor, but by law and iustice, and according to their priuileges. Which oth was likewise rehearsed in the Dutch toong, and the booke deliuered againe to the said chancellor, and the monsieur repeated the oth after him as he had doone the first.

The mantle and bonnet of the dutchie of Brabant.

Then were the mantle and bonnet of the dutchie brought vnto him, which were crimosin veluet; the mantle was trailed on the groud, and both of them were furred with powdered ermine turned vp verie brode. The prince of Orange told his highnesse, that it behooued him to be apparelled in those robes. And when he asked whether he must weare them into the citie? It was answered, yea: and that it was the solemne attire of the princes and dukes of Brabant of old time.

The monsieur created duke of Brabant.

Wherevnto when his highnesse had agréed, the prince did first put vpon him the said mantle, and fastening the button thereof, said these words; My lord, you must keepe this button fast closed, that no man may pull your mantle from you. And then he set the bonnet vpon his head, and said vnto him: Sir I praie God you may well kéepe this attire, for now you may well assure your selfe that you be duke of Brabant.

Then the said Hessels told him how the custome required that the states should presentlie be sworne to him againe to yéeld him fealtie. Wherevpon he vttered to the people the forme of the oth: and then the said chancellor required it of the barons, noblemen, and deputies, and they pronounced it after him according to the maner of the former othes, reuerentlie dooing againe their homage, and promising fealtie and obedience. After the taking of the othes on both sides, as well by the monsieur as by the states of Brabant, while his highnesse was yet still in his robes of estate, the magistrates of Antwerpe commanded their recorder and councellor maister Vanderwerke to come vp vpon the stage, to make him an offer of the marquesship of the sacred empire, in the name of the citie of Antwerpe, which thing he did as followeth.

The states promise their fealtie and obedience.

An offer of the marquesship of the sacred empire made to the monsieur.

Most gratious lord and prince, the markegraue, amptman, borough-masters, and skepons, the treasurors, and receiuers, the chiefe burgesses, and quarter-maisters, the wardens, and ancients of the handicrafts, togither with the coronels, wardens of guilds, and capteins of the citie, were verie glad when they vnderstood of your highnesse happie arriuall in the Ile of Walkeren, as they haue caused to be verie largelie and with all humilitie and reuerence shewed vnto you, by their deputies sent to your highnesse for the same purpose. But now, forsomuch as they sée your highnesse not onelie arriued in the countrie of Brabant, but also receiued for duke, and for their prince and lord: their fore-conceiued ioie is greatlie increased and made fullie perfect, trusting that by this your comming there will once insue an end of the desolations, calamities, and miseries, whereinto the countrie hath béene brought by the vniust gouernement past, and by the more vniust and wrongfull warre which the enimies hold yet still to bring the whole countrie to destruction,

with all maner of calamities and oppressions which they are able to deuise. And therefore they giue your highnesse most humble thanks for the paines and trauell which you haue vouchsafed to take to come into this countrie; yeelding infinitelie like thanks vnto God, for that he hath giuen and sent them such a prince, as not onelie is of abilitie and power, but also is verie willing, and well disposed to defend them from all enimies, and to rule and gouerne them with all good policie and iustice, according to the priuileges, lawes, and customs of the countrie. For although they be ioined in league with the rest of the states of Brabant, and generallie with all the states of the low countries, and that they haue all entred into armes iointlie togither: yet their so dooing hath not béene to exempt and withdraw themselues from the iust gouernement of their lord and prince, but onlie to mainteine their ancient liberties, lawes, and priuileges, that being gouerned according to the same, they might liue with all dutifull obedience in good rest, peace, and tranquillitie. The full accomplishment of which their desires, they thinke themselues, to haue most happilie obteined, sith it hath pleased God of his infinit grace and mercie to put into your highnesse heart, to take vpon you the souereigntie of these low countries, the dukedome of Brabant, the citie of Antwerpe, and the marquesship of the sacred empire. For séeing that God hath stirred them vp so great a prince, the brother of a mightie king; they haue no doubt at all, but that your highnesse will (by Gods grace) soone find means to deliuer these countries from the wretched warres wherein they haue béene so long plunged.

The magistrates of Antwerps thankfulnesse to the monsieur signified.

The souereigntie of what places the monsieur had vndertaken.

The markegraue, amptman, boroughmaisters, skepons, and other members of this citie, thinke it not expedient to repeat the causes of the warre, and the equitie of the case whereon they stand: for somuch as it hath diuerse times heretofore béene discussed largelie enough by the generall estates; and moreouer beene notablie knowne to the world, and manie waies allowed by your highnesse. Yet againe therefore with all humble submission and reuerence, they thanke your highnesse, that it hath pleased you to agrée vnto them, and to promise the maintenance of their priuileges, lawes, and customs: yea and of the articles comprised in the principall composition, and in the ioifull entrance into the dutchie of Brabant, assuring your highnesse, that the people of the citie of Antwerpe, and of the marquesship of the holie empire shall be, and continue right humble subiects to you, euen to the spending of their bodies and goods, and whatsoeuer else they be able to make for the increasing of your honour and glorie. Herevnto his highnesse answered vere gratiouslie, that he thanked those noblemen for their good will and affection towards him: and that he meant to shew them by his dooings how desirous he was to gouerne and rule the countrie with good policie and iustice. And all this he did at large and with verie great grace. This doone, the said Vanderwerke turning himselfe to the people cried with a lowd voice, that his highnesse, as duke of Brabant, Alanson, Anou, Berreie, &c: would be sworne to the citie of Antwerpe, and the marquesship of the sacred empire, desiring them to praie vnto God, that by that so good and solemne déed Gods name might be sanctified, the safetie and prosperitie of the countrie procured, and the honour and glorie of the said duke increased.

Antwerpe and the marquesship promiseth humble subiection.

Then was the oth, which his highnesse should take, read openlie to the people in the Flemmish toong by the said Vanderwercke. Which being doone, monsieur the amptman read the same oth to his highnesse in French, and his highnesse made and performed the same in his hands, which the boroughmaster of the towne of Antwerpe held vp, bicause the receiuing of the oth at his hand belonged vnto him. Also the said boroughmaster, whose name was sir Philip of Schoonehouen, knéeling downe before the dukes highnesse, at the same time gaue him a gilt keie in token of subiection, and that he might dispose of the citié as of his owne: which keie was deliuered againe by his highnes to the boroughmaster to whome he said verie gratiouslie

The oth that the monsieur should take openlie read to the people.

ouslie, that he assured himselfe, that the said boroughmaster and all the burgesses and inhabitants of the citie, would keepe the citie faithfullie for him, as they had doone vntill that instant.

After the finishing and accomplishment of all the said solemnities, the heralds of Brabant and Lotricke (or in the vulgar Brabant, Wallon, Lothier, that is to saie Lotharing, or the true Loraine) cried with a lowd voice, God saue the duke of Brabant. And then sounding the trumpets, they made a largesse, casting a great sort of péeces of gold and siluer among the standers by. These péeces were of two sorts; the one sort had on the one side the image of the monsieur then duke of Brabant: the other sort had on the one side the armes of Aniou and Brabant, and about the verges was written; Francis of France duke of Brabant. On the other side of them all was a deuise of the sunne, with the monsieurs owne inscription, Cheriseth and Chaseth, which is the monsieurs ordinarie posie. Without the towne were three regiments of the citizens, to the number of a three thousand men in order of battell, who made a goodlie shew with their faire armours and their ensignes displaied. And they neuer went out of their place vntill all the ceremonies were dispatched, and that his highnesse was gone into the citie. Besides these, there was an infinit number of people in the citie, whereof manie were strangers, who maruelled greatlie at these sights, and especiallie the Frenchmen, who woondered to see their master in that apparell, and spake diuerslie of it, as is woont to be doone in matters that are new and erst vnseene. But when they vnderstood how it was the dukelie apparell, and that he wore it as a representation of antiquitie, the like whereof is worne yet still by the electors of the sacred empire in their great ceremonies: they were astonished, and thought him to be a prince of more statelie countenance and maiestie than afore: in somuch that it was said alowd among them, that séeing it was the mantell of the duchie, it should cost the liues of fiftie thousand Frenchmen, before it should be plucked from him againe.

A largesse cast among the standers by.

The monsieurs posie.

A shew of men in armour.

The Frenchmen maruell at the monsieurs strange habilliments, &c.

As soone as the ceremonies were ended, his highnesse came downe from the theater, and mounted vpon a white courser of Naples, couered with a coperison of veluet richlie imbrodered with gold. And so he began to take his waie towards the right renowmed and rich citie of Antwerpe, and was conueied along by the counterscarfe, vnto the sumptuous and statelie gate, called Keisers gate or S. Georges gate, whereat he entered into the good citie of Antwerpe in this sort. First marched the two sergeants maiors or marshals of the citie, accompanied of two pursuants with the armes of the citie after whome followed the trumpets with the armes of Brabant. The first companie was of Almane merchants commonlie called Easterlings, well mounted and well apparelled after the maner of Almane. Next them followed the English merchants in excellent good order, all apparelled in Cassockes of blacke veluet all of one fashion. Then came the coronels and capteins of the citie: after whome followed a great number of gentlemen, as well of the same countrie as of other nations. Behind them went the bodie of the citie, that is to wit, the wickemasters, the wardens, the ancient magistrate, the masters of the wardes, the boroughmasters, deputies, and wardens, of the halles, the vshers, the secretaries, the registers, the receiuers and treasurers, the schepons, the amptman, and the two boroughmasters, all apparelled in clokes of blacke veluet, and all of one fashion. After them came the trumpets of the states of Brabant, Lembourgh, and Lothier, and, after them the states themselues in this order. First went the deputies of the vnder cities. The deputies of the citie of Antwerpe. The deputies of Brussels. Then succéeded the noblemen of Brabant, as the chancellor of Brabant, and aboue him Lamorall Egmond brother to the countie of Egmond, baron of Gasebecke. A great number of lords of the same countrie, of France, and of England well horssed and richlie apparelled. The Swissers with their drums and fiffes. The monsieurs

The order of the monsieurs entering into Antwerpe.

Lords of England and France well horssed.

owne houshold, among whome were intermingled certeine lords of England. Next this came the countie de Lauall, hauing on either hand an English lord. The prince of Espinoie, hauing on his right hand the lord of Hunsdon, and on his left the lord Howard; the prince Dolphin, hauing on his right hand the earle of Leicester, and on his left the prince of Orange, the markegraue of Antwerpe bareheaded, bearing the mace of iustice; the lord Peterson baron of Merode, taking vpon him that daie as marshall of Brabant, and bearing the naked sword before the dukes highnesse: then came the duke himselfe, mounted and apparelled as you haue heard afore. Next behind the duke followed countie Morice of Nassau sonne to the prince of Orange, hauing on his right hand countie Philip of Nassau nephue to the said prince, and sonne to countie Iohn of Nassau, and on his left hand the lord Shefield. His highnes was garded by the companies of the guilds, that is to saie, by the ancient brotherhoods of the archers, crossebowes, and harquebussers, in so goodlie armour, as fairer could not be found: these went afore him and about him on a cluster without order, like flowre de luces vpon a roiall robe.

The earle of Leicester on the right hand of prince Dolphin.

The companies of the guilds.

After them followed the gard of Frenchmen on a like heape, and after them the prince of Oranges gard on foot. Then lastlie in verie good order came the twentie ensignes of citizens, which had stood in order of battell without the towne. Ouer the gate where his highnes entered, there was a compartement of Doricke worke, wherein was written this title. To Francis the sonne of Henrie the second, and onelie brother of Henrie the third king of France, called by Gods singular prouidence to the souereigne principalitie of the low countries, and to the dukedome of Brabant, and the marquesship of the sacred empire, which God grant to be most happie and luckie vnto him, as to their inuested prince whom they haue most earnestlie wished for, and who as now is happilie come into this his most seruiceable citie, his most hartie fauourers: The senate and people of Antwerpe.

An inscription congratulatorie to the monsieur.

The chariot of the maiden of Antwerpe could not go out of the citie for want of roome to turne in: and therefore it tarried for his highnes at the gate within the citie. This chariot was called the chariot of aliance; wherein sat a damosell apparelled in satin red and white, which are the colours of Antwerpe; who had in hir left hand a branch of baietrée, and on hir head a garland of laurell, in token of victorie against the tyrannies of the king of Spaine, and in token of the deliuerance which the people hoped for by means of their new prince, through his gratious goodnesse, faithfulnesse, victoriousnesse, and defense: to whom with hir other hand shée presented the keies of the towne, according to the verses written ouer hir head, which shall be set downe hereafter. Before hir were the armes of the marquesship of the holie empire. On hir right hand was Religion apparelled like one of the Sybils, holding in hir one hand an open booke, named the Law and the Gospell: and in hir other hand a sword; named Gods word: and on hir left hand was Iustice holding a balance and a sword in hir hand, and ouer the balance was written, Yea and Naie.

The chariot of the maiden of Antwerpe described.

The keies of Antwerpe presented to the monsieur.

Deuises.

Before the damosell satè Concord, clothed in white, yellow, and orange tawnie, bearing a target vpon hir arme, wherein was painted a crowned scepter, with two little snakes; and vnder them, two dooues, all closed in with a garland of olife, betokening commendable gouernement with prouidence. Vpon hir head shée had a helmet, betokening Wisedome. In hir hand shée caried a lance, with a penon vpon it, on the one side whereof were the armes of Aniou crowned with olife, and on the other side a lambe with a woolfe, and a lion with an ox, to betoken the great peacefulnesse that is looked for vnder this prince, as well in religion as in matters of state. At Concordes right hand sat Wisedome, and at hir left hand Force. In the middest of the chariot was a piller richlie made of Corinthian worke, vpon the top whereof was a Hart held betwéene two armed hands, which hart had two wings,

Wisedome.

Emblems of peace and tranquillitie.

betokening Vnion, Faith, and Force: and a sword with two serpents writhing about it, and holding their tailes to their eares; signifieng Discréet gouernement, and eares stopped against flatterers. At the foot of the piller was a compartement with the armes of Anjou and Brabant. On the brest of the lion of Brabant, were the armes of the marqueship of the sacred empire, and of the citie of Antwerpe. Vpon the armes was written Attonement. Vpon the corners of the chariot were two armed images with morians on their heads, attired in orange white and blew. The one of them was named Faithfulnes, and the other Watchfulnes. In their hands they had ech of them a shield, wherein were painted two swords acrosse, and two dooues with a sheafe of arrowes, betokening Vnion. Vpon one of the shields was written, Defense: and vpon the other, Offense; each of the images had a penon of azure silke: in one of the which there was a pellican killing hirselfe for hir yoong birds: and in the other a hen a brooding hir chickens. Ouer the maidens head were these verses set:

Discréet gouernement.

Attonement.

Faithfulnes. Watchfulnes.

Vnion.

Defense. Offense.

My rulers outrage, wickednesse,
and furious tyrannie,
Haue cast me backe these keies, which I
had giuen obedientlie,
Vpon conditions neuer kept,
ô prince of noble fame,
With better boad of lucke and lot,
receiue thou now the same.
Thy godlines and prowesse haue
of right deserued it.
O treble happie prince to whom
these countries doo submit
Their state! ô happie Belgike, ô
most happie like to bee
Which vnderneath so great a prince,
maist now liue safe and free.

Six gentlemen of the citie waited at the gate with a canopie of cloth of gold frized, which they afterward vnfolded and carried it ouer the dukes head, who went vnder it into the towne in the forementioned order. All the stréets from the gate to his lodging were set on either side with armed men vnder their ensignes with their fiffes and drums. The officers caried gilt targets and swords in their hands: and all the rest were armed after the best and goodliest maner that could be séene. His highnesse procéeded forth on to the corner of the stréet called Easthouse stréet, that is to saie, the Spittlehouse stréet, néere vnto saint Georges church, where was a shew made in the likenesse of a table verie great and high, which was made by one of the companies of their tragicall and comicall poets, commonlie called amongst them rhetoricians. The companie was called Care, or as some others terme it, the Followsun, after the name of a floure which followeth the sun, and the spéech of the deuise was, Growing vp in vertue. The shew or table had thrée compartements or partitions. The first was the first booke of Samuell the fiftéenth chapter, where Samuell chargeth Saule with his disobedience, and hath a péece of his garment rent off by him, in token that the kingdome should be plucked from Saules house and giuen to a better. Whereby was meant, that the souereigntie of those low countries was taken from the king of Spaine for his abhominable periuries, tyrannies, and extortions. In the second compartement was set foorth, how Samuell commanded Ishaie the father of Dauid to bring foorth his sonnes: of whom God would make one the prince of his people that is to wit, the yoongest, which was Dauid. In the third was shewed how Dauid being annointed fought with Golias, and ouercame him.

A canopie carried ouer the monsieurs head.

A shew in the likenesse of a table verie great and high, &c.

The signification of the shewes concerning the K. of Spaine and the monsieur.

him. The title or superscription was a Phrygian worke, wherein were written these verses:

As God bereauing Saule of crowne and mace,
Did dispossesse him of his kingdome quight,
And afters et vp Dauid in his place:
So now likewise dispatching from our sight,
The tyrans which oppressed vs by might,
He giueth thee (ô noble duke) the reine
Of these our countries, ouer vs to reine.

The front and crest being garnished with baners, scutchions of armes, cressets and torches, caried the dukes deuise, Cheriseth and Chaseth. And at the foot of the table laie Discord closed vp in a prison of latisworke, where she was tormented with helhounds and serpents: and there were these verses following:

Alanson whom God Cherish aie,
Dooth Chase all ire and wrath awaie.

His highnesse passing foorth still beyond the place called the Thréewaileet, came to the street named Hwiuetterstréet, that is to saie, the chandellors stréet, where was an other statelie pageant with armes, torches, and cressets, made by an other companie of the rhetoricians, called painters or violers, who had for their deuise, Knit togither by singlenesse. In this pageant was painted the néere aliance of Dauid and Ionathas, to betoken the firmenesse of the oth mutuallie made by his highnes and the states of Brabant: and the magistrats, members, colonels, and capteins of the citie of Antwerpe. In this table was written in a compartement of Phrygian worke:

A statelie pageant important to the present purpose.

Like as the faithfull Ionathas
did promise to defend,
Good Dauid from the harmes which Saule
against him did intend:
So keepe thou vs (ô gratious prince)
which loue to liue in rest,
Against the tyrans by whose force
we haue beene sore opprest.

Then went he further to the end of the stréet, where the vpholsters shops are, which part was full of burning torches and barrels of burning pitch, and so came to the Meerebridge. At the entering thereof stood an oliphant bearing a castell of stone with souldiers and artillerie. Before the oliphant were painted the armes of the marquesdome and of the citie, and behind, a speare with a banner of taffetie, with the armes of Aniou in a wreath of laurell, and foure other bannerets of crimsin taffeta, pulled out, wherein were painted the hands of Antwerpe, with this poesie: Cherisheth and Chaseth. And vpon his side of his bellie were these verses manifestlie written:

An oliphant bearing a castell of stone with soldiors and artilleria.

Whome light of Phebee heretofore did lead,
I now am drawne awaie,
Hir brothers beames to follow in hir stead,
A farre more certeine staie,
I thinke my change right gainefull, sith I see,
These lower countries vnder him to bee.

From the Merebridge he went along the Merestréet, vntill he came to the ward, where were four companies ranged in order of battell. From thense he passed to the corner of Clare street, where was a stage made by a companie of rhetoricians called the Olife branch, who had for their posie, Behold grace. Vpon this stage sat a damsell named Antwerpe, bearing in hir bosome a pretie daughter called the knowledge of God: who held a coffer wherin were priuileges, lawes, franchises and truth: which

A damsell representing Antwerpe holding a coffer of priuileges, &c.

which were kept by the Grace of God, and by Prouidence, Wisdome, Faithfulnesse, Diligence, Loialtie, Perseuerance, Vnitie, Good heed, and Order. And aloft was a compartement of Phrygian worke (verie artificiallie handled) wherein were these verses:

O prince, our father, hope of helpe and staie:
Dame grace, Gods impe, whom here thou seest to stand,
From top to toe faire clad in white araie,
With branch of olife in hir heauenlie hand:
Hath willed thee to harbor here within
The statelie walles of ladie Antwerpe, and
The loue of hir with endlesse fame to win,
By curing of hir griefes with law and right,
And eeke by putting of hir foes to flight.

Somewhat lower towards the midst, was Neptune with his threetimed mace, riding ouer waues vpon a dolphin, and on his left hand were these verses:

Gods heauenlie grace, and soothfull skill,
reuiuing Antwerpe new,
Through chare defense of faithfull league
haue kept hir safe, as dew
To thee hir duke innobled both
by father and by brother,
Both kings of France, tone gone to God
long since, still reigning tother.
And therefore bend thou now thy wits,
by rightfull force to wreake
Hir cruell foes, which did so oft
their leagues through falsehood breake.

A triumphall arch diuerslie garnished.

He passed from Clare stréet thorough long New stréet to saint Katharins bridge, right ouer against Crosse stréet, where was a triumphall arch cunninglie painted and builded of white stone, which was garnished with his highnesses armes, and with torches and cressets, and with musike of holboies and clarions. And on the top of it was written; To the happie comming hither of Francis, onelie brother to Henrie the third, sonne to Henrie the second, grandchild to Francis the first, now inuested duke of Brabant, the prince that hath most déepelie deserued of this their countrie, as a father of the same: The senat and people of Antwerpe. Vnderneath this in an other compartement of Phrygian worke, was written this: At length yet hinder not this impe to bring the wrooping world againe vnto some redresse. In passing thorough the short New stréet, and by the marketstéed, he turned toward the Coopers stréet in the stréet called Chéeselane to the great market place, which was full of torches of wax, and of barels of pitch vpon long poles vp to the highest windows, which commonlie are fiue stories high. In this market place were imbattled six ensignes, with the ensigne of the youth which was vnder a gréene standard, all in the best armor that was to be séene in anie place of the world. In the middest of the citizens was the great giant the founder of the citie of Antwerpe, whose curace was azure, and his apparell tawnie white and graie. He bore banners of azure with the armes of Aniou, and had these giantlike spéeches conteined in these verses, written before him:

Six ensignes with the ensigne of the youth vnder a gréene standard.

Feerce furie, moodie rage, vnbridled ire,
Stout force, hot violence, cruell tyrannie,
Nought booted me, ne furthered my desire:
In keeping of my wished souereigntie.

The

The surest waie for kings to gouerne by,
Is mildnesse matched with a prudent mind,
To vice seuere, to vertue meeke and kind.
For oft the calme and quiet gouernance
Brings things to passe which violence could not win.
Feercenesse that case will nought at all aduance,
By mildnesse shalt thou better hold folke in:
Outragious storming is not worth a pin,
By mine example therefore haue a care,
All cruell dealings vtterlie to spare.

Behind the giant were written these verses:

See you this orped giant here,
so huge of limme and bone?
Fame saies that Antwerpe was sometime
a thrall to such a one.

A cunning deuise of a giant turning his head.

This giant was made by cunning to turne his face towards the duke as he passed by, and to let fall the armes of Spaine which he held in his hand, and to put vp the armes of Aniou. Also there was a stage in the same market place before the towne house, full of nymphs and vertues. But for somuch as it serued chieflie for the daie of his taking of his oth in the citie of Antwerpe, which was the 22 daie of that moneth: it shall be spoken of more at large hereafter. His highnes departing out of the market place, tooke his waie towards the stréet called the High stréet, and when he came to the stréet called the old Cornemarket, there was a whale carieng Neptune naked with his thréeforked mace in his hand, which betokened the great commodities which the citie of Antwerpe receiued by the sea and by the riuer Schelt. Before this monster was an other naked man, and by him two other portraitures, the one of nauigation, and the other of merchandize, with a booke of accounts, and a purse, such as the factors doo carie with them when they go to receiue monie. Before this Neptune, in a compartement, were written these verses following:

A whale carrieng Neptune and what it betokened.

The lordship of the seas to thee
the destinies behight:
In signe whereof I Neptune yeeld
this mace as thine of right.
That Antwerpe hauing rid all lets
by thee on sea and land,
Maie once inioie hir wished fruit,
and safe from perill stand.

His highnesse kept on his waie through the High stréet, to a place where sometime was the gate called S. Iohns gate, which was beaten downe the yeare before: in steed whereof there was a triumphall arch of Ionian worke. This arch was wholie applied vnto his highnesse owne posie Cherisheth and Chaseth. On high ouer it was strained a couering after the maner of a round vaut, wherein was painted the sun: and vnder the sun was painted the sea with ships, and the earth clad with hir verdure. Also there appeared a cloud on both sides, so as the light of the sun did shine forth and yéeld out his force to the earth. On the outside of the bowing of the arch were painted thrée goddesses: namelie Flora, who held hir floures in hir hand: Ceres, who had hir corne: and Pomona, who held a horne stored with abundance of all things. Likewise the earth was clad with gréene trées, fruits and fields, replenished with all fruitfulnesse: which thing came to passe by the heat and operation of the sun, which was betokened by this word Cherisheth. On the other side being the left hand, were drierie and barren fields, the aire euerie where lowring and cloudie,

An arch wholie applied to the monsieurs owne posie.

Cherisheth.

cloudie, and the trees and plants withered; which thing was doone by the three helhounds, Discord, Violence, and Tyrannie, who fled awaie at the sight of his highnes, according to the signification of his other word, Chaseth. On an other side stood the same posie againe, Cherisheth and Chaseth, by an other meane.

Chaseth.

At the right hand ouer the word Cherisheth was a great field well tilled, with a husbandmans house vpon it. The husbandman himselfe being apparelled after the French fashion was sowing of corne, and an other by him was spreading of mucke. At the left hand was written the word Chaseth, on which side also was painted a French capteine and armor following his alies, confederats, and souldiors: to doo men to vnderstand, that by the treaties, leagues, and agreements made with the dukes highnesse, all tyrannie, violence, and discord should be chased awaie; and that by the beames of that sun, the countrie should receiue all peace, prosperitie, and abundance. Vpon the forfront were these verses painted:

The monsieurs posie interpreted in a shew.

Like as the rising of the sun
dooth chase the night awaie,
And with his kindlie heat
the ground well cherish aie:
Euen so thy comming (noble prince)
dooth chase all tempests quite,
And folke with cheerefull hope
of freedome much delight.

This arch was impossed aloft with scutchions of the armes of Aniou, compassed about with branches of olive, all vpon azure. Also there were diuerse other scutchions, whose field was gules bordered with argent, and a great number of burning torches. And the said arch was furnished with diuerse instruments of musike, and the musicians themselues were clad in the colours of the citie. His highnesse passing vnder this triumphall arch, came to a place called the Owure, that is to saie, the banke, where were two companies imbattelled, armed like all the residue. Andso passing by the ward there, he went to the place that is right ouer against the mint: before the which there was a huge and monstrous sea-horsse of twentie foot high, vpon whom sat a nymph called Concord, bearing a shield wherein was painted a booke and a rod, which was named the Rule of truth. In hir hand she bare a flag, wherein was written, Faithfull aliance. This monster of the sea was named Tyrannie, and he had a bridle in his mouth with double reines of iron chained called Law and Reason. Whereby the dukes highnesse was doone to vnderstand, that he as a true Perseus was to deliuer that countrie from all tyrannie, and afterward to gouerne it by iustice and reason. Ouer against the mint gate, where the street is narrowest, were two obeliskes or round spires, and betweene them a triumphall arch with his pillers of Corinthian worke, gilded and inriched with his releefe vnder him. Vpon the forefront were his highnesses armes, and likewise on the sides were other armes, with banners, torches, and cressets. Vnder the armes of his highnesse were written these verses following:

The ornaments of the arch aloft.

A monstrous sea horsse of twentie foot high, and what it signified.

Full mightie is that common weale,
and in a happie case,
And blest with all commodities
through Gods most heauenlie grace,
Where prince behaues himselfe as head,
and commons him obeie
As members, either carefullie
regarding others staie.

From this triumphall arch vnto the palace, that is to wit, all along saint Michaels street, which is a mile in length, stood on either side three score and ten pillers, with

a space of two and twentie foot betweene piller and piller. Euerie piller was twelue foot high, and vpon the pillers was a continuall tarras, and on euerie ech other piller was a cresset: and on the pillers betwéene were the armes of Brabant, Aniou, and Antwerpe, diuided according to the spaces betwéene the said pillers. And the pillers were crested about with garlands of iuie. On the side of the street towards the palace was a pageant with banners, torches, and pyramides; vpon the vppermost part of one of the sides whereof was a crane, and vpon the other side a cocke: giuing knowledge as well to the heads as to the members, that watchfulnesse is needful. A little spaniell betokening faithfulnesse, and a little lambe betokening peace, were painted accompanied with the Sybils; which represented wisedome, loue, faithfulnesse, obedience, vertue and honor, without the which no true peace can continue. And all these were guided by the light of the holie ghost, which was resembled by a certeine brightnesse that discouered the chiefe instruments of discord, namelie Enuie and Slander, who péered out behind, Enuie gnawing hir owne heart, and Slander hauing double heart, double toong, and double face, howbeit with small effect. For of the two sides of this pageant were two counterfets, on the one side Hercules, and on the other Dauid, as it were in copper, hauing gotten the vpper hand of Goliah, betokening strength and stowtnesse: and vnderneath was Concord, who held Discord in a chaine with collars about his necke: which Discord offering with his one hand an apple of gold, and with his other hand threatning men with his force and tyrannie, was yet neuerthelesse driuen into the dungeon of sorrow, where he is kept prisoner by Concord, who kéepeth the doore fast shut: betokening the same thing which the countrie looketh for at his highnesse hand according to his posie Cherisheth and Chaseth. Vpon the forefront of the compartement made of Phrygian worke were these verses following painted out in most liuelie forme:

Thrée score and ten pillers, with a space of two and twentie foot betwéene each.

Proper emblem and their meanings.

Enuie and Slander.

Concord holding Discord in a chaine, &c.

O let the earth the kissings sweet
of peace and iustice see,
And let hir powre hir riches foorth
in all mens bosoms free:
Let godlines and faithfulnes
go matched arme in arme,
And let the bond of endles loue
keepe all things knit from harme.

Before the duke came at saint Michaels where the palace was prepared for his highnesse the daie was so farre spent, that they were faine to light vp their cressets and torches, which cast so great and cléere a light through the whole towne, that the dukes highnesse, and the princes and lords which accompanied him; and likewise the souldiors, with their glistering armors, were séene more cleerelie than at anie time of the daie. And as the multitude of people was verie great in the citie, so the néerer that his highnesse drew to his palace, the greater still did the number grow. So at length the duke of Brabant and Anioũ entred into his palace in the order afore mentioned, hauing moreouer a two or thrée hundred as well of offendors as of banished folke which followed him bareheaded and fettered, crauing mercie. The heralds did cast péeces of gold and siluer abrode, as they had doone at the méetings of all the stréets as they passed through them. At the entrie of the palace was an arch of twentie foot high, resting vpon thrée pillers of Phrygian worke; and vpon the top thereof was a compartement wherein were the thrée graces, that is to wit, Vertue, Glorie, and Honor; who offered vnto his highnesse an olife branch, in token of peace, a laurell bough in token of victorie, and a crowne which was sent him from heauen. And vnder the compartement were written these verses:

Light with torches and cressets as cléere as the noone daie.

Thrée graces Vertue, Glorie, and Honor in a compartement.

O prince whose merits passe his praise,
whose vertues haue no peeres,
Whose mind surmounts his fortune far,
whose thews exceed his yeeres:
Take gentlie heere this oliue branch,
this laurell bough and crowne,
Three presents giuen thee by three nymphs,
and sent from heauen downe.

¶ The oth made by Francis duke of Brabant to the members of the right renowmed citie of Antwerpe, and the oth made by them againe vnto his highnesse.

Twentie or thirtie thousand harquebusses shot off.

The duke of Brabant being come into his palace, caused a peale of a twentie or thirtie thousand harquebusses to be shot off, and then all the companies (sauing those which were to watch that night) began to withdraw themselues appase. Which thing was doone in such order and with such silence, that in lesse than halfe an houre all the citie was disarmed; after which maner they had also armed themselues in lesse than an houre without anie noise in the morning. The princes also and the lords withdrew themselues to their lodgings, and then was all the great ordinance of the towne shot off twise, as it had beene at the dukes first comming to the citie, that all the towne seemed to be on fire. Cressets were lighted and fires made for ioie through all the streets and meetings, waies, and vpon the steeples, in so great number and so continuallie, that all the night resembled the daie: in so much that when they that were without the towne looked vp into the skie, they thought the element was all on fire. These bonefires continued euerie night vntill the next thursdaie; on which daie his highnesse tooke his peculiar oth to the towne of Antwerpe, in dooing whereof these solemnities insuing were obserued. The anptman, boroughmaisters, and skepons of Antwerpe came to the said palace of S. Michaell the next thursdaie being the two and twentith daie of the same moneth: at which place they made humble sute vnto his highnesse, that as he had vouchsafed to giue his oth to the states of Brabant and the marquesdome of the sacred empire, and likewise to receiue theirs; so it might please him to giue his oth that daie peculiarlie to the citie of Antwerpe, and likewise to take theirs at the place of old time accustomed. Wherevnto when the duke had assented, they tooke their waie in the same order that had beene obserued at his entring into the towne; sauing that the lord Edward de Clastro ambassador for Don Antonio king of Portugall, was that daie in the latter companie of the princes and lords. And so they marched along the said street of saint Michaell to the great market-sted, where the sumptuous common house of the citie is. And bicause that on the daie of his entrance in, it was not possible for him to take a perfect view of all the shews, by reason that the night ouertooke them, they were presented vnto his highnes againe, as well in the place before the mint, as in other places. Also there were two pageants more prepared, which were deuised both in one daie; the one was mount Parnassus wheron sat Apollo apparelled like the sun, and accompanied with the nine muses plaieng vpon diuerse kinds of instruments, and with sweet voice singing a certeine ditie togither written in commendation of his highnesse. This pageant was in the street called the High street, ouer against the street named Reiner street. Right ouer against this pageant was an other on the side of the street called the Flax market, which was a mossie rocke ouergrowen with drie and withered trees, wherin appeared a caue verie hideous, darke, and drierie to behold, and in the same laie lurking the three hellhounds, Discord, Violence, and Tyrannie: who feeling Apollos beames, and hearing the sweetnesse and harmonie of the voices and instruments, shroonke awaie and hid themselues in the deepest of the dungeon, and afterward peered out againe to harken whether that melodie and harmonie continued

The night resembled the daie.

Solemnities vsed whiles the monsieur was taking his peculiar oth to Antwerpe.

Two pageants, one of mount Parnassus, and the other a mossie rocke.

tinued still or no, minding to haue come foorth againe, and to haue troubled the common wealth, if the same had ceassed.

His highnesse passed on, and with verie much adoo came to the great market place, by reason of the infinit multitude of people, which could not be put asunder without great paine. As soone as he was alighted from his horsse, he went vp a scaffold which had béene set vp for the same purpose, in the middest of the market place hard by the towne house; before whome went the magistrate of the citie, and a great number of princes, lords, and gentlemen. This scaffold being great and large of the heigth of fortie foot, was hanged with scarlet. Vpon it was a cloth of estate, the backe whereof was cloth of gold frized, vnder the which was a chaire of the same. The daie of his first comming thither, there had béene presented vnto him on the right side, Wisedome offering him a golden scepter: on his left side, Iustice offering him the sword of iustice from aboue the chaire: and behind him Clemencie offering him the cap of the dukedome. Before the chaire as it were at the foot of it, were Obedience, Faithfulnes, Loue of God, and Reuerence. And by the chaire sides there were with them, Concord, Sagenesse, Valiantnes, Good will, Truth, Pitifulnesse, Perseuerance, and Reason, of whome two on either side held ech of them a torch of virgin wax, and they were all appareled like nymphes. But on this daie when his highnesse went vp to this stage, the nymphes were awaie; and in stéed of them, the chaire was garnished on both sides with pillers. On the right side betwéene the pillers was a lion holding a naked sword, to betoken the authoritie of the magistrate. Aboue the lion was an egle féeding hir yoong, and turning hir selfe towards the shining of the sunne, as taking hir force of the prince. On the left side was an ox with a yoke on his necke, and aboue him a hen brooding hir chickens, and by hir a cocke. The ox with his yoke signified obedience: and the cocke and the hen betokened the watchfulnesse, care, and defense of the superior. The said scaffold was garnished with banners of azure beaten with the armes of Aniou, and with banners of gewles beaten with the armes of Antwerpe, and with cressets and torches. And aboue among the armes were written these verses in verie faire and legible letters:

A scaffold hong with scarlet and richlie adorned.

A chaire of estate of cloth of gold frized.

Beautifull emblems about the chaire of estate, and what they signified.

At length thou art come,
and ioiful we bee,
Thy presence long lookt for
here present to see.

1 Of triumphs, though statelie,
kings boast but in vaine,
Vnlesse they by iustice
vprightlie doo raine.

1 A little vnder at the right hand vnder the armes of Brabant were these verses.

2 Nought booteth law, authoritie,
or sage forecast of wit,
Vnlesse to lawfull gouernement
folke doo their force submit.

2 On the left hand vnder the armes of Antwerpe was written thus.

3 God, God is he the harts of kings
which holdeth in his hand,
He, He it is that highest things
dooth make too fall or stand.
When he with gratious looke beholds
a people: they inioy
A goodlie ruler, vnder whom
no troubles them annoy.

3 This was written somwhat lower.

But if misliking make him frowne,
then makes he them a preie
To tyrants, vnder whom they tast
of sorrow euerie daie.

From this scaffold he might behold before him an infinit number of people, readie to be sworne vnto him: and also three companies of banished and condemned men in fetters, and bareheaded, crauing mercie at his hand, which was granted vnto them. Moreouer all the houses about the market stead had cressets burning on high before them. Now then, after that roome and silence was made, their councellor and recorder Vanderwerke propounded the matter as followeth. Right gratious lord and prince, the markegraue, the amptman, the boroughmasters, the skepons, the treasurors, the receiuers, the old deputies, the chiefe burgesses, the quartermasters, the wardens, the ancients of the handicrafts, the coronels, the wardens of the guilds, and the capteines of the citie, your highnesses most humble and obedient subiects, are excéeding glad to see that you, whome they haue alreadie receiued for duke of Brabant, and for their souereigne lord and prince, are readie to make your oth vnto this citie, and to receiue it at the hand of the magistrats, burgesses and citizens thereof, in respect of the citie it selfe, and of the marquesdome of the sacred empire: assuring themselues that your highnesse will be vnto them a good, righteous, and lawfull prince, to gouerne them according to their franchises, lawes, and customes: and promising mutuallie on their behalfe to your highnesse, to be good, loiall, and faithfull subiects vnto you, to spend all their goods, yea and their liues in your seruice, and in the maintenance of your dignities, rights and preheminences. And like as God hath put into your highnes mind, to take vpon you, first the protection and defense, and secondlie the whole souereingtie of the low countries and prouinces, which haue entered into league with you, vpon hope that the same God will of his gratious goodnesse and mercie so blesse and prosper your dealings and enterprises: as that they shall out of hand sée the effect of that communication in the hiest degrée, to the accomplishment of your roiall and heroicall desires, both in the generall, and also in the particular deliuerance of the countrie from the calamities and miseries of war: whereby they shall haue the better cause to acknowledge the great good turnes and benefits receiued at your highnesse hand, and to honor, loue, and serue you, as the verie protector of the land and father of their countrie.

Banished and condemned men in fetters crauing mercie pardoned.

All promises kept on the monsieurs part, they could doo no lesse.

When Vanderwerke had made an end, and the dukes highnesse had answered him conformablie to that which he had spoken without the towne, the said Vanderwerke told the people alowd, that the duke was readie to take and receiue his oth, at the hand of the magistrate, and of all the people and inhabiters of the citie of Antwerpe: and that God had vouchsafed to send them a prince of so rare and heroicall vertues, of so great puissance, and the onelie brother of so great a king; that they might well hope, that the same God would inable him to rid these countries within a while, from the great number of calamities and miseries wherwith they were oppressed And for so much as his highnesse had béene receiued with solemne deliberation of the states confederate, yea and with solemne resolution of all the members of that citie, and God had commanded men to loue, honour and obeie their princes: he exhorted the people to yéeld him all humble obedience according to Gods commandement. To which intent, the oth as well which his highnesse should make to the people, as which the people should make to his highnesse, should be read vnto them; praieng God to giue such grace vnto his highnes, as he following the same, might well rule and gouerne; and vnto the burgesses and citizens of Antwerpe, as they might performe their obedience, like good, loiall, and faithfull subiects: that Gods name might be sanctified, to the benefit, prosperitie, and safegard of the citie, and to

The monsieur is readie to take his oth of the magistrate and people of Antwerpe.

Good successe wished to the mutuall oth-takers.

the

the great increase of the dukes puissance, honour, and glorie. Then the same Vanderwerke read the oth which was to be made by the duke, with the stile of the duke of Brabant, and all his other titles. Which oth was read to his highnes in French, and receiued by sir Philip Schonehouen, lord of Waneroe, boroughmaster without the citie. The monsieurs oth red in French.

Which being doone, the said Vanderwerke read the oth which the magistrate and people were to make, which was repeated word for word by the magistrats and a great number of people which were within the hearing of it. And this oth was exacted of the magistrate and people of Antwerpe by the amptman in the name and by the commandement of the duke. Vpon the finishing of these solemnities, the duke himselfe did cast two or three handfuls of gold and siluer among them, and then the heralds cried A larges, and the trumpets and drums were sounded euerie where, and manie instruments of musike were plaied vpon, as had béene doone afore at his first arriuall. When he was come downe from the scaffold, he went to the townehouse with all the princes, lords, and gentlemen, which were verie manie where he was receiued by the worshipfull of the citie, and dined openlie at a verie sumptuous and roiall feast prepared for him: and so that daie passed in great ioy, contentation and admiration, as well of his highnes and his companie, as of all the rest of the people. Towards night were shot off two peales of great ordinance againe, and the fires of ioy were continued much greater, and more in number than afore. The monsieur casteth largesse of gold and siluer among the people. Two peales of great ordinance with other signes of ioy.

Thus ended the ioifull and roiall interteinement of the right noble prince Francis, sonne and brother to the king of France, by the grace of God duke of Brabant. The rest of the weeke and the daies following, the lords of the priuie councell, the officers of the aides, of the exchekers, of the chambers of the accounts, and of the other corporations, colleges, and communalties came to visit his highnes, and to offer him their humble seruice, promising all faithfulnes and obedience: all whome he receiued verie gratiouslie to their contentation, answering them so aduisedlie, with so good grace and fitnesse, without omitting anie point of that which he had purposed: that all men not onelie woondered at him, but also were inforced to honour and loue him, and to set foorth his praises among the people. Finallie the deputies of the reformed churches of both the languages, being presented vnto him by the prince of Orange, were gentlie heard, and they spake to him as followeth. What was doone by the waie of courteous dutie when all the triumphs were ended.

Sir, we be sent vnto your highnes by the reformed churches of this citie, as well of the language of low Dutchland, as of the French, to shew vnto you with all humilitie, reuerence and subiection, that we haue thanked and still doo thanke God with all our hart, for vouchsafing to bring your highnesse so happilie hither. And this our ioie is matched with the ioie of all other folks, as we hope your highnesse hath vnderstood by the glad and ioifull receiuing and interteining of you. Also sir we hope, that as the great honour and felicitie which these countries haue atteined vnto (wherein few countries are able to match them) haue béene purchased vnder the souereigntie and gouernement of the right renowmed princes, the dukes of Burgognie, which issued out of the most noble house of France: so vnder your guiding and gouernement being of the same house, the ancient renowme of the same dignitie shall be recouered by your prowesse, and mainteined by your wisedome. It is little more than three hundred yeeres ago, that these countries being gouerned by sundrie dukes, earles, and lords, had not atteined the renowme which other nations haue since that time so much woondered at. The first that began to giue increase to it was Philip duke of Burgognie, surnamed the hardie, who was brother to king Charles the fift, the sonne of king Iohn, and grand sonne of king Philip of Valois: of which kings your highnes is lineallie descended from the father to the sonne. For the first duke of Orleance, of whome your highnesse is lineallie descended from the father to the sonne, was the sonne of king Charles the fift; and as now there be no more heires males of the said duke of Orleance, but Dukes of Burgognie issued out of the house of France. Vnder whom the state hath béene aduanced. Philip duke of Burgognie surnamed the hardie.

onelie

onelie your highnes and the king your brother. Whereby it falleth out, that the dukes of Burgognie are great vncles to your highnes by the fathers side. And therefore we doubt not but you will follow the footsteps of their vertues, in restoring the state of the countrie to hir ancient renowme and dignitie: and also mainteine and increase the honour wherevnto it hath beene aduanced, by those noble princes your vncles.

Duke Iohn the second, and Philip the second, aduancers of the state.

The second duke vnder whom this state hath beene greatlie aduanced, was Iohn the second: neuerthelesse it came not to full perfection, vntill the time of Philip the second. In which perfection it was mainteined by Charls the last duke of Burgognie so long as he liued. The said Philip the second, to whom the honour of stablishing that state most peculiarlie belongeth, was one of the most knightlie and valiant princes of his time. He wan the victorie in nine foughten fields, in most of the which he was put to the triall and hazard of his person, by fighting with his owne hands. He was a verie sage prince, and such a one as had to deale with the greatest princes in christendome: of whome some were his aduersaries, and yet he behaued himselfe so wiselie, that he atchiued all things to his honour whatsoeuer he tooke in hand. Also he was verie rich: insomuch that for all his warres which lasted aboue thirtie yeares, he left behind him more substance and readie monie, than anie other prince of his time, as the writers of the histories of that age doo witnes vnto vs. And yet notwithstanding, for all these great vertues and qualities of his, he was not named Philip the sage, nor Philip the valiant, nor Philip the rich, but Philip the good. So well doo all folke by generall consent vnderstand, which is the vertue that best beséemeth and becommeth a great prince, and is best liked of his people: namelie, that a prince be good and louing to his subiects. Surelie sir, all men hope that your highnes will follow the example of that good prince, the first bringer of the state of this countrie to perfection, a right noble and renowmed prince of the house of France. And we praise God, for that as manie as haue had the honour to come into your highnes presence, yeeld record that you haue verie great likelihoods of these vertues; which we praie God so to accomplish and make perfect in you, as all his people may to your great honor receiue the perfect and ripe fruits of them. And this doo all the rest of the people desire as well as we.

Philip the second a verie rich prince, surnamed Philip the good.

He directeth his spéech to the monsieur.

A sute mooued to the monsieur.

Howbeit, we haue a most humble sute to make peculiarlie to your highnes, which we most humblie beséech you to grant. The thing that induceth vs to doo it, is that you beare the name of Francis. For as oft as we heare that name named: the remembrance of that great king Francis your highnesse grandfather commeth to our mind. He was a right valiant, couragious, noble and godlie prince: and yet notwithstanding all the nations of the earth did by one common consent surname him the father of learning. For of a truth, since that emperour and great king of France, called Charles the great, there was neuer anie king of France that so highlie fauoured learning as this great king Francis. And as the said king Charles was the founder of the famous vniuersitie of Paris, so was king Francis the restorer therof againe: and both of them to their great costs and charges called men of excellent knowledge thither out of strange countries, to teach the languages and all kinds of arts and sciences. The house of this great king Francis was an vniuersitie, and his table was a place of conference concerning all maner of learning. And like as other great princes of his time following his example, inriched their dominions and kingdomes with learned men and learning: so we most humblie beséech your highnes to follow the example of this great king your grandfather in dooing the like, and to make singular account of learning, and to take the professours thereof, vnder your protection. True it is sir, that through the malice of men, warre is commonlie the ouerthrower of learning. But if a great prince set himselfe against the mischiefe, he may easilie stop it. Our desire is not that your highnesse should neglect the exercise of chiualrie, for to giue your selfe to studie: but to follow so the one, as the other be not left

Francis the monsieurs grandfather commended.

A good sute to the monsieur, and the like of all princes and great men to be preferred, and granted.

off

off and forgotten. For as we haue seene manie commonweales florish so long as they professed chiualrie and learning togither and yet haue fallen into the hands of their enimies, euen in the chiefe flowre of their skill in sciences, by reason of their discontinuing of their former trade of armes, after which maner it fell to the Atheniens to come into subiection to the kings of Macedonie: so the people which haue professed armes alone without learning, haue alwaies become barbarous, cruell, and vtterlie destitute of all humanitie, as we sée at this daie by the Tartars and Muscouits. And therefore to our séeming, a man may well saie, that chiualrie is the fundation and sinewes of a commonweale: and that learning garnisheth and beautifieth the bodie thereof with liuelie and fresh colours, seruing it for inrichments and ornaments. In respect wherof, as we meant not to desire your highnesse to forget those which make profession of chiualrie, whome you ought to embrace as your strength: so we most humblie beséech you to vouchsafe to succour learning, and to mainteine learned men with your gratious fauour.

Learning and chiualrie must go togither.

Sir, verie néedfull causes moone vs to make this humble petition to your highnesse: for that we being professors of learning, ought to haue learning in singular estimation, and to procure (if it be possible for vs) that the frute of the things which we haue inioied for a time, may be conueied to our posteritie: and secondlie for the oths sake which we haue taken at the time of our proceeding in our degrées, which is, to mainteine and further the schooles and learning of the vniuersitie, in what degrée soeuer we come vnto. And therefore we hope that your highnesse will doo vs the honour to take this most humble request of ours in good part. As touching our owne persons, we promise your highnesse all obedience, faithfulnesse, and subiection: and that according to our small abilitie, we will doo our indeuor towards such as we may haue accesse vnto, that they also may yeeld obedience to your highnesse, and to the magistrates whome it shall please you to set ouer the people. And here to make an end, we hartilie praie God to preserue your highnes a long time in happie estate among this people, and to giue you the grace to rule and gouerne them iustlie and vprightlie, to rid them out of the hands of their enimies, to mainteine them long in most happie peace, and to restore this state againe to the ancient dignitie, greatnesse, renowme, and felicitie: that after your deceasse you maie leaue a most blessed and famous remembrance among all nations. And for the bringing hereof to passe, we yet againe beséech the king of kings and great prince of princes, to make you as valiant as Dauid, as wise as Salomon, and as zelous of his glorie as Ezechias.

Causes that mooued the making of this suite.

He speaketh in the behalfe of all the rest of like profession and facultie.

Herevnto the duke answered, that he was verie glad to sée such a consent of all the people in the receiuing of him: and that he hoped so to rule and gouerne them, as they should not be disappointed of the hope which they had conceiued of his gouernement, which he would fashion out after the paterne of his predecessors and great vncles, who had gouerned these countries so happilie. And he thanked them for their good will and loue, praieng them to continue the same, and promising to take them into his protection togither with the rest of the people in generall: and that as he had heretofore a singular regard of learned men, so would he be willing to continue the same hereafter.

The monsieur speaketh well whatsoeuer his meaning was.

* After this maner began this great prince to gouerne that people with great authoritie and modestie; and the people to yéeld vnto him verie willing and honorable obedience: and all men hope both generallie and particularlie, that God will giue him the grace so to hold on in that so holie and commendable gouernement, as that by his example he shall shew to all princes and to all others that come after him, how greatlie the iust and lawfull gouernement auaileth: and that the people on their side shall shew what maner of obedience, loue, and constancie is due to good princes: in which vertues there was neuer yet anie people that could skill to surmount them, neither shall anie hereafter, by the helpe of the great God, and euerlasting father of

A good beginning in prince and people.

our

our sauiour Iesus Christ, to whome with the vnitie of the holie spirit be all glorie for euer and euer, Amen.]

Iohn Paine executed at Chelmsford.

Iohn Paine priest being indicted of high treason for words by him spoken, was arreigned and condemned at Chelmsford on the last daie of March, and was there executed on the second daie of Aprill, according to the qualitie of his offense, and as law had awarded.

A blasing starre.

In the moneth of Maie, namelie, on the fifteenth daie at night, about ten of the clocke, a blasing starre appeared, descending in the northwest, the beard whereof streamed into the southeast.

Execution of Thomas Foord, Iohn Shert, and Robert Iohnson priests of the popes order.

On mondaie being the eight and twentith of Maie, Thomas Foord, Iohn Shert, and Robert Iohnson priests, hauing beene before indicted, arreigned, and as well by their owne testimonie, as also sufficient witnesses produced to their faces, found giltie, and condemned for high treason intended, practised, and appointed against hir maiesties most roiall person, as also for the vtter ruine, ouerthrow, and subuersion of hir peaceable and well gouerned realme, themselues being sent as instruments, to deale for and in the behalfe of the pope, in this disloiall and traitorous cause; according as iustice had before determined, were drawne vpon hurdles from the Tower of London to the place appointed for execution; hauing béen so long time spared, by hir maiesties most roiall and princelie regard of mercie, to trie if either the feare of God would take place in them, consideration and respect of their owne duties, mooue them, or the meere loue and accustomed clemencie of hir maiestie might win them, to acknowledge hir to be their lawfull souereigne, and themselues hir subiects bound to serue hir, notwithstanding any pretense or authoritie to the contrarie, and not for matter of their popish superstition. All this notwithstanding they remained giuen ouer to their owne wickednes, and swallowed vp in the gulfe of their vndutifull affection, which caused iustice to step before mercie, committing them to the reward of their lewd and vnnaturall dealing.

To perseuere in wickednes is no constancie but obstinacie.

Consolation ministred to them as they went to their deaths.

All the waie as they were drawne, they were accompanied with diuers zealous and godlie men, who in mild and louing spéeches made knowne vnto them, how iustlie God repaieth the reprobat, how fatherlie againe he receiueth the obedient, how he ouerthroweth the vngodlie in their owne deuises, and protecteth his chosen in all stormes and afflictions. In remembrance of all these, to bethinke themselues of their wickednesses passed, and, to shew such hartie and zealous repentance for the same, that albeit they had so gréeuouslie trespassed, yet in contrite and humble sorrowing they might be gratiouslie receiued into his heauenlie fauour, whome they had mooued and stirred by their vnreuerent regard, to smite and chasten with the rod of his furie. Among which godlie persuasions, maister shiriffe himselfe, both learnedlie and ernestlie labored vnto them, mooning all good occasions he might deuise to change the obstinacie he perceiued in them, into a christianlike humilitie and repentance: but these good indeuors tooke no wished effect, their owne euill disposition so blinded them, that there was no waie for grace to enter.

The shiriffe himselfe trieth what he can doo to conuert them.

When they were come beyond saint Giles in the field, there approched vnto the hurdle one of their owne sect, and a priest (as himselfe had confessed) who in this maner spake vnto the prisoners: O gentlemen be ioifull in the bloud of Iesus Christ, for this is the daie of your triumph and ioie. Being asked whie he vsed such words, he said vnto the prisoners againe; I pronounce vnto you; yea, I pronounce a full remission and pardon vnto your soules. Vsing these and other traitorous spéeches, hold was laid on him. When as maister shiriffe demanded what he was, he answered; He was the voice of a crier in the wildernesse, and that he was sent to prepare the Lords waie. And notwithstanding such meanes of resistance as himselfe vsed, he was deliuered vnto Thomas Norris, perseuant, who brought him vnto Newgate,

He was the eccho of a false and antichristian voice.

gate, where he confessed vnto him that he was a priest, and that he had so long dissembled, as he would now leaue off, and doo so no more.

Being come to the place of execution Thomas Foord was first brought vp into the cart, when as he began in this maner. Whereas I am come hither to die, for matters laid vnto my charge of treason, which should be conspired against the queene, within these two yeares or somewhat more: I giue you to vnderstand, that of anie such matter I am innocent and frée, for that I can prooue my comming into England to be fiue yeares since. Wherevpon maister shiriffe spake vnto him and said; Foord, haue mind on God, and aske him and hir maiestie heartilie forgiuenesse, whome thou hast so highlie offended; thou doost but delude the people, for it is manifestlie knowen how thou art guiltie of the matters laid to thy charge, here be thine owne answers to shew, affirmed vnder thine owne hand, and other witnesses to reprooue thee. Wherevpon *I my selfe was called foorth, who iustified the causes to his face, that at his arreignement was laid to his charge, and he euidentlie and plainelie found guiltie thereof. Then were his answers whereto he had subscribed read vnto him, which is in the booke latelie set foorth by authoritie. Wherevpon he tooke occasion to tell a long circumstance of a certeine question mooued at Oxford, as concerning taking armes against hir maiestie, which horrible treason he séemed to approoue thereby.

Thomas Foord his words touching his innocencie.

*The writer of this pamphlet, who séemed to be acquainted with all their dealings.

Then maister shiriffe willed him to aske hir maiestie forgiuenesse, offering him to stand his friend in atteining hir graces mercie, if he would change his former traitorous mind, to become a true and faithfull subiect, acknowledging hir to be his lawfull souereigne ladie, notwithstanding anie thing that anie pope could saie or doo to the contrarie. Whereto he answered; I haue not offended hir maiestie, but if I haue, I aske hir forgiuenesse and all the world; and in no other treson haue I offended than my religion, which is the catholike faith, wherein I will liue and die. And as for the queenes maiestie, I doo acknowledge hir supremasie in all things temporall, but as concerning ecclesiasticall causes, I denie hir; that onelie belongeth to the vicar of Christ, the pope. In briefe, he granted to nothing, but shewed himselfe an impious and obstinat traitor, and so he remained to the death, refusing to praie in the English toong, mumbling a few Latine praiers, desiring those that were Ex domo Dei to praie with him, and so he died. In the meane time that he hanged, which was vntill he was dead, so great is the mercie of our gratious princesse, Iohn Shert was brought from off the hurdle to the gallowes, where seeing Foord hanging, he began with holding vp his hands, as the papists are woont to doo before their images; O sweet Tom, O happie Tom, O blessed Tom. Then being staied, Foord was cut downe, and caried to the place where his bodie should be quartered. In which time Shert was brought vp into the cart, where looking towards the dead bodie of Foord, he fell downe on his knées, and held vp his hands vnto it, saieng againe: O happie Tom, O blessed Tom, thy swéet soule praie for me; O deare Tom, thy blessed soule praie for me. For which words being rebuked, the executioner lifted him vp on his féet, when as he prepared him to his confession, saieng; I am brought hither to this place, to die a death which is both shamefull and ignominious, for which I thanke thée my Lord God, who framing me to thine owne similitude and likenesse, hast blessed me to this good end. There being staied, because he seemed to prolong the time to small purpose, the shiriffe willed him to remember himselfe, for what cause he was come thither, how he had offended the queenes maiestie, and that he was now to aske hir forgiuenesse. Besides, he might receiue hir princelie mercie; whereto with an hypocriticall outward boldnesse, but an inward fainting feare (as afterward euerie one plainelie beheld) he gaue this answer: What (maister shiriffe) shall I saue this fraile and vile carcasse, and damne mine

A shamelesse negatiue voice to a manifest charge of offense, and euident conuiction.

Iohn Shert his vaine spéeches at the sight of Tom Foords dead bodie dismembred.

Sherts oration to the people iustifieng the forme of a godlie martyres death.

Note Sherts obstinacie.

mine owne soule? No, no, I am a catholike, in that faith I was borne, in that faith will I die, and here shall my bloud seale it.

Then maister shiriffe spake vnto him, saieng; By the waie as we came you swore an oth, for which you willed me to beare witnesse that you were heartilie sorie: now I praie you let me be a witnesse, that you are heartilie sorie for offending the queens maiestie. Whie sir (quoth he) I haue not offended hir without it be in my religion; and if I haue offended hir, then I aske hir forgiuenesse. Maister shiriffe vpon this said vnto him; Is this the fruit of your religion, to kneele to the dead bodie of thy fellow, and to desire his soule to praie for thee? Alas, what can it either profit or hinder thée? Praie thou to God, and he will helpe thée. Maister shiriffe (quoth Shert) this is the true catholike religion, and whosoeuer is not of it is damned. I desire his soule to praie for me, the most glorious virgin Marie to praie for me, and all the holie companie of heauen to praie for me. At which words the people cried; Awaie with the traitor, hang him, hang him. O Shert (quoth maister shiriffe) forsake that whoore of Rome, that wicked Antichrist, with all his abhominable blasphemies and treacheries, and put thy whole confidence in Iesus Christ. Whereto he answered; O maister shiriffe, you little remember the daie when as you and I shall stand both at one barre, and I come as witnesse against you, that you called that holie and blessed vicar of Christ the whoore of Rome. At which words the people cried againe; Hang him, hang him, awaie with him. Then he beganne his Pater noster in Latine, and before he had fullie ended two petitions of it he fell into the Créed, and then to the Pater noster againe, afterward he said the Aue Maria, which doone, knocking himselfe on the breast, saieng, Iesus esto mihi Iesus, the cart was drawen awaie, and he committed to the mercie of God. But then, to manifest that his former boldnesse was but méere dissembling and hypocrisie, he lifted vp his hands, and caught hold on the halter: so that euerie one perceiued his faire outward shew, and his foule inward disfigured nature, also how loth he was and vnwilling to die. Whereby he shewed that he was not indued with the audacitie and stout resolution of the heathen, who for morall vertues sake cast themselues into dangers, manie times deadlie; holding opinion, that he beareth but a counterfeit shew of vertue that shrinketh at anie torment, at anie hazard, at anie death, and therefore said:

Shert is peremptorie in his spéech to iustifie his religion.

Hudling vp of praiers mangled and péeced togither after the popish maner.

——— virtus
Per scopulos durum fortis anhelat iter.

Robert Iohnson being brought vp into the cart, maister shiriffe, according as he had before, both declared vnto him hir maiesties mercie if he would repent; and also willed him to be sorie for his offenses against hir: whereof he séemed to make small estimation, denieng the treasons according as the others had doone, and appealing likewise vpon his religion. Then was the * writer hereof called foorth, who gaue him to vnderstand, how notablie he was approoued guiltie at his arreignment, and euerie matter sufficientlie handled, how according as the rest were, he was confounded to his face. Wherevnto he would make no other answer, but said; Well well (quoth he) calling the partie by his name, God forgiue thee. Then were his answers read vnto him, as they had béen before to the other two, he not yéelding deniall, but said he spake them and would doo it againe. Then was Athanasius Creed mooued to him, which he granted to be the catholike faith, whereof the pope was vicar, and that there was no other catholike faith, but onelie his. Whie (quoth the preacher) the pope is not named in it. I know not that (quoth he againe) I haue not read it. Then maister shiriffe desired him to saie his praiers in English, and he with all the companie would praie with him: which he refusing to doo, in his Latine praiers the cart was drawne awaie, and he committed to Gods mercie.

* Who séemed acquainted with all their practises.

And

And thus was iustice ministred, and that execution to Gods glorie, and the ease of the common wealths gréefe dispatched.

On the wednesdaie following, which was the thirtith daie of Maie, in the same maner as I haue before expressed, Luke Kirbie, William Filbie, Thomas Coteham, and Laurence Richardson, were committed from the tower of London, to the place of execution; and as the other were on the mondaie before associated and accompanied with diuerse learned and godlie preachers; euen so were these, as to saie, master Charke, master Herne, and diuerse others, who all the waie applied such godlie and christian persuasions vnto them (as had not the child of perdition so maruellouslie blinded them) were of force to haue woone them into grace and mercie. The spéeches they vsed to them by the waie were néedlesse here to set downe, for that they did especiallie concerne causes to root out that wicked opinion in them, and to establish a sound and perfect faith in place thereof; but euen as it was in the other, so it did agrée in them. But Luke Kirbie séemed to chalenge the * writer hereof as sufficient to prooue nothing against him, which he did bicause it was supposed he was not there present: but what passed betwéene him and the said writer you shall heare hereafter. They being come to the place of execution, William Filbie was brought vp into the cart, where conforming himselfe vnto the death, his wicked tresons were mooued vnto him, which obstinatelie and impudentlie he denied. Then was he demanded if he would acknowledge the quéenes maiestie his souereigne princesse, and supreme head vnder Christ of the church of England? No (quoth he) I will acknowledge no other head of the church than the pope onlie. Wherevpon his answers were read vnto him, and he not denieng them in anie point, euen as they were wicked and impious, euen so he remained in them, still appealing that it was for his religion that he died, and not for anie treason. But the contrarie was prooued vnto his face, as well by sufficient proofes, as also by the traitorous answers, whereto he had subscribed with his owne hand. At last, as he was desired, he praied for the queenes maiestie, that God might blesse hir, and incline hir heart to mercie toward the catholikes, of which societie he was one. Then they opening his bosome, found there two crosses, which being taken from him were held vp, and shewed to all the people, beside his crowne was shauen. So after a few silent Latine praiers to himselfe, the cart was drawne awaie.

Execution of Luke Kirbie, William Filbie, Thomas Coteham, and Laurence Richardson, préests of the popes order.

* Who was an obseruer (as he pretended) of all their doings.

Most manifest and vndoubted tokens of a resolute votarie to the pope his rifral.

The next was Luke Kirbie, who being brought vp into the cart, offered long circumstance of spéech, as concerning that he was come thither to die, hoping to be saued in the bloud of Christ: and much matter, which were néedlesse here to rehearse. Afterward, he began to saie, that there were none could approoue him to be a traitor: neither had he at anie time attempted anie thing preiudiciall to hir maiestie, and that his aduersaries, naming them by speciall name, could not vpbraid him with anie thing. Whervpon master shiriffe told him that one of them was there, and asked him if he would haue him called to him. I sée him (quoth he) yonder, and let him saie what he can against me. Then was the * partie bidden come somewhat néere him, to whom he began in vehement sort to saie, Consider with thy selfe how vntrulie thou hast charged me, with that which I neuer said nor thought. Besides, thou knowest that when thou camest to the Tower to me, before master lieutenant, and an other who was there present then, thou was demanded what thou thoughtest of me, and what thou couldest saie against me? When as thou madest answer, thou knewest no harme by me, neither couldest thou at anie time saie otherwise of me than well: wherevpon thou wast asked, wherefore thou reportedst otherwise at my arreignement? Then the shiriffe said vnto him; Who can beare thée witnes of this? Quoth he againe; He spake it before master lieutenant, and an other was by then. Then was he demanded what other he was that was present? Which (after long trifling) he said was a kéeper, and named him. Whereto the said writer made answer

* Th' obseruer and writer of all their plots and deuises, as he pretended.

One of these two must néeds be in a fowle errour: for both holding contraries could not speake truth.

swer as followeth. Master Kirbie, I wish and desire you, in the fear of God, to remember your selfe: for this is not a place to report an vntruth, neither to slander anie man otherwise than you are able to prooue. When as I came vnto the Tower, and made knowne to master lieutenant for what cause I was sent to speake with you, you were brought into a chamber by your kéeper: and what I then mooued, your selfe verie well knoweth, as concerning my allowance being the popes scholer: where what answer you made, I haue trulie, and according as you answered, alreadie set downe in print. Master lieutenant neither mooued anie such words to me, as here you reported, and I call God to my witnesse, that not a motion of any such matter was once offered to me by master lieutenant, or by your kéeper. Your selfe then vttered, that at sundrie times in the seminarie there were diuerse lewd words spoken, which might better haue beene spared; and denied that you were not in my chamber, when as I lieng sicke in my bed, the traitorous speeches were mooued by them, which were then present, whereof your selfe was one, with diuerse other matters which you spake vnto me, which master lieutenant himselfe heard, and your kéeper being present. But if this be true which you saie, that it may be prooued there were either such words mooued vnto me, or anie such answer made, I offer to susteine what punishment the law shall affoord me. Then falling to an other matter, for that this redounded to his owne confusion (as master lieutenant can well witnesse) he began to talke of my being at Rome, what frèendship he had shewed vnto me, and had doone the like vnto a number of Englishmen, whome he well knew not to be of that religion, both by his owne purse, as also by frèending them to some of the popes chamber, he made conueiance for them thense sometime going fortie miles with them: when (quoth he) had my dealings bin knowne, I should hardlie haue bin well thought of: and I knew well inough that you were neuer bent to that religion, albeit they thought the contrarie. Yea I knew well inough when you departed thense, that your disposition was contrarie to ours, and concealed it to my selfe.

Repetitio beneficij est exprobratio.

Master shiriffes words vttered by the waie of interception.

O Kirbie (quoth master shiriffe) this is verie vnlike, that you could affoord such fauour to anie, who were contrarie to that religion that you professed. No, no, if you knew anie such there, you would rather helpe to persecute them than pitie them, as it is the nature of you all. M. Kirbie (quoth this writer) it is verie vnlike that you had anie such secret knowledge of me, either of my religion, or how I was secretlie bent as you sèeme here to professe; for had I bèene such a one as you would persuade these here you knew me to be, would you haue deliuered me those silken pictures hallowed by the pope which you did: and moreouer, make knowen vnto me sundrie of your friends here in England, to whome I should conueie them? O sir (quoth he) I confesse indéed I deliuered to thée such pictures, but thou knowest I gaue thee two Iulies to go buy them with, I did it bicause I knew thée to be such a one, and therefore I did misdoubt thee, for I would not credit thée with my hallowed pictures. M. Kirbie (quoth the other) to denie your owne dooings is maruellous impudencie: did not you in your chamber deliuer me certeine silken pictures, which you told me at Stukléis being there, were hallowed by the pope, and what indulgences were alowed them? One of them, which was a crucifix, you gaue me; the other you willed me deliuer to your freends at Rheimes and in England. And bicause they were too few (as in déed I think there were no more but fiue) you gave me two Iulies, to go into the citie to buie more, which I did; and hauing brought them to you, thrée or foure of the fairest you tooke from me, promising to get them hallowed at the next benediction: the other in déed you gaue me, and I tooke them with me. How saie you now Kirbie (quoth master shiriffe) would you haue credited him with such matters, had you not supposed him to be one of your owne sect? Master shiriffe (quoth he) what I haue said, I know verie well. And after he was gone from Rome I sent

This was great and verie mercifull forbearance to let all this talke passe to and fro at the place of execution.

Men indéed vse to repose their trust in such, whom they suppose to be like themselues.

fiftéene shillings to Rheimes to be deliuered to him, but he was departed thense towards England, before it came.

Then master shiriffe said to him againe; You stand vpon these points verie much, which there is none that are here, but will iudge to be vntrue: thou hearest what he hath said vnto thée, and we haue heard that thou deniedst euerie thing. What saiest thou to thy treasons, wherefore thou art come hither to die? Wilt thou be sorie for them? aske God and hir maiestie forgiuenesse, for she is mercifull, and we will carrie thee backe againe if we shall perceiue in thée anie such motion, that thou wilt forsake thy former wickednesse, and become a good and faithfull subiect. At these words the people among themselues almost generallie said: O exceeding mercie and fauour! what a gratious princesse haue we, who affordeth such mercie vnto those that haue so ill deserued? Can there be a princesse of greater pitie, of more clemencie or tendernesse to be found in all the world? No.

Mercie offered to Kirbie notwithstanding his conuiction of treason.

Principe nil ista mitius orbis habet.

Then Field the preacher in the booke read his answers to him, whereto he had subscribed with his owne hand: Whether the pope might lawfullie depose hir maiestie, or had anie authoritie to take the title of her crowne and dignitie awaie from hir? Wherto Kirbie answered: This is a matter disputable in schooles, and therefore I may not iudge of it. I thinke this with my selfe, that if anie prince fall by infidelitie into turcisme, atheisme, paganisme, or anie such like, that the pope hath authoritie to depose such a prince. And being asked, if hir maiestie were in anie such? He said, he knew his owne conscience. An other preacher being by said vnto him, that the prince receiued his authoritie from God, and that he was to be suppressed by none, but onelie by God. Againe, (that Salomon said; By me (meaning by God) kings reigne, and princes decrée iustice. By me princes rule, and the nobles and all the iudges of the earth. Againe, S. Paule saith: Let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God, and the powers that be, are ordeined of God. Whosoeuer therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist, shall receiue to themselues iudgement. For princes are not to be feared for good works but for euill. Wilt thou then be without feare of the power? doo well, so shalt thou purchase praise of the same. For he is the minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou doo euill, feare, for he beareth a sword not for naught, for he is the minister of God to take vengeance on him that dooth euill. If then the pope be a soule, he is to be obedient to the higher powers. And being a subiect vnto God, as all other princes be, he must not take vpon him what belongeth to God. As for the authoritie that hir maiestie hath, she hath receiued it from God; neither is the pope, or anie earthlie prince to depriue hir thereof, but onelie God. Againe, when Iesus was brought before Pilat, Pilat said vnto him; Knowest thou not that I haue power to crucifie thée, and haue power to loose thée? To the which Iesus answered: Thou couldest haue no power at all against me, except it were giuen thée from aboue. Thus maie you sée, that what prince soeuer ruleth vpon earth, hath his power and authoritie onelie from God: and not that anie mortall man can vse the authoritie of a prince at his pleasure. How saie you to this? Wherto he would make no answer, but séemed to demand of them, if they would denie, that if a prince were in paganisme, atheisme, or gouerned by infidelitie: that such a prince might not lawfullie de deposed? Which the learned preachers answered in learned sort, approouing that as the power was of God, so princes were not to be deposed by anie, but onelie by God.

To such as are proditoriouslie minded it is a matter disputable: but to a good subiect a matter determinable.

Prou. 8. 15, 16.

Rom. 13. 1, 2, 3, 4.

This counsell of the apostle they had not the grace to follow.

Iohn 19. 10, 11.

This demand implieth a kind of suspicion or secret charge that hir maiestie is such a one.

No (quoth Kirbie againe) hath it not béene disputed in schooles for these fiue hundred yeares, and will you denie it? O maister Crowleie, maister Crowleie; and there paused: as if that maister Crowleie had agreed with him in such a monstruous error. But maister Crowleie himselfe gaue one to vnderstand, that at such time as he

he conferred with the said Kirbie in the tower, about the same argument, that his answer was vnto him: If anie prince fell into anie such kind of error, that prince were corrigible, but of whome? Not of anie earthlie prince, but of that heauenlie prince, who gaue him his authoritie, and seeing him abuse it anie waie, correcteth him in his iustice. For by his attributing to the pope this authoritie, he witnessed him to be antichrist, in that he will depose princes at his pleasure, and exalt him selfe aboue all that is called God, and forgiue men their sinnes at his pleasure likewise. All this was not sufficient to mollifie the obstinate mind of Kirbie, but he would persist still in this diuelish imagination. Maister shiriffe and the preachers, séeing him wauering, and not able to yield anie reason for his arrogant opinion, laboured as much as in them laie to change it: when all would not serue, they desired him in hartie and humble maner to praie vnto God to aske hir maiestie forgiuenesse, for the treasons wherein he had offended hir. Wherevnto he answered, that he had not offended in anie treason, to his knowledge. Wherevpon they shewed him his treasons, which were adiudged by the people woorthie of greater punishment, than he was at that time to suffer; yet would not he acknowledge them, but praied to God for hir maiestie, that she might long rule in hir authoritie, to confound all hir enemies: and that his hart was free from anie treason to hir maiestie. Then preparing himselfe vnto his praiers, the preachers desired him to praie in English with them, and to saie a praier after them; wherein, if he could find anie fault, he should be resolued thereof. O (quoth he againe) you and I were not one in faith, therefore I thinke I should offend God, if I should praie with you: at which words, the people began to crie, Awaie with him: so he saieng his Pater noster in Latine, ended his life.

Not of the pope then, belike, who is not to péere into other princes prouinces, &c.

Vox populi Dei, vox fertur esse Dei.

Then was Laurence Richardson brought vp into the cart, and to him Thomas Coteham to be executed togither. But Coteham séemed to vtter such words as though there had béene hope he would haue forsaken his wickednesse, so that the halter was vntied, and he brought downe out of the cart againe. In which time Laurence Richardson prepared him to death, confessing himselfe a catholike, and that he would beléeue in all things as the catholike church of Rome did, vnto the pope he allowed the onelie supremasie. In which traitorous opinion, after certeine Latine praiers, he was committed to God. Then was Coteham brought vp to the cart againe, and the good opinion had of him before changed into that obstinat nature that was in them all, saieng to master shiriffe, that before he came into England, he was armed for India, and thither if he might be suffered he would passe with as much conuenient spéed as might be. Then looking to the bodie of Laurence Richardson, whereon the executioner was vsing his office, he lifted vp his hands and said; O blessed Laurence praie for me, thy blessed soule Laurence praie for me: for which words both the preachers and the people rebuked him, telling him that he ought to praie to none, but to God onelie; all helpe of man was but in vaine. Whereto he answered, he was assured that he could praie for him. In breefe, his treasons being mooued to him, he denied all, albeit his owne hand writing was there to affirme it. He praied for hir maiestie, and said his Pater noster and Aue Maria; and as the cart was drawing awaie he said; In manus tuas * Domine commendo spiritum meum, and then he died. Thus did the broome of iustice swéepe awaie these noisome cobwebs, noisome both to church and commonwealth, as being of the diuels hatching, but nurssed and fostered of poperie, to insnare and trap séelie soules, as the spider dooth the flie: from whome the Lord God deliuer euerie member of his church.

Laurence Richardson and Thomas Coteham their gestures and spéeches at their deaths.

For he was not so furnished for England as to win soules so easilie to papistrie.

He should haue said Demon.

On the second daie of Iune, Philip Prise was hanged in Fléetstréet for killing one of the shiriffes sergeants that had arrested him. This man at his death, as inwardlie touched with sorrow for the offense which he had committed and died, gaue such apparant tokens and notes of a repentant mind; that partlie with his spéeches which

Philip Price hanged in Fléetstréet for killing of a sergeant.

were

were patheticall, and partlie with his teares which were plentifull, as also with his vehement sighs and greeuous grones, ioined with diuerse other gestures (great signes of inward grace) he so mooued the beholders, that manie which beheld him, pitied his wofull end, most yea in maner all (where of some were such as a man would haue thought had neuer a teare to shed at such a sight, hauing viewed diuerse the like and more lamentable spectacles) with wet eies beheld him, and yet in heart reioised that he died reconciled to God. On the eight and twentith of Iune, Peregrine Bartie lord Willoughbie of Grobie appointed ambassador to Frederike the second king of Denmarke with the garter, wherevnto he had béene elected and chosen a long time before, tooke his leaue of the quéenes maiestie at Gréenewich: with whome sir Gilbert Dethicke aliàs Garter principall king of armes was ioined in commission, for the inuesting of the said king into the order; and Robert Glouer aliàs Summerset herald was also present, and gaue his attendance in the same voiage, as likewise did a competent number of gentlemen and yeomen, in all to the number of six and fiftie persons, besides mariners, &c. The said lord ambassador prepared himselfe towards Kingstone vpon Hull, where he imbarked with his whole traine on the fourtéenth daie of Iulie, and prosperouslie arriued at Elsemore in Denmarke on the one and twentith daie of the same moneth, where he was honorablie interteined.

Lord Willoughbie ambassador sent into Denmarke.

On the thirtéenth daie of August he presented himselfe before the king in his castell of Croneborough, and made his first spéech vnto him in Latine; which spéech being ended, the lord Willoughbie deliuered vnto the king hir māiesties letters, and withall the commission for the kings inuesture into that honorable order of the garter. Which letters the king opened, and deliuered them to Henrie Ramelis his chancellor for Germanie to read, whom he commanded to answer my lords former oration. From the king my lord was conueied to the quéenes presence, vnto whome also he deliuered hir maiesties letters with salutations. The next daie being thursdaie the fouretéenth of August, the king roiallie prepared, receiued the robes of the order with his owne hands, and with great contentment accepted and ware the garter, the collar, and the George, when as my lord concluded the whole dedication with sundrie wellwishings. In the end whereof he put the king in mind of the oth and thankefull acceptation of the order to be testified by a publike instrument, as was before promised, wherevnto the king answered by his chancellor Nicholas Kaas with manie effectuall words: and immediatlie in signe of ioie, a great volee was discharged of all the great shot in his castell, and the lord ambassador with all his traine was roiallie feasted and rewarded. On thursdaie the sixtéenth daie of August, the king tooke my lord ambassador foorth on hunting, two leagues from Elsemore, and there in the dinner time vttered manie louing spéeches. And after, to wit, on the one and twentith of September the lord ambassador with all his traine embarked at Emden, and arriued at Bromeholme in Norffolke on thursdaie the seauen and twentith daie of September.

The lord ambassadors oration in Latine to the king of Denmarke, &c.

The king of Denmarke inuested into the right honorable order of the garter.

On the nineteenth daie of Iulie certeine ferkins of gunpowder to the number of seauen, and as manie or more ferkins of sturgeon laden in a car vpon Gallele keie néere vnto the Tower of London, some small portion of the same powder being shed on the ground, the horsse in the said carre stroke fire with his foot, and fired all togither, where-through the sturgeon was blowen awaie, some into the Thames, some elsewhere: one ferkin was driuen through a lome wall that was boorded ouer, but all was spoiled and lost, the crane on the wharffe with the houses near adioining shattered, manie men and horsses sore blasted; the thrée men and seauen horsses died thereof. On the twelfe daie of August there arose a great tempest of lightening, thunder, whirlewind, and raine, with hailestones fashioned like to the rowels of spurs two or thrée inches about in the countie of Norffolke, betweene the market townes of north Walsham and Worsted (the towne wherein the making of woorsteds commonlie

Misfortune by gunpowder.

Strange tempest in Norffolke.

called Norwich woorsted was first practised and tooke their beginning) which tempest beat the corne flat vnto the ground, rent vp manie great trees, and shiuered them in pieces, or woond them like withies. At Hening more than a mile from Worsted, the west doore of the church, weieng more than thrée hundred pound weight, was lifted off the hookes, and throwne ouer the font, within one yard of the chancell doore; the top of the church was riuen vp, and the lead as it were blowen awaie; fiue webs of lead were ruffled vp togither, like as they had béene clouts of linnen cloth, and blowen into the field without the church-yard. Also at east Russen were manie barnes blowen downe, and houses vncouered.

An. Reg. 25.

This yeare Michaelmasse terme was reiourned from the vtas thereof, vntill the fourth returne of the same called Mense Michaelis, and from the said returne vntill the returne commonlie called Crastino animarum next insuing, and then reiorned from Westminster to the castell of Hertford in Hertfordshire, there to begin in the said Crastino animarum, and to be continued till the end of the same terme, which was doone accordinglie, where was plentie of good viands to be had for monie, but lodging hard and scant; besides the long and plashie waie that manie had vnto their hosts, and then peraduenture sléepe in the chimneie corner, or vpon the hard boords with a pillow vnder their heads. Was not this a good amends?

Terme kept at Hertford.

Thames water conueied ouer saint Magnus stéeple.

This yeare Peter Moris frée denison, hauing made an engine for that purpose, conueied Thames water in pipes of lead ouer the stéeple of saint Magnus church, at the north end of London bridge, and so into diuerse mens houses in Thames stréet, new Fish stréet and Grasse street, vp vnto the north west corner of Leaden hall (the highest ground of the citie of London) where the waste of the first maine pipe ran first this yeare one thousand fiue hundred eightie and two on Christmasse éeuen: which maine pipe being since at the charges of the citie brought vp into a standard there made for that purpose, and diuided into foure seuerall spouts ran foure waies, plentifullie seruing to the vse of the inhabitants néere adioining that will fetch the same into their houses, and also clensed the chanels of the stréets, north towards Bishopsgate, east towards Aldgate, south towards the Bridge, and west towards the Stocks market. No doubt a great commoditie to that part of the citie, and would be farre greater, if the said water were mainteined to run continuallie, or at the least, at euerie tide some reasonable quantitie, as at the first it did; but since is much aslaked; thorough whose default I know not, sith the engine is sufficient to conueie water plentifullie: which being well considered by Barnard Randolph esquier, common sergeant of the citie of London: he being aliue, gaue and deliuered to the companie of the fishmongers in London a round sum to be imploied toward the conducting of Thames water for the good seruice of the commonwealth in conuenient order. Other legacies verie liberallie and bountifullie he gaue by his testament to be laid out in works of charitie, as I haue noted more at large hereafter in due place, vpon occasion of recording the daie of his death. The publication of whose acts, as also of diuerse others, if they may mooue the rich of this world to part with some small portion of their store to the like christian vses, I shall be glad, and thinke my paines worth the printing: otherwise I saie with one that persuading this age to walke worthie of their calling, and doubting his words should bebut wind, concluded with this interrogatiue distichon:

Iustice Randolph his charitie.

Sed quid verba miser non proficientia perdo?
Quid iuuat in vacuos missa loquela notos?

Publike lecture of surgerie founded in London, and presentlie red (as also in the life of the

This yeare 1582 was there instituted and first founded a publike lecture or lesson in surgerie, to begin to be read in the college of physicians in London, in Anno 1584, the sixt daie of Maie, against that time new reedified in a part of the house that doctor Linacre gaue by testament to them, by Iohn Lumleie lord Lumleie, and Richard Caldwell, doctor in physicke, to the honour of God, the common profit of her ma-

iesties

iesties subiects, and good fame, with increase of estimation and credit of all the surgians of this realme. The reader whereof to be a doctor of physicke, and of good practise and knowledge, and to haue an honest stipend, no lesse than those of the vniuersities erected by king Henrie the eight, namelie of law, diuinitie, and physicke, and lands assured to the said college for the maintenance of the publike lesson: wherevnto such statutes be annexed as be for the great commoditie of those which shall giue and incline themselues to be diligent hearers for the obteining of knowledge in surgerie, as whether he be learned or vnlearned that shall become an auditor or hearer of the lecture, he may find himselfe not to repent the time so imploied. First twise a weeke thorough out the yeare; to wit, on wednesdaies and fridaies, at ten of the clocke till eleuen, shall the reader read three quarters of an houre in Latine, and the other quarter in English, wherein that shall be plainlie declared for those that vnderstand not Latine, what was said in Latine. And the first yeare to read Horatius Morus tables, an epitome or briefe handling of all the whole art of surgerie, that is, of swellings or apostems, wounds, vlcers, bonesetting, and healing of bones broken, termed commonlie fractions, and to read Oribasius of knots and Galen of bands, such workes as haue beene long hid, and are scarcelie now adaies among the learned knowen, and yet are (as the anatomies) to the first enterers in surgerie and nouices in physicke; but amongst the ancient writers and Grecians well knowne. At the end of the yeare in winter to dissect openlie in the reading place all the bodie of man especiallie the inward parts for fiue daies togither, as well before as after dinner; if the bodies may so last without annoie.

founder) by doctor Forster, to his high praise and credit.

What exercises are to be followed in the said college by the will of the founder.

The first yeares exercises.

The second yeare to read Tagaultius institutions of surgerie, and onelie of swellings or apostems, and in the winter to dissect the trunke onelie of the bodie, namelie from the head to the lowest part where the members are, and to handle the muscles especiallie. The third yeare to read of wounds onelie of Tagaultius, and in winter to make publike dissection of the head onelie. The fourth yeare to read of vlcers onlie the same author, and to anatomize or dissect a leg and an arme for the knowledge of muscles, sinewes, arteries, veines, gristles, ligaments, and tendons. The fift year to read the sixt book of Paulus Ægineta, and in winter to make anatomie of a skeleton, and therwithall to shew and declare the vse of certeine instruments; as Scamnum Hippocratis, and other instruments for setting in of bones. The sixt yeare to read Holerius of the matter of surgerie, as of medicines for surgians to vse. And the seuenth yeare to begin againe, and continue still. A godlie and charitable erection doubtlesse, such as was the more needfull, as hitherto hath beene the want and lacke so hurtfull: sith that onelie in ech vniuersities by the foundation of the ordinarie and publike lessons, there is one of physicke, but none of surgerie, and this onelie of surgerie and not of physicke, I meane so as physicke is now taken separatelie from surgerie, and that part which onelie vseth the hand as it is sorted from the apothecarie. So that now England may reioice for those happie benefactors and singular welwillers to their countrie, who furnish hir so in all respects, that now she may as compare for the knowledge of physicke so by meanes to come to it, with France, Italie, and Spaine, and in no case behind them but for a lecture in simples, which God at his pleasure may procure, in mouing some hereafter in like motion and instinct to be as carefull and beneficiall as these were to the helpe and furtherance of their countrie. ¶ At the publication of this foundation, which was celebrated with a goodlie assemblie of doctors collegiats and licentiats, as also some masters of surgerie, with other students, some whereof had beene academicall; doctor Caldwell so aged that his number of yeeres with his white head adding double reuerence to his person (whereof I may well saie no lesse than is left written of a doctor of the same facultie verie famous while he liued,

The third yeares, and fourth yeares exercises.

The fift and sixt yeares exercises, and so to continue with Repetitio principij.

Ab. Fl. Spectator & auditor.

Conspicienda ætas, sed & ars prouectior annis,
Famáque Pæonio non renuenda choro)

Doctor Gifford president of the college of physicians.

euen he, notwithstanding his age and impotencie, made an oration in Latine to the auditorie, the same by occasion of his manifold debilities vnfinished at the direction specialle of the president, who (after a few words, shortlie and sweetlie vttered) gaue occasion and opportunitie to D. Forster, then and yet the appointed lecturer, to deliuer his matter, which he discharged in such methodicall maner, that ech one present indued with iudgement, conceiued such hope of the doctor, touching the performance of all actions incident vnto him by that place, as some of them continued his auditors in all weathers, and still hold out; whose diligence he requiteth with the imparting of further knowledge than the said publike lecture dooth affoord. When the assemblie was dissolued, and the founder accompanied home, diligent care was taken for the due preferring of this established exercise: insomuch that D. Caldwell, and D. Forster, to furnish the auditors with such bookes as he was to read, caused to be printed the epitome of Horatius Morus first in Latine: then in English, which was translated by the said doctor Caldwell. But before it was halfe perfected, the good old doctor fell sicke, and as a candle goeth out of it selfe, or a ripe apple falling from the trée, so departed he out of this world at the doctors commons, where his vsuall lodging was; and was verie worshipfullie buried. But of his death hereafter, in the yeare 1584: where the daie of his decease being mentioned, matter worth the reading shall be remembred.]

Francis of Valois attempteth diuerse exploits the issue whereof fell out to his misfortune.

Francis of Valois, the kings onlie brother, duke of Louthier, Brabant, Limbourgh, Gelders, Anion, Alanson, &c: earle of Flanders, Holland, Zealand, &c: marquesse of the sacred empire, lord of Friseland, &c: hauing now indifferentlie well (with his good successes had in the vittelling, and remooving the séeges of Cambreie and Lochem, and winning the townes of Alaft and Endonan) gotten the harts of the people, and by that meanes placed his Frenchmen in Dunkirke, Winexburgh, Dixmioe, Dermond, Vilnord and other places, thought now (vsing yoong and euill counsell) to make himselfe a more absolute prince, as though it were too base a thing for his highnesse to rule with the aduise of the estates of the countries. Wherfore hauing come to him out of France the marshall Biron, with great troops of Swissers and Frenchmen, he now causeth them all at one time; to wit, on the seuenth of Ianuarie, to inuade so manie townes as they could make themselues maisters of, which with them tooke effect in the aboue named townes, but at Bridges they were put out. And at Antwerpe on the said seuenth daie, vnder the pretense to muster his armie, without the towne, vpon the verie noone time of the daie, when the citizens were at dinner, he causeth two gates (as vncerteine by which he would go) to be opened for him, and the chaines ouerthwart the stréets to be vnchained, which (for some suspicion had of the Frenchmen without) were locked: then he issued out with all his court and a great number of gentlemen, verie braue, mounted on great horsses aboue two hundred, manie of them being secretlie armed vnder their garments, and comming to saint Iames gate. At the bridge without met him certeine of his companies of horssemen and footmen, who staied themselues on both sides the waie, making as it were a lane for the duke to passe by with a few of his: who being past them, made a token to them with his cap, to inuade the citie: wherevpon his men killed the watch, with the coronell Vierendell, that stood bareheaded to sée their prince passe. Then entred the gate seuenteene ensignes of footmen, and foure coronels of horssemen, the Swissers following, and the duke crieng to them, March, march, La ville est gagnee, mais me pillon point. Being thus stronglie entred they cried, Ville gaguee viue la messe, and tooke in on both sides the bulworks, turned the ordinance towards the citie, and came by diuers stréets almost to the midst of the citie. The citizens at dinner hearing the alarum, verie furiouslie issued out, with such weapons as first came to their hands, and set vpon them, first, by the bylanes, other some chained vp the streets, and so barred them from going anie further. They turne all against the soldiors that were entred the citie with most violent shot. In the

The monsieurs ambition spreading like a canker.

The French gentlemen ware armor vnder their garments: with good meaning no doubt.

The monsieur was glad to retire notwithstanding this confident clamor.

the meane space the citizens néere and about the gate with their harquebussers bestow their small shot as thicke as haile out of windowes vpon the gate, where first they killed a horsse, and then diuerse men entring, which troubled the other following that a great number was euen in the verie gate killed, and so heaped one vpon another that the gate was stopped; wherby all that were entred within the citie, in lesse than in one houres space were killed or taken prisoners. Wherein the citizens behaued themselues so valiantlie, and so manlie, that manie for lacke of leaden pellets, tooke their monie out of their purses, bowed it with their teeth, and put it in stead of pellets in their harquebussers:

Sic sese & sobolem charam, cum vxore mariti
Defendunt, Gallis ne præda voracibus essent.

In this skirmish of so little space were slaine aboue 1530 Frenchmen horssemen and footmen told at the burieng, and more than two thousand prisoners taken, amongst the which were the earle Fernaugus, the bishop of Constance and manie other notable personages. And amongst the dead were the earle of saint Agnau and his sonne, the earle of Chasteaurousse, the sonne of the marshall of France Biron: monsieur de Saisonall gouernor of Vilnard, the sonne of the lord Miraubeau, and others. A maruellous act of citizens in their defense without anie soldiors, against old soldiors and tried men of armes, and number of so great nobilitie. A maruellous continencie and clemencie of rough citizens against their enimies, in keeping their hands from killing of prisoners whome they had in their power, and surelie a woonderfull worke of God.

Noblemen and other French taken prisoners.

Noblemen of France slaine.

The prince of Orange with others had refused to go foorth, and his danger was not small; with other gentlemen more, and lords of the religion. The prince Dolphin, the earle Lamall and others were with the duke lookers on, and intercessors for their friends whom they reckoned dead. After that fact, the duke with his campe was forced for lacke of vittels and necessaries, to retire him with his armie toward Machlin, and from thense with great difficultie passing great waters, with losse of manie a man got to Dermond, where he was kept in by the generall Norris, with three and twentie ensignes Englishmen and Scots, so that he lacked vittels and necessaries, whereby he was forced, as also to haue his prisoners restored, to enter into a treatie with the estates, to surrender all the townes by his men possessed, and to retire him to Dunkirke: where further with the estates by intercession of princes was hoped a reconcilement to be made. But he seeing the countrie vnwilling, and finding himselfe sicke (as it was thought) of melancholie, he retired from Dunkirke toward France. And so as he was retired, the prince of Parma for king Philip, caused Dunkirke to be besieged, few Frenchmen left within it. And as the states Generall and the prince of Orange would haue sent thither to rescue the towne, the marshall Biron with his Frenchmen and Swissers, the Flemings chéeflie they of Gaunt, partlie for hatred of the French, and partlie that manie now were become Spanish, would not suffer him to come ouer into Flanders, whereby Dunkirke was forced to surrender; and this losse being imputed to the duke, increased his sickenesse, so that he died at Chasteau Thierie the tenth of Iulie 1583, and was roiallie buried at saint Diones by Paris.

Francis duke of Anion and Alanson retireth.

Generall Norris with 23 ensignes.

Francis duke of Alanson and of Anion sickeneth.

¶ But before we passe the absolute commemoration of the monsieur, sith in some remembrances we haue atteined to a perfection, it shall not be amisse héere to annex the manner of his sicknesse, as also the verie speeches which he vttered, as they are reported by Iames Berson Parisien, preacher to the French king, and to the said monsieur, in a discourse by him published, vnder the title of A funeral complaint, &c. Wherein whatsoeuer is spoken, deserueth the greater credit, for that the said Berson was vpon his owne certeine knowledge able to giue out the truth, and therefore intimateth to the readers of his treatise, that they are not to looke for either

Abr. Fl. ex lib. cui tit. Regret funebre, contenant le discours de la mort de Monseigneur fils de France, frere vnicque, du roy.

flatteries, or hautie, proud, and lieng arguments: he being the man who assuredlie was able to answer and beare witnes of the pietie, religion, and departure of monsieur, a sonne of France, and the kings onelie brother in the fauor of God, as the same vpon whome he reposed himselfe concerning his conscience, soule, and saluation; and hauing from the beginning of his sickenes administred vnto him the holie sacrament, and did assist him to the end. You are therefore to vnderstand, that after *my said lords crosse haps and danger of life in the low countries, and his returne into his duchie of Castle Thierie, his naturall and brotherlie resolution taken to go alone to Paris, there to yéeld himselfe to his maiesties armes, a déed to be accounted and taken as a strong bulworke against whatsoeuer the popular and enuious standers: after his returne home he conceiued an extreame contentation in dailie hearing of sermons, yea not satisfied with the onelie hearing of them, he greatlie delited to talke of the same, also to haue the same repeated vnto him. Thus did our Lord in conuenient time dispose his soule, which he purposed shortlie to visit in his next sickenesse, and that was an ague that continued without equalitie vntill the thirteenth of March, and then he fell into so strange a iudgement, that all euen the physicians began to doubt of him. For a flux of bloud issued so continuallie out of his nose and mouth, that they were still forced to hold him a basen, whereinto he voided the pure and cléere bloud. When all men were as it were astonied therat, himselfe began with a perfect mind and vnderstanding to saie; My friends, helpe me, will you suffer a christian prince thus to die? Now is the time come that God will call me to account: cause monsieur Berson to come hither.

* Meaning Berson the monsieurs preacher and the writer of this discourse.

The maner of the monsieurs sickenesse.

When I came, ha monsieur Berson (said this good prince) I am dead, I must acknowledge my God; my frend flatter me not, I will reconcile my selfe. Alas I am a great sinner, will not God haue mercie on me? Will not he forgiue me? I answered, There is no dout my lord but vpon humbling yourselfe before his holie maiestie with contrition, you shall obteine remission of your sinnes. My lord, you are verie sicke, I will not flatter with you, but your whole life and your selfe resteth in the hands of God. Sicknes is naturall, or sent by God for a warning; if your disease be naturall there is hope; we will vse all means for remedie. On the one side the physicians are here readie, who shall emploie themselues. On the other side all the world is in praier and deuotion for your health. If it procéedeth from God, it is a warning to you for the rest of your life, to the end to draw you neerer to him, either else to aduertise you of your naturall condition: that is, that you are mortall and must once paie this debt, and restore your soule to God who lent it to you, at whatsoeuer time he shall call for it. Now my lord, sith we can not certeinlie discerne the one from the other, is it not best for you to conforme your will to Gods will. Also in case God granteth you to ouerliue this sickenesse, are you not resolued to better your life, and to liue more in his feare than before? Againe, if he be determined to call you out of this world, are you not content to go into Abrahams bosome, and there to rest vnder the protection of his mercie? Resolue your selfe my lord, you haue a goodlie soule.

Bersons words of comfort to the monsieur whether his disease were naturall, or proceeding from God.

The monsieurs resolute to die.

I am (said this good prince) fullie resolued in the will of my God, let him doo with me whatsoeuer shall please him: onelie that he will vouchsafe to haue mercie on me. I wold reconcile me but I shall hardlie speake: and in truth the bloud still belched out into the basen which * I held with one hand, whilest with a handkercher in the other I wiped from his face and brest a great cold sweat that euen smelt of death; as also I perceiued his nostrils to be closed vp, his eies sunke, and heard the ratling and bloud that stopped him vp. Euerie bodie being gone forth I said vnto him, My lord straine not your selfe to speake much, onelie begin with the chiefest matters, and those that most trouble your conscience, and for the rest I will instruct you. Then ioining his hands and lifting vp his eies vnto heauen, he began to sigh, mourne,

* Namelie Berson.

mourne, and sob with extreame contrition and griefe, which when I perceiued, I still indeuoured to assure him in talking to him of God and of the merits of the bloud of Iesus Christ, wherein the greater delight that he conceiued, the more did he detest himselfe as a most miserable sinner: then might you haue séene among much sweat which as pearles ran downe his haire and beard, the great teares trickeling downe his eies, whiles with great paine he accused himselfe.

After this, diuerse spéeches passed with certeine actions betwéene the monsieur and Berson, which to omit is lesse offensiue than to publish. To procéed then, the monsieur lieng in his agonie, bethought him (amongest other things) of his familie, and said; Alas I mone none but my poore seruants, and withall, that I shall die without celebration of mine Easter; will not the Lord grant me that grace? Then * I promised him that God would heare so iust a petition, and therefore willed him a while to haue patience, it should not be the first miracle that euer our Lord had wrought. Hauing thus spoken, certeine ceremonies were solemnlie commensed and finished, not without manie speeches interchanged betwéene the monsieur and Berson; insomuch that (saith he) I can not rehearse all that he said vnto me; but this I dare assure you, that if his health had continued, I was thereby in hope of most profitable effects to all christendome and to the estate and quietnesse of our France. But we were not worthie, our sinnes crieng for vengeance to God, who as he punisheth nations by giuing them wicked princes, so dooth he also chastise them by taking from them the good, euen at such time as they are readie to reléeue vs, and afterward we haue cause to lament and moorne.

* Berson who was then busie about certeine ceremonies incident to the time and his office.

Great hope conceiued of the monsieur if he had not béene preuented with death.

His health after this first fit continued a while, but by reason of a crum of bread that stucke in the vuula, and thereby procured a violent cough with spitting of bloud, he fell into it againe, and from thensefoorth kept his bed, sometimes well and sometimes ill, yet eating his meat reasonablie well, howbeit gathering no force to the substance of his bodie. Finallie, the same daie that the physicians (after the view of the operation of a medicine) had conceiued a better opinion of him than before; being saturdaie the ninth of Iune about eight of the clocke at night, he was taken with a maruellous shortnesse of wind, and a paine in one of his sides; and séeing himselfe so taken before anie man spake to him, he sent for me, saieng; Now is the time that I must die, you haue greatlie abused me; howbeit they vsed all diligence. But about midnight, when there was no further hope, they sent for me. When I was come I found the good prince laid in his estate, of whome trulie I had no other opinion but that death was at hand, and therefore was verie importunat to speake vnto him, fearing least he should haue died without the sacrament, which so greatlie he had longed for.

The monsieur falleth into an extremitie of his maladie, and past hope of recouerie.

One commendable matter I noted in the nobilitie there present, which was; that there was not one but did importunatlie vrge to speake vnto him of God; for mine owne part I was verie vnpatient, and euerie one was in feare to speake first. One there was that willed me to change mine apparell, and to put on a blacke garment, least he should conceiue anie mistrust. How (said I) can I so doo? He hath sent for me, and knoweth my clothing: if by my spéech he should know me, and then find my clothing changed, he will enter a greater apprehension of death than before; therefore consider of it, if anie thing fall out amisse, it will be a perpetuall reproch to vs all. In the end monsieur Fougier his steward a verie wise man so ordered the matter, and with such discretion, that he brake with him of it. At that time was he ouercome with a drowsie sléepe, and still holden with a short wind, accompanied with continuall sweats, and sometime would aske: Doo men die thus? On the tenth daie of Iune which was sundaie, after diuerse ceremoniall actions dispatched, and spéeches to and fro vttered, with pitifull sighs on all sides of inward setled sorow; the monsieur desired that he might sléepe awhile: but his sléepe was

Doo men die thus? saith the monsieur drawing to his end.

not

not long yer he awaked, when betwixt him and Berson (all the rest being gone) something was said and doone, which (belike) was not for euerie eare and eie to heare or see. In the end, Berson perceiuing by manifest indications, that death preased vpon him, vsed these words to the monsieur, some (of likelihood) being then within the hearing. My lord, in the beginning of your sickenesse, you and I made a iointpromise vnto God, wherwith I am burdened: now therefore I doo vnburden my selfe thereof, vnlesse you will helpe to burden me againe. We are witnesses that you haue loued God: now is the time that you must acknowledge him, you are verie sicke, but your soule is sound in your bodie. If it please our good God to grant you life, he granteth it to the end you should amend; so should your selfe be happie, and we content that you should liue. If he vouchsafe to call you into paradise, how blest shall you be, or where may you be better? So that whatsoeuer happen, be it life, be it death, still shall you be content and happie. Resolue your selfe therefore wholie in the will of God. All we here are your faithfull seruants, and those who euermore haue desired to be so fortunate as to be honored with your commandements; whose eies and eares haue alwaies beene open to heare and obeie you, and to fulfill your will: neuer did you command anie thing, but you were immediatlie obeied. Now know you, that your selfe are Gods seruant; him you must obeie, and to his will must you wholie resolue your selfe; whether it be his will you should liue, or is his pleasure you shall die still saie: His will be doone.

Bersons words to the monsieur in the hearing of diuerse gentlemen present.

Then with a forced speech this good prince said: His will be doone. Take no care my lord said I, for anie worldlie matters. Greatnesse, riches, and renowme doo perish. Paradise is to be found and possessed. It is a great matter to be a kings sonne, but it is much greater to be the child of God. You are now as a child new borne, you want nothing but the food of the children of God: you haue no more to doo, but to communicat in the pretious bodie of our Lord: it is here readie, would you not gladlie haue it? I will cause you easilie to vse it. He answered yes. Then taking the holie sacrament I began to saie vnto him: My lord Iesus the heauenlie word and euerlasting sonne of God, in old time inuisible, did in the end visiblie manifest himselfe to the world in humane flesh, by taking vpon him our visible and passible nature: but because he was not perpetuallie to remaine in this humane vale, reuiuing and ascending into heauen, we had him no longer to touch and handle carnallie and visiblie. And therefore to the end not to faile of his promise that he would be still with vs vntill the consummation of the world; he hath giuen vs inuisiblie his pretious bodie and bloud vnder these holie signes and sacraments, that by the communion in such and so pretious a gift, we might be strengthened in his loue, and through his grace be defended against all temptations and stumbling blocks of our saluation: like as Elias, who in the strength of the food for him miraculouslie ordeined, after his sléepe trauelled long iournies, euen vntill he did sée God. Receiue therefore this signe and testimonie of the remission of your sinnes, and when you shall be presented before the maiestie of God, it shall be vnto you a badge and token that you belong vnto him.

His will (meaning Gods) be doone, saith the monsieur with a forced spéech on his death bed.

The institution and vse of the sacrament of the bodie and bloud of Christ.

Then lifting vp his eies and looking all about him, this good prince opened his mouth, which presentlie I moistened with his drinke, and so gaue him the holie sacrament, and againe powred in some of his drinke to swallow it withall, which he did both deuoutlie and couragiouslie; insomuch that afterward he did eat and speake better than he had doone all the night and morning before, to the great contentation of all the companie: in whose presence I did againe exhort him saieng: Now my lord, behold you are armed with the cheefe of all you desire, I beséech you comfort your selfe in the Lord. It is a great fauour that he hath shewed you, in making you (as it appeareth) inheritor vnto the faith, pietie, and christianitie of the kings of France, whose faith and descent you doo hold.

Bersons exhortatorie spéeches to the monsieur preparing and setling himselfe to Godward.

Let

Let your soule now reioice, yea although you should now die. Thinke what a contentation vnto you it shall be, to be discharged from so manie worldlie affaires, what a pleasure to exchange this mortall life for an immortall, glorious and perdurable life; feare no lets: the waie is alreadie beaten, alreadie are they passed the same, whose greatnesse and faith you doo insue. The patriarchs doo tarie for you: the prophets doo call you: the apostles doo stretch foorth their armes vnto you: the martyrs doo inuite you: the confessors doo solicit you: the virgins doo giue you place: all the saints doo looke for you. We haue discharged all the duties of faithfull seruants, and such as loue you hartilie. And hauing thus spoken with a demand or two made, and their answers added: Berson, being the mouth of the residue, said of the monsieur drawing on: that they (meaning himselfe and the companie present) waited but for the houre of his death: yet had he one houre and a halfe to liue. So soone as we were goone he desired to haue his head laid lower; his chamberleine immediatlie called to vs for helpe, and suddenlie he gaue vp the ghost: myselfe Iames Berson, at the dissolution of his sweet soule from his louelie bodie, vsing these words: Go and passe on christian soule, and returne to him that hath created thée, &c.

He went awaie so swéetlie that it could hardlie be perceiued, insomuch that some who could not be persuaded that he was dead (for his eies were open and cléere, and his countenance no whit changed) held a looking glasse to his mouth, but there was no signe of life: others féeling his pulses, imagined they did beat, but that was because they were strained euen to the nailes ends. At this word, He is gone, oh what pitie! oh God what tears! what sighes! what sobs! all was dissolued into howling and cries: those that in armor were forwardest, were now readiest in teares, sundrie swooned in the chamber, at the sound hereof the towne quaked, the castell sounded most lamentable voices: yea my selfe hauing lost all courage was forced to open the poole of my head, and to vnstop the gate of my hart, to the end with teares and lamentations to discharge that affection which I bare vnto him.

The monsieurs departure out of this world like a lamp, whose light faileth for want of oile.

About foure of the clocke, when all were departed I tooke the linnen wherein he was lapped from about the bodie of this good prince, then did I laie and order it honestlie and with reuerence handled it, some of vs also had so good hap as to kisse his hands and head. O my good lord and master, neuer durst I haue béene so bold had it not béene for the confidence you reposed in me: alas whie was it so late before I did know you, to serue you so small a time? Infinitlie am I forced to print you in my remembrance, ingraue you in my soule, and to burie you in my hart, for that vouchsafed to make mine eares gardians of that which rested in your conscience. Mourne, mourne with me my masters, and all ye the officers of his house; we haue lost the best master in the world, for euer shall the tenth daie of Iune beare witnesse of our mishap; hereafter shall we neuer vpon that daie haue occasion to hold merie feast betweéne twelue and one of the clocke, the houre of the decease of so desired a prince. The yeare 1584 is indéed a yeare of reuolution. France, France, quarter thine armes, and in lieu of lions sow in teares: for the Lord taketh from vs all our noble and honorable, and taketh the good to depriue vs of them, for my part I will beare thée companie. Moreouer for his trespasses I doo giue him flowres, and for his bodie in ashes the lamentations of Flanders, at the least I inherit in his right an example of vertue, accounting my selfe infinitlie bounden vnto their maiesties, who gaue me to doo the seruice apperteining to my ministerie, vnto a prince that loued me so much, and in whose house all men honored me, whose orator I doo most deuoutlie rest, desiring them to haue patience, though for recompense they haue no more but my selfe. Requiescat in pace. This is all that we purposed to saie touching the monsieur, hauing omitted much that is not communicable, and now will we turne our pen vpon passage to England, noting occurrents of our owne.]

Maruellous signes of inward loue and rooted affection towards the monsieur departed.

These be verie δεινόμενα and Larch ymarum fontes indéed.

For he was preacher, &c. to the mounsieur and lo-t dimidium animæ suæ by his death.

The thirtéenth daie of Ianuarie, in the parish of Ermitage in a place called Blacke more

Ground removed.

Blacke more in Dorsetshire, a peece of ground conteining thrée acres remooued from the place where it was first planted, and was caried cleane ouer an other close, where alder and willow trées grew, the space of fortie goad (euerie goad conteining fiftéene foot) and hath stopped vp an high waie that directed towards the market towne of Cerne, and yet notwithstanding the hedges wherewith it was inclosed, inuiron it still, and the trées stand thereon bolt vpright, sauing one oake trée, that is well nigh twentie goads remooued: the place whereas the ground had his being at the first is left like vnto a great hollow pit. The same thirteenth daie of Ianuarie, being sundaie, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the old and vnderpropped scaffolds round about the beare garden, commonlie called Paris garden, on the southside the Thames, ouer against the citie of London, ouercharged with people fell suddenlie downe whereby to the number of eight persons men and women were slaine, and manie other sore hurt and brused. A freendlie warning to all such as more delight themselues in the crueltie of beasts, to sée them rent one an other; than in the works of mercie, which are the fruits of a true professed faith, and ought to be the sabboth daies exercise; and not onelie a warning to works of mercie, but a watchword to put vs in mind how we violate the sabboth daie, the Lords owne daie, which he sanctified himselfe, that we by his example might sanctifie the same, and not prophane it with such gentilisme as we doo, as though God would not call vs to a reckoning for abusing his holie ordinances, and falsifieng the glorious title of christians in our odious actions: for the which God will seuerelie expostulat with vs, and with indignation demand of vs why we take his lawes in our mouths, and renounce them in our minds; why we let them swim in our lips, and slip from our liues, as the vaine Iewes did, vnto whome God said in displeasure as followeth:

Eight persons killed by the fall of a scaffold at the beare garden, a warning to prophaners of the sabboth daie.

Rob. Hess. in Psal. 50.

Quid de lege mea declamas ore profano?
Non hoc officij debuit esse tui:
Cùm tamen & mores & leges oderis æquas,
Et verbi officium negligis omne mei.

On the third of Februarie being sundaie, William Bruistar habardasher (a man of more than threescore yeares old) being lodged ouer the southwest porch of saint Brides church in Fleetstréet, with a woman named Marie Breame (whome the same Bruistar had bailed out of Bridewell) were both found smothered to death in maner following. On the same sundaie in the morning, a marriage being solemnized in that church, a strong sauour was felt, which was thought to haue béene the burning of old shoes or such like, in some gentlemans chamber there about, thereby to suppresse the infection of the plague. But in the afternoone before euening praier, the parishioners espied a smoke to issue out of Bruistars chamber, and therevpon made hast to the dore, which they found fast locked, and were forced to breake it open, but could not enter, till they had ripped vp the lead and roofe of the chamber to let out the smothering stench; which being doone they found Bruistar dead, sitting on a settle by his beds side (in his apparell, and close trussed) his right thigh and right arme vp to the elbow burnt or scorched with the fire of a small pan of coales that stood before him, but now being cleane quenched with the dampe or lacke of aire. The woman also laie dead ouer the pan, so that hir armes were likewise burnt, with the nether part of hir bodie before to hir breast, and behind to the shoulders, and nothing else in the chamber burnt, but the bottome of the settle wheron Bruistar sat. Of this lamentable accident people talked diuerslie, and pamphlets were published to make the same more knowne; howbeit, to leaue the certeine meanes of the euent to his knowledge that vnderstandeth and séeth all things, let it be a warning to all ages so to liue, as that an honest report may attend their death, and shame flie from them as a cloud before the wind:

William Bruistar and Marie Breame smothered to death.

Sic sapient, sic non insipientes erunt.

On the sixteenth of Aprill about six of the clocke in the morning, Thomas Worth and Alice Shepheard, were hanged on a gibbet at Shoolane end in Fléetstreet, for killing of a prentice in the same Shoolane. Also on the same daie about eight of the clocke in the morning, a gunpowder house, called the signe of the gun in Fetterlane néere vnto Fléetstréet, and diuerse other houses néere adioining, were blowne vp, with the vproire of fiftie hundred weight of powder: two men and one woman were slaine, and diuerse other persons, as well men as women and children were sore hurt; some blasted with the flame, some brused with the fall of timber vpon them, &c. 1583.

A man and a woman hanged at Shoolane end.

The gunpowder house in Fetterlane blowne vp

Albertus Alasco, frée baron of Lasco, Vaiuode, or palatine of Siradia in Poland, arriued at Harwich in Essex, and on the last of Aprill came by water to Winchester house in Southworke, where he remained for the most part of his abode heere: of whome more hereafter at his returne into his owne countrie. Elias Thackar tailor was hanged at saint Edmunds burie in Suffolke on the fourth of Iune, and Iohn Coping shoomaker on the sixt of the same moneth, for spreading and mainteining certeine bookes seditiouslie penned by one Robert Browne against the receiued booke of English common praier, established by the lawes of this realme their bookes (so manie as could be found) were burned before them. This yeare on the ninth of Iune deceased Thomas Ratclife earle of Sussex, lord chamberleine to hir maiestie, and knight of the garter, at Barmundseie in the borough of Southworke besides London, and was on the eight of Iulie next following conueied through the same citie of London toward Newhall in Essex, there to be buried in forme following. First went on foot before him fortie and fiue poore men in blacke gownes, then on horssebacke one hundred and twentie seruingmen in blacke coats, then ninetie and fiue gentlemen in blacke gownes or clokes, besides the heralds at armes and other, which bare his helme, creast, sword, coat of armes, and banners of armes, &c. Then the deceased earle, couered with a pall of blacke veluet, in a chariot likewise couered with blacke veluet, drawne with foure goodlie geldings; next after was led the earles stéed couered with blacke veluet, then sir Henrie Ratclife the succéeding earle chiefe mourner, and eight other lords all in blacke, then the lord maior and his brethren the aldermen of London riding in murraie gownes, then on foot the gentlemen of Greis in, and last of all the worshipfull companie of the merchant tailors of London in their liueries, for that the said earle was a brother of their companie, as manie noble men, and famous princes, kings of this realme before him had béene: as more at large is declared in * the summarie of the chronicles of England in the eightéenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth. The maior and aldermen, the gentlemen of Greis in, and the merchant tailors accompanied the corps to the barres without Aldgate, and returned. This was the end of that nobleman, who (whiles he liued) aduentured lim and life against the enimies of the English commonwelth, and therfore in respect of his excellent seruices, deserued no lesse remembrance than is alreadie extant of him in print, whereof this following is a parcell:

Palatine of Siradia in Poland came into England.

Elias Thackar and Iohn Coping hanged at Berrie.

Thomas Ratclife earle of Sussex deceased.

——satrapas præclarus, fortis, & audax,
Elisabetha tui speciosi corporis acer
Et fidus custos, discrimen adire paratus
Quodlibet, inuicto Mauortis pectore campo?
Cui virtus persæpè herbam porrexit Hibernus,
Quem puguis fulgens ornat victoria parta
Sanguineis, sed laus huic maxima iudicis æqui.

Edmund Grindall doctor of diuinitie archbishop of Canturburie deceassed at Croidon in Surrie on the sixt daie of Iulie, and was there buried. This good man in his life time was so studious, that his booke was his bride, and his studie his bridechamber, whervpon he spent both his eiesight, his strength, and his health, and therefore might

Edmund Grindall archbishop of Canturburie deceassed.

might verie well not actiuelie but passiuelie be named as (he was) Grindall; for he groond himselfe euen to his graue by mortification. Of whome much might be spoken for others imitation (sith the vse of the historie, is to instruct succéeding ages) but this shall suffice, that as his learning and vertue were inseparable companions: so the reward of both is the good name which he hath left behind him as a monument perpetuall, bicause vertue was the founder of the same; according vnto the true saieng of the late poet importing no lesse:

Abr. Hart. in R. L.

Virtutis merces eadem & labor, illa tropheum est,
Soláque dat nigræ vincere mortis iter:
Nam nisi virtutis quæratur gloria factis,
Omnis in extremos est abitura rogos.

Iustice Randolfe his charitie of one thousand nine hundred pounds.

Barnard Randolfe esquier, common sargeant to the citie of London, deceassed on the seauenth of August. This man in his life time, somewhat before his death, gaue and deliuered to the companie of the Fishmongers in London the summe of nine hundred pounds, of good and lawfull monie of England to be imploied towards the conducting of Thames water, cesterning the same in lead, and castelling with stone in the parishes of saint Marie Magdalene, and saint Nicholas cold abbeie, néere vnto old Fishstréet, seauen hundred pounds. The other two hundred pounds, to paie for euer yearelie the summe of ten pounds, that is, towards the maintenance of a poore scholar in the vniuersitie of Oxenford yearelie foure pounds. Towards the mending of the high waies in the parish of Tisehurst, in the countie of Sussex, where the said Barnard was borne, euerie yeare foure pounds. And to the poore people of the parishes of saint Nicholas Oliue in Bredstréet and saint Marie Magdalene néere to old Fishstreet fortie shillings, to wit, twentie shillings to either parish for euer. More he willed and bequeathed by his last will and testament to be bestowed in land or annuities, to the relééfe of the poore inhabiting in the wards of Quéenehiue, and castell Bainard in the citie of London, and in the aforesaid parish of Tisehurst in the countie of Sussex, the summe of one thousand pounds.

Searouers apprehended and executed.

This yeare in the moneth of Iune, were sent to the seas, a ship called the barke Talbot, and a small barke, both manned with a hundred men, vnder the charge of William Borough esquier, clerke of hir maiesties nauie, for the apprehending of certeine outragious searouers, who for that they were manie in number, and well appointed (contemning the small strength that was set out against them) so boldlie behaued themselues, as that shortlie after it was confidentlie bruted, that they had vanquished in fight the said ship and barke. But within few daies after, beyond all expectation, they were by the said William Borough and his companie discomfited and taken, to the number of ten saile (whereof three were prises) and some of the chiefe pirats, namelie Thomas Walton alias Purser, Clinton Atkinson, William Ellis, William Valentine alias Bagh, Thomas Beuen and foure more, on the thirtith of August were hanged at Wapping in the ooze besides London. Walton as he went to the gallowes rent his venecian breeches of crimsin taffata, and distributed the same péecemeale, to such his old acquaintance as stood néere about him: but Atkinson had before giuen his murrie veluet dublet with great gold buttons, and the like coloured veluet venecians laid with great gold lace (apparell too sumptuous for searouers) which he had worne at the seas, and wherein he was brought vp prisoner from Corfe castell in the Ile of Porbeke to London, vnto such his friends as pleased him, before he went to Wapping.

A briefe description of Clinton Atkinson and his parentage.

¶ This Clinton Atkinson (a personable fellow, tall of stature and well proportioned, of acceptable behauiour when he kept shop for himselfe, being a free man of London, and like enough to doo well if he had taken good waies) had his name of the late earle of Lincolne now deceassed, who christened him being an infant, and by whose speciall meanes (being growne a proper man) he was not long before saued from the like death

death, and yet thorough want of grace making relapse, fell within danger of law. He descended of honest parents, his father speciallie being a man of verie honest name, one that loued the truth, for the testimonie whereof he forsooke his owne natiue countrie, leading a hard life with his familie beyond the seas in queene Maries daies; and returning to England at the inthronization of our gratious queene Elisabeth in the seat roiall, was made minister, in which vocation he died in Gods fauour, and the good opinion of his neighbors leuing behind him (among other sonnes) this his eldest, sorted (as you sée) to the shame, which malefactors of that qualitie, and so conuinced, can not auoid. This auoweth he that knew the man as well as the right hand from the left. Where (to conclude) we are to marke that it is not alwaies true, that good parents haue good children: for here is an example of degeneration, procured not by euill education (for this Clinton wanted no good bringing vp) but by bad companie and libertie, the verie spoile of many a one that otherwise might liue and thriue. Wherin by the way we are to woonder at the counsels of God who suffereth children so much to varie from their parents in qualitie, as if they had not receiued their birthright, but were bastards and changlings: but to end with the prophet Dauids saieng:

Companie and libertie bring manie to miserie.

Intima consilij non penetranda Dei.

On the eighteenth daie of September, Iohn Lewes, who named himselfe Abdoit, an obstinate heretike, denieng the godhead of Christ, and holding diuers other detestable heresies (much like to his predecessor Matthew Hamont) was burned at Norwich. On the two and twentith of September Albertus de Lasco, palatine of Siradia in Poland, before spoken of, now when he had well viewed the order of our English court and nobilitie; with other places of this realme, especiallie the vniuersitie of Oxenford, &c: taking leaue of hir maiestie, and of the nobilitie, he departed towards Poland. But before we make entrance into further occurrents, it shall not be amisse to touch some necessarie circumstances of remembrance.

An heretike Iohn Lewes burned at Norwich.

Palatine of Siradia in Poland returned.

This Albertus in the eies of the most, whereof some knew him, that might hardlie commend him, estéemed him a man for making well proportioned, of an indifferent tall stature, of countenance amiable, and complexion English like, hauing a white beard of such length and bredth, as that lieng in his bed, and parting it with his hands, the same ouerspred all his brest and shoulders, himselfe greatlie deliting therein, and reputing it an ornament: as for his qualities (apparant vnto the world) they were generous, his vtterance swéet, his wit plausible, in the knowledge of toongs well seene; his ordinarie attire scarlet, but when he presented himselfe to hir maiestie, a robe or gowne of purple veluet, with other habiliments and furniture agréeable; his shooes of a strange fashion, supposed of some not altogither vnlike Chaucers. Finallie, a gallant fellow he was, and (as might be gathered by some words spoken by him in * open audience) more Martiall than Mercuriall; verie actiue in respect of his age, and also studious in diuerse faculties, &c.

A description of Albertus his person, apparell, &c.

* At Oxenford, where he termed the Latine that he spake Militare Latinum, that is, souldiers Latine.

Touching the interteinement which he had at Oxenford, and how the vniuersitie did congratulate his comming, it is somewhat worth the noting. In the moneth of Iune, the said Albertus de Lasco, comming from the marriage of the lord Norris his daughter, with sir A. Paulets eldest sonne, at Ricot he put himselfe on the waie to Oxenford, wherof the vniuersitie (doctor Houenden then vicechancellor, and maister Léison with maister Edes proctors) hauing intelligence, prouided for his conuenient receiuing; insomuch that in the waie to Oxenford, there met him doctor Westfailing, who greeted him with a pithie salutation. In like sort did the maior and his bréethren, in whose behalfe for the whole citie, the towne clerke a worshipfull maister of art, pronounced his short and sententious spéech in Latine, not without some gratulatorie gift from that corporation. On the east gate wherat he entered,

The lord Norris his daughter maried to sir A. Paulet his eldest sonne.

tered, stood a consort of musicians, who for a long space made verie sweet harmonie, which could not but mooue and delight:

Inscia plebs populúsque arrectis auribus astat,
Dulciferúmque rudi suscipit aure melos.

All vp the high stréet vnto saint Maries church, on either side the waie, were decentlie marshalled scholers in their gownes and caps, batchelors and maisters in their habits and hoods. At saint Maries the orator of the vniuersitie (notable in his facultie) presented him a booke, in which were closelie couched verie rich and gorgeous gloues. From thense he marched to Christs church, where he was whilest he abode in the vniuersitie most honourablie interteined. And the first night being vacant, as in which he sought rather rest in his lodging than recreation in anie academicall pastimes, strange fire works were shewed, in the great quadrangle besides rockets and a number such maner of deuises. On the second daie, his first dinner was made him at Alsoules college, where (besides dutifull receiuing of him) he was solemnelie satisfied with scholerlie exercises and courtlie fare. This night and the night insuing, after sumptuous suppers in his lodging, he personaly was present with his traine in the hall, first at the plaieng of a pleasant comedie intituled Riuales; then at the setting out of a verie statelie tragedie named Dido, wherein the quéenes banket (with Eneas narration of the destruction of Troie) was liuelie described in a marchpaine patterne, there was also a goodlie sight of hunters with full crie of a kennell of hounds, Mercurie and Iris descending and ascending from and to an high place, the tempest wherein it hailed small confects, rained rosewater, and snew an artificiall kind of snow, all strange, maruellous, and abundant.

The welcomming of Albertus to the vniuersitie of Oxenford, with a partile description of his interteinment.

Raine of rosewater, and haile of sugar confects, &c.

Most of the actors were of the same house, six or seauen of them were of saint Iohns, and thrée or foure of other colleges and hals. His second dinner the third daie was at Magdalen college, with oratorie welcomming and bountifull feasting. His third dinner the fourth daie at New college. The eloquent spéech in Gréeke Latine and Dutch with his owne vnstudied answer thervnto, and all other before rehersed, are not to be omitted: nor the publike philosophie, physike, and diuinitie disputations, in all which those learned opponents, respondents, and moderators, quited themselues like themselues, sharplie and soundlie, besides all other solemne sermons and lectures. At afternoone the fourth and last daie, he went towards Woodstocke manour, and without the north gate by the waie he was inuited vnto a banket at saint Iohns college, where the gates and outward wals ouercouered with thousands of verses, and other emblematicall poetries then offered him, argued their hartie good wils: but his hasting to his iournies end caused him not to tarie the delicat banket: yet onelie staieng the deliuerie of a swéet oration and his owne quicke wittie replie therevnto, he departed immediatlie, accompanied for a mile or two with the most of those reuerend doctors and heads of houses all on horssebacke, where the orator againe gaue him an orators farewell. And this is the summe of his interteinement, not deliuered in such sort as the dignitie of the same requireth; howbeit sufficient for a sudden remembrance.

Doctor Whitegift archbishop of Canturburie.

On the thrée and twentith daie of September, Iohn Whitegift doctor of diuinitie, sometimes maister of Trinitie colledge in Cambridge, and afterwards bishop of Worcester, was at Lambhith translated to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, where he at his comming to Lambehith (as also elsewhere he alwaies did) gaue euident testimonies both of mindfulnesse and thankefulnesse for his aduancements, as by the thrée tables hanging at the vpper end of his great chamber appeareth: their position in this sort. In the midst hir maiesties armes roiall artificiallie wrought with as much cunning as the painter by his pencill could describe them; and vnder them this distichon of thankesgiuing, and welwishing:

Nestoreos fœlix, regat Elisabetha per annos,
Quæ mihi munificè * Candida dona dedit.

Allusio, ad D. archiep. nomen.

On the right side, the armes of the sée of Canturburie of azure, a pall siluer garnished with crosses forme fiche sable ouer a crosse portatile gold: to the lower end whereof this distichon is fairelie fixed:

En leue multiplici premeretur cuspide corpus,
Ni baculus Christi grande leuaret onus.

Ab. Hart. quondam Cant. & Trinitarius.

On the left side are placed the ancient armes of the sée of Worcester, from the which he was translated, which are of siluer, ten torteaux, foure, three, two, one: with this distichon therevnto annexed:

Qui crucis ærumnas patitur, post fata triumphat,
Lilia sic spondent fuluis coniuncta talentis.]

Ouer and aboue the arms of both the said sées is his graces posie, Vincit qui patitur; a deserued posie, and iustified by his actions. The tenth of October at Easter, a towne in Norffolke neere the sea coast, about two miles from Yarmouth, there was a fish of woonderfull length, by force of the wind (being then easterlie) driuen a shore, the length whereof was from the necke vnto the taile seuenteene yards and one foote, hauing a big head; for the chap of the iaw was three yards and a quarter in length, with téeth of three quarters of a yard compas, great eies, and two great holes ouer them to spout out water, hir taile was fourteene foot broad, &c: she laie in the sands, and was soonken therein a yard and a halfe déepe, and yet was she aboue the sands so high, that a lather of fourtéene staues would but reach to the top of her backe; so that in thicknesse from the backe to the bellie, she was foure yards and a halfe. Iohn Slade, sometime a schoolemaister, and Iohn Bodie a maister of art of Oxford, being both indicted and condemned of high treason, were drawne, hanged, and quartered: Slade at Winchester on the thirtith daie of October, and Bodie at Andouar on the second daie of Nouember.

A monstrous fish taken in Norffolke.

Slade and Bodie executed.

About this time, one named Ditch a notable horssestealer, was apprehended at the sessions holden for the gaole deliuerie at Newgat, on the fourth of December, nineteene times indicted, whereof he confessed eightéene: who also betwéene the time of his apprehension and the said sessions, appeached manie for stealing of horsses, whereof (diuerse being apprehended) ten of them were condemned, and hanged in Smithfield on the first daie of December, being Fridaie, and horsse market there. He also holpe diuerse more to their horsses againe which had been stolne from them, taking of euerie one of them ten shillings the péece or more that so recouered their horsses: wherby he made fiftéene pounds of currant monie towards his charges. Iames earle of Desmond in Ireland, secretlie wandering without anie succour as a miserable begger, being taken in his cabbin by one of the Irishrie, his head was cut off, and sent into England, where the same (as the head of an archrebell) was set vpon London bridge on the thirteenth daie of December. Looke for the manner of his rebellion and his death more at large set downe in the historie of Ireland.

An. Reg. 26. Horssestealers hanged, ten at once in Smithfield.

Desmonds head set on London bridge.

The tenth daie of December, through negligence of vndiscréet persons, brewing in the towne of Nantwich, in a place called Waterlode; the fire being careleslie left, tooke hold (as should séeme) vpon some straw, or such light matter, and so burst foorth to the roofes of the house, and in short time so increased, that from the west end of the towne (the wind at southwest) the flame was dispersed so furiouslie into the towne on the southside, that in short space a great part of the said southside and some of the eastside was burned downe to the ground. Which fire beginning at six of the clocke in the euening, and continuing till six of the clocke in the morning following, neuer ceased burning, till it had consumed aboue the number of two hundred houses, besides brew houses, barnes, stables, &c: in all about six hundred houses, so that by estimation of manie, the losse of houses and goods amounted to

Nantwich in Cheshire burnt.

aboue thirtie thousand pounds, as more at large appeared by a particular booke printed of that matter. About this time, Iohn Someruile a furious yoong man of Elstow in Warwikeshire, of late discouered and taken in his waie comming with full intent to kill the quéenes maiestie (whom God long prosper to reigne ouer vs) confessed the treason, and that he was moued therevnto in his wicked spirit, by certeine traitorous persons his kinsmen and alies, and also by often reading of certeine seditious bookes latelie published, for the which the said Someruile, Edward Arden a squire of Parkehall in Warwikeshire, Marie Arden his wife (father and mother in law to the said Someruile) and Hugh Hall priest, being with other before indicted at Warwike, were on the sixteenth of December arreigned in the Guildhall of London, where they were found guiltie and condemned of high treason. On the nineteenth of December, Iohn Someruile, and Edward Arden, being brought from the tower of London to Newgate of the same citie, and there shut vp in seuerall places; within two hours after, Someruile was found (desperatlie) to haue strangled himselfe. And on the morrow being the twentith of December, Edward Arden was drawne from Newgate into Smithfield, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered: whose head with Someruiles was set on London bridge, and his quarters on the gates of the citie; but the bodie of Someruile was buried in the Moorefields, néere vnto the windmils without Moregate. A dreadfull example of Gods hastie iudgement vpon those two offendors; but speciallie against the last, whome God deliuered to a reprobat mind, in so much that his owne hands became his hangman, preuenting the office of the common executioner, who should haue performed that last action vpon him: whereof the iustice of God in vengeance made himselfe the finisher and fulfiller. Thus much by the waie of terror, that the remembrance hereof, by the reading and reporting of the same, maie make men euill minded, amazed at the rigorous reuengement which God taketh (when he seeth his due time) vpon the wicked: after his long sufferance and patience most wickedlie abused; wherof the poet saith:

Someruile, Arden, and others arreigned.

Arden executed.

Vltio procedit (fateor) diuina gradatim,
Nec quoties peccant fulmina vibrat eis:
Supplicij verò iusta grauitate rependit,
Turpia quæ longo tempore facta tulit.

In this yeare 1583 (which should haue béene noted in the fore part of the yeare) by the meanes of a certeine astrologicall discourse, vpon the great and notable coniunction of the two superior planets, Saturne and Iupiter, prognosticated to be the eight and twentith of Aprill; the common sort of people, yea and no small multitude of such as thinke scorne to be called fooles, or counted beggers, whilest they were in expectation of this coniunction, were in no small imaginations, supposing that no lesse would haue béene effectuated, than by the said discourse was prophesied. Into these fansies not void of feare and mistrust they were drawne with the more facilitie, for that they had read, and heard, and pondered, and suspected, and in part beléeued the predictions of such euents as should insue by influence of that coniunction. For it was termed the great and notable coniunction, which should be manifested to the ignorant sort, by manie fierce and boisterous winds then suddenlie breaking out. It was called the greatest and most souereigne coniunction among the seuen planets: why so? Because lawes, and empires, and regions are ruled by the same: which foretelleth the comming of a prophet, and the destruction of certeine climats and parts of the earth, and new found heresies, and a new founded kingdome, and damages through the pestilence, and abundant showers; which dooth prognosticat the destinie of a great and mightie king, much sorrow and heauinesse to men, losses to rich and noble men, yea and those too which are accounted and reputed like to prophets, and a multitude of locusts: which dooth foreshew, that

This booke for the time that it was in request, set people's toongs on woorke, and filled their minds with strange conceipts.

Why it was called the great coniunction.

weightie

weightie and woonderfull things shall come into the world: which dooth threten continuall ouerflowes of waters, and particular deluges in some countries: finallie, which menaceth much mischiefe. The publication, oft reading, and talking of this coniunction, with the remembrance of the instant wherin it should be, made manie (when the daie foretold was come) to looke for some strange apparition or vision in the aire; and withall, put them in mind of an old and common prophesie, touching the yeare 1588, which is now so rife in euerie mans mouth. That yeare, was manie hundred yeares ago foretold and much spoken of amongst astrologers, who haue as it were, Vnanimi consensu, prognosticated, that either a maruellous fearfull and horrible alteration of empires, kingdoms, segniories and estates, togither likewise with other most woonderfull, and verie extraordinarie accidents, as extreame hunger and pestilence, desperat treasons and commotions shall then fall out, to the miserable affliction and oppression of huge multitudes: or else, that an vtter and finall ouerthrowe and destruction of the whole world shall insue: which prophesie is conteined in these verses following:

Touching the yeare of woonders, gathered to be 1588.

Post mille expletos à partu Virginis annos,
Et post quingentos rursus ab orbe datos:
Octogesimus octauus mirabilis annus
Ingruet, is secum tristia fata feret.
Si non hoc anno totus malus occidet orbis,
Si non in nihilum terra, fretúmque ruet:
Cuncta tamen mundi sursum ibunt atque retrorsum,
Imperia, & luctus vndique grandis erit.

Lecuitius Regiomontanus.

So that by this prophesie, either a finall dissolution, or a woonderfull horrible alteration of the world is then to be expected. All these considerations laid togither, as well the prediction of the coniunction in expectation, as also the dreadfull euents, which were to insue therevpon: and vpon the necke of these, the great yeare of 1588 in euerie mans mouth, the more frequent and common by occasion of a booke extant vnder the title of the end of the world, and the second comming of Christ, made diuerse diuerslie affected; insomuch that some conuersing and conferring, looked for no lesse than was prophesied; and talking verie religiouslie, séemed as though they would become sanctified people: howbeit the day of the coniunction being past, with a certeine counterchecke against the said astrologicall discourse in some points defectiue, and no such euents palpablie perceiued as were prognosticated; people fell to their former securitie, and condemned the discourser of extreame madnesse and follie: whereof no more but this, Scientia nullum habet sibi inimicum præter ignorantem.

The great yeare of 1588 is more talked of than feared.

When people saw nothing in the aire (as they looked for) they fell to derision.

On the tenth of Ianuarie in the yeare 1584 at a sessions holden in the iustice hall in the old bailie of London for gaole deliuerie of Newgate, William Cartar of the citie of London was there indicted, arreigned, and condemned of high treason, for printing a seditious and traitorous booke in English, intituled A treatise of schisme; and was for the same (according to sentence pronounced against him) on the next morrow, which was the eleuenth of Ianuarie, drawne from Newgate to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. And foorthwith against slanderous reports, spread abroad in seditious books, letters and libels, thereby to inflame the hearts of our countriemen, and hir maiesties subiects; a booke was published, intituled, A declaration of the fauorable dealings of hir maiesties commissioners, &c. Which booke I haue thought good in this place to set downe (for the better instruction of the reader) euen as the same was printed and published, and thus it followeth.

1584

Cartar executed for printing a traitorous booke.

A declaration of the fauorable dealing of hir maiesties commissioners, for the examining of traitors.

A DECLARATION

A DECLARATION OF THE FAUOURABLE DEALING OF HIR MAIESTIES COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED FOR THE EXAMINATION OF CERTEINE TRAITORS, AND OF TORTURES VNIUSTLIE REPORTED TO BE DONE VPON THEM FOR MATTERS OF RELIGION.

To the reader.

GOOD reader, although hir maiesties most mild and gratious gouernement be sufficient to defend it selfe against those most slanderous reports of heathenish and vnnaturall tyrannie and cruell tortures, pretended to haue béene executed vpon certeine traitors who latelie suffered for their treason, and others, aswell spread abroad by rungates, Iesuits, and seminarie men in their seditious bookes, letters, and libels, in forren countries and princes courts, as also insinuated into the hearts of some of our owne countriemen and hir maiesties subiects: yet for thy better satisfaction I haue conferred with a verie honest gentleman, whom I knew to haue good and sufficient meanes to deliuer the truth against such forgers of lies and shamelesse slanders in that behalfe, which he and other that doo know and haue affirmed the same will at all times iustifie. And for thy further assurance and satisfaction herein, he hath set downe to the vew of all men these necessarie notes following.

Touching the racke and torments vsed to such traitors as pretended themselues to be catholikes, vpon whom the same haue been exercised, it is affirmed for truth, and is offered vpon due examination so to be prooued, to be as followeth. First, that the formes of torture in their seueritie or rigour of execution, haue not beene such and in such maner performed, as the slanderers and seditious libellers haue slanderouslie and maliciouslie published. And that euen the principall offendor Campion himselfe, who was sent and came from Rome, and continued here in sundrie corners of the realme, hauing secretlie wandered in the greatest part of the shires of England in a disguised sort, to the intent to make speciall preparation of treasons; and to that end and for furtherance of those his labours, sent ouer for more helpe and assistance, and cunninglie and traitorouslie at Rome before he came from thense, procured toleration for such prepared rebels to keepe themselues couert vnder pretense of temporarie and permissiue obedience to hir maiestie the state standing as it doth: but so soone as there were sufficient force whereby the bull of hir maiesties depriuation might be publikelie executed, they should then ioine all togither with that force vpon paine of cursse and damnation: that verie Campion, I saie, before the conference had with him by learned men in the Tower, wherin he was charitablie vsed, was neuer so racked, but that he was presentlie able to walke, and to write, and did presentlie write and subscribe all his confessions, as by the originals thereof may euidentlie appeare.

The slanderous report concerning the extreame vse of the racke conuinced.

Campion and Briant were too fauourablie vsed: and far vnder the proportion of their treasonable offenses.

A horrible matter is also made of the staruing of one Alexander Briant, how he should eat claie out of the wals, gathered water to drinke from the droppings of houses, with such other false ostentations of immanitie: where the truth is this, that what soeuer Briant suffered in want of food, he suffered the same wilfullie and of extreame impudent obstinacie, against the mind and liking of those that dealt with him. For certeine traitorous writings being found about him, it was thought conuenient

uenient by conference of hands to vnderstand whose writing they were, and ther-vpon he being in her maiesties name commanded to write, which he could verie well doo, and being permitted to him to write what he would himselfe, in these termes, that if he liked not to write one thing, he might write another, or what he listed (which to doo being charged in hir maiesties name was his dutie, and to refuse was disloiall and vndutifull) yet the man would by no meanes be induced to write anie thing at all. Then was it commanded to his keeper to giue vnto him such meat, drinke, and other conuenient necessaries as he would write for, and to forbeare to giue him anie thing for which he would not write.

The curst and stubborne hart of Briant.

But Briant being thereof aduertised and oft mooued to write, persisting so in his curst heart by almost two daies and two nights, made choise rather to lacke food, than to write for the sustenance which he might readilie haue had for writing, and which he had indeed readilie and plentifullie so soone as he wrote. And as it is said of these two, so is it to be said of other; with this, that there was a perpetuall care had, and the quéenes seruants the warders, whose office and act it is to handle the racke, were euer by those that attended the examinations speciallie charged, to vse it in as charitable maner as such a thing might be.

Ergo it is false which the infamous libeller hath cast abrode Religio crimen non mala vita fuit.

Secondlie it is said, and likewise offered to be iustified, that neuer anie of these seminaries, or such other pretended catholikes, which at anie time in hir maiesties reigne haue béene put to the racke, were vpon the racke or in other torture demanded anie question of their supposed conscience; as what they beleeued in anie point of doctrine or faith, as the masse, transubstantiation, or such like: but onelie with what persons at home, or abroad, and touching what plats, practises and conferences they had dealt about attempts against hir maiesties estate or person, or to alter the lawes of the realme for matters of religion, by treason or by force, and how they were persuaded themselues, and did persuade other touching the popes bull and pretense of authoritie, to depose kings and princes; and namelie for depriuation of hir maiestie, and to discharge subiects from their allegiance, expressing herein alwaie the kinglie powers and estates, and the subiects allegiance ciuilie, without mentioning or meaning therein anie right that the quéene as in right of the crowne hath ouer persons ecclesiasticall being hir subiects. In all which cases, Campion and the rest neuer answered plainelie, but sophisticallie, deceiptfullie and traitorouslie, restraining their confession of allegiance onelie to the permissiue forme of the popes toleration. As for example, if they were asked, whether they did acknowledge themselues the queenes subiects and would obeie hir, they would saie, Yea: for so they had leaue for a time to doo. But adding more to the question, and they being asked, if they would so acknowledge and obeie hir anie longer than the pope would so permit them; or notwithstanding such commandement as the pope would or might giue to the contrarie: then they either refused so to obeie, or denied to answer; or said, that they could not answer to those questions without danger. Which verie answer without more saieng, was a plaine answer to all reasonable vnderstanding, that they would no longer be subiects, nor persuade other to be subiects, than the pope gaue licence. And at their verie arreignement, when they labored to leaue in the minds of the people and standers by, an opinion that they were to die, not for treason, but for matter of faith and conscience in doctrine, touching the seruice of God, without anie attempt or purpose against hir maiestie, they cried out that they were true subiects, and did and would obeie and serue hir maiestie. Immediatlie, to prooue whether that hypocriticall and sophisticall speach extended to a perpetuitie of their obedience, or to so long time as the pope so permitted, or no; they were openlie in place of iudgement asked by the queenes learned councell, whether they would so obeie and be true subiects, if the pope commanded the contrarie? They plainlie disclosed themselues in answer, saieng by the mouth of Campion: This place (meaning the court of hir maiesties

This is consonant to the report set downe before in the discouerie of Campion.

What allegiance these fellows meant to hir maiestie may appéere by these words of Campion, being the mouth of the rest.

maiesties Bench) hath no power to inquire or iudge of the holie fathers authoritie: and other answer they would not make.

Thirdlie, that none of them haue béene put to the racke or torture, no not for the matters of treason, or partnership of treason or such like, but where it was first knowen and euidentlie probable by former detections, confessions, and otherwise, that the partie so racked, or tortured, was giltie, and did know, and could deliuer truth of the things wherewith he was charged: so as it was first assured, that no innocent was at anie time tormented, and the racke was neuer vsed to wring out confessions at aduenture vpon vncerteinties, in which dooing it might be possible that an innocent in that case might haue bin racked.

As namelie Campion, of whom an infamous libeller reporteth (in commendation forsooth of his constancie) Non secreta meo tortus licèt ære fatebor.

Fourthlie, that none of them hath beene racked or tortured, vnlesse he had first said expreslie, or amounting to asmuch, that he will not tell the truth, though the queene command him. And if anie of them being examined did saie he could not tell, or did not remember, if he would so affirme in such maner as christians among christians are beléeued; such his answer was accepted, if there were not apparant euidence to prooue that he wilfullie said vntrulie. But if he said that his answer in deliuering truth, should hurt a catholike, and so be an offense against the charitie, which they said to be sinne, and that the quéene could not command them to sin, and therfore how soeuer the quéene commanded, they would not tell the truth, which they were knowen to know, or to such effect: they were then put to the torture, or else not.

Fiftlie, that the procéeding to torture was alwaie so slowlie, so vnwillinglie, and with so manie preparations of persuasions to spare themselues, and so manie meanes to let them know that the truth was by them to be vttered, both in dutie to hir maiestie, and in wisedome for themselues, as whosoeuer was present at those actions, must néedes acknowledge in hir maiesties ministers, a full purpose to follow the example of hir owne most gratious disposition: whome God long preserue.

Thus it appéereth, that albeit by the more generall lawes of nations, torture hath béene, and is lawfullie iudged to be vsed in lesser cases, and in sharper maner for inquisition of truth in crimes not so néere extending to publike danger, as these vngratious persons haue committed, whose conspiracies and the particularities thereof it did so much import and behooue to haue disclosed; yet euen in that necessarie vse of such procéeding, inforced by the offendors notorious obstinacie, is neuerthelesse to be acknowledged the swéet temperature of hir maiesties mild and gratious clemencie, and their slanderous lewdnesse to be the more condemned, that haue in fauour of hainous malefactors, and stubborne traitors, spred vntrue rumors and slanders, to make hir mercifull gouernement disliked, vnder false pretense and rumors of sharpenesse and crueltie to those, against whom nothing can be cruell, and yet vpon whom nothing hath béene doone but gentle and mercifull.

THE

THE EXECUTION OF IUSTICE IN ENGLAND FOR MAINTENANCE OF PUBLIKE AND CHRISTIAN PEACE, AGAINST CERTEINE STIRRERS OF SEDITION, AND ADHERENTS TO THE TRAITORS AND ENIMIES OF THE REALME, WITHOUT ANIE PERSECUTION OF THEM FOR QUESTIONS OF RELIGION, AS IS FALSLIE REPORTED AND PUBLISHED BY THE FAUTORS AND FOSTERERS OF THEIR TREASONS.

All offendors couer their faults with contarie causes.

IT hath béene in all ages and in all countries a common vsage of all offendors, for the most part, both great and small, to make defense of their lewd and vnlawfull facts by vntruths, and by colouring and couering their déeds (were they neuer so vile) with pretenses of some other causes of contrarie operations or effects: to the intent not onelie to auoid punishment or shame, but to continue, vphold, and prosecute their wicked attempts, to the full satisfaction of their disordered and malicious appetites. And though such hath beene the vse of all offendors, yet of none with more danger than of rebels and traitors to their lawfull princes, kings, and countries. Of which sort of late yeares are speciallie to be noted certeine persons naturallie borne subiects in the realme of England and Ireland, who hauing for some good time professed outwardlie their obedience to their souereigne ladie quéene Elisabeth, haue neuertheless afterward beene stirred vp and seduced by wicked spirits, first in England sundrie yeares past, and secondlie and of later time in Ireland, to enter into open rebellion, taking armes and comming into the field against hir maiestie and hir lieutenants, with their forces vnder banners displaied, inducing by notable vntruths manie simple people to follow and assist them in their traitorous actions.

Rebels doo most dangerouslie couer their faults.

Rebellion in England and Ireland.

And though it is verie well knowen that both their intentions and manifest actions were bent to haue deposed the quéenes maiestie from hir crowne, and to haue traitorouslie set in hir place some other whome they liked, whereby if they had not béene spéedilie resisted, they would haue committed great bloudsheds and slaughters of hir maiesties faithfull subiects, and ruined their natiue countrie: yet by Gods power giuen vnto hir maiestie, they were so spéedilie vanquished, as some few of them suffered by order of law according to their deserts, manie and the greatest part vpon confession of their faults were pardoned, the rest (but they not manie) of the principall, escaped into forren countries, and there, bicause in none or few places rebels and traitors to their natural princes and countries dare for their treasons chalenge at their first muster open comfort or succour, these notable traitors and rebels haue falselie informed manie kings, princes and states, and speciallie the bishop of Rome, commonlie called the pope (from whom they all had secretlie their first comfort to rebell) that the cause of their flieng from their countries was for the religion of Rome, and for maintenance of the said popes authoritie: whereas diuerse of them before their rebellion liued so notoriouslie, the most part of their liues, out of all good rule, either for honest maners, or for anie sense in religion, as they might haue béene rather

The rebels vanquished by the quéens power.

Some of the rebels fled into forreine countries

Rebels pretend religion for their defense.

familiar with Catiline, or fauourers to Sardanapalus than accounted good subiects vnder anie christian princes. As for some examples of the heads of these rebellions, out of England fled Charles Neuill earle of Westmerland, a person vtterlie wasted by loosenesse of life, and by Gods punishment euen in the time of his rebellion bereaued of his children that should haue succéeded him in the earledome, and his bodie now eaten with vlcers of lewd causes (as his companions doo saie) that no enimie he hath can wish him a viler punishment: a pitifull losse to the realme of so noble a house, neuer before in anie age atteinted for disloialtie. And out of Ireland ran awaie one Thomas Stukeleie, a defamed person almost thorough all christendome, and a faithlesse beast rather than a man, fléeing first out of England for notable pirasies, and out of Ireland for trecheries not pardonable, which two were the first ringleaders of the rest of the rebels, the one for England, the other for Ireland.

Ringleaders of rebels. Charles Neuill earle of Westmerland, and Thomas Stukeleie.

But notwithstanding the notorious euill and wicked liues of these and others their confederats, void of all christian religion, it liked the bishop of Rome, as in fauour of their treasons, not to colour their offenses, as themselues openlie pretend to doo, for auoiding of common shame of the world: but flatlie to animate them to continue their former wicked purposes, that is, to take armes against their lawfull quéene, to inuade hir realme with forren forces, to pursue all hir good subiects and their natiue countries with fire and sword: for maintenance whereof there had some yeares before, at sundrie times, procéeded in a thundering sort, buls, excommunications, and other publike writings, denouncing hir maiestie being the lawfull quéene, and Gods annointed seruant not to be the queene of the realme, charging and vpon paines of excommunication commanding all hir subiects to depart from their naturall allegiances, whereto by birth and by oth they were bound: prouoking also and authorising all persons of all degrées within both the realmes to rebell. And vpon this antichristian warrant, being contrarie to all the lawes of God and man, and nothing agréeable to a pastorall officer, not onelie all the rable of the foresaid traitors that were before fled: but also all other persons that had forsaken their natiue countries, being of diuerse conditions and qualities, some not able to liue at home but in beggerie, some discontented for lacke of preferments, which they gaped for vnworthilie in vniuersities and other places, some bankerupt merchants, some in a sort learned to contentions, being not contented to learne to obeie the laws of the land, haue manie yeares running vp and downe, from countrie to countrie, practised some in one corner, some in an other, some with séeking to gather forces and monie for forces, some with instigation of princes by vntruths, to make warre vpon their naturall countrie, some with inward practises to murther the greatest, some with seditious writings, and verie manie of late with publike infamous libels, full of despitefull vile termes and poisoned lies, altogither to vphold the foresaid antichristian and tyrannous warrant of the popes bull.

The effect of the popes bull against the queene of England.

The practises of the traitors rebels, and fugitiues to execute the bull.

And yet also by some other meanes to further these inuentions, bicause they could not readilie preuaile by waie of force, finding forren princes of better consideration and not readilie inclined to their wicked purposes, it was deuised to erect vp certeine schooles which they called seminaries, to nourish and bring vp persons disposed naturallie to sedition, to continue their race and trade, and to become seedmen in their tillage of sedition, and them to send secretlie into these the quéenes maiesties realmes of England and Ireland, vnder secret maskes, some of priesthood, some of other inferiour orders, with titles of seminaries for some of the meaner sort, and of Iesuits for the stagers and ranker sort and such like, but yet so warilie they crept into the land, as none brought the markes of their priesthood with them. But in diuers corners of hir maiesties dominions these seminaries or séedmen and Iesuits, bringing with them certeine Romish trash, as of their hallowed wax, their Agnus Dei, their graines, and manie kind of beads, and such like, haue as tillagemen laboured secretlie to persuade

Seminaries erected to nurse seditious fugitiues.

The seminarie fugitiues come secretlie into the reime to induce the people to obeie the popes bull.

suade the people to allow of the popes foresaid buls and warrants, and of his absolute authoritie ouer all princes and countries, and striking manie with pricks of conscience to obeie the same; whereby in processe of small time, if this wicked and dangerous, traitorous, and craftie course had not béene by Gods goodnesse espied and staied, there had followed imminent danger of horrible vprores in the realmes, and a manifest bloudie destruction of great multitudes of christians.

For it can not be denied but that so manie as should haue béene induced and thoroughlie persuaded to haue obeied that wicked warrant of the popes, and the contents thereof, should haue béene forthwith in their harts and consciences secret traitors: and for to be in déed errant and open traitors there should haue wanted nothing but opportunitie to féele their strength, and to assemble themselues in such numbers with armour and weapons, as they might haue presumed to haue beene the greater part, and so by open ciuill warre to haue come to their wicked purposes. But Gods goodnesse, by whome kings doo rule, and by whose blast traitors are commonlie wasted, and confounded, hath otherwise giuen to hir maiestie as to his handmaid and deare seruant, ruling vnder him, the spirit of wisedome and power, whereby she hath caused some of these seditious séedmen and sowers of rebellion, to be discouered for all their secret lurkings, and to be taken and charged with these former points of high treason, not being dealt withall vpon questions of religion, but iustlie by order of lawes, openlie condemned as traitors.

Sowers of sedition taken, conuented, and executed for treason.

At which times, notwithstanding all maner gentle waies of persuasions vsed, to mooue them to desist from such manifest traitorous courses and opinions with offer of mercie; yet was the canker of their rebellious humors so déepelie entered and grauen into the hearts of manie of them, as they would not be remooued from their traitorous determinations. And therefore as manifest traitors in mainteining and adhering to the capitall enimie of hir maiestie and hir crowne (who hath not onelie béene the cause of two rebellions alreadie passed in England and Ireland, but in that of Ireland did manifestlie wage and mainteine his owne people, capteins, and souldiers vnder the banner of Rome, against hir maiestie, so as no enimie could doo more) these I saie haue iustlie suffered death not by force or forme of anie new lawes established, either for religion or against the popes supremasie, as the slanderous libellers would haue it séeme to be; but by the ancient temporall lawes of the realme, and namelie by the laws of parlement made in king Edward the third his time, about the yeare of our Lord 1330, which is aboue two hundred years and more past, when the bishops of Rome and popes were suffered to haue their authoritie ecclesiasticall in this realme, as they had in manie other countries. But yet of this kind of offendors, as manie of them, as after their condemnations *were contented to renounce their former traitorous* assertions; *so manie were spared from execution, and doo liue still at this daie:* such was the vnwillingnes in hir maiestie to haue anie bloud spilt, without this verie vrgent, iust, and necessarie cause procéeding from themselues.

The seditious traitors condemned by the ancient lawes of the realme, made two hundred yeres past.

Persons condemned, spared from execution, vpon refusall of their treasonable opinions.

And yet neuerthelesse, such of the rest of the traitors as remaine in forren parts, continuing still their rebellious minds, and craftilie kéeping themselues aloofe off from dangers, ceasse not to prouoke sundrie other inferiour seditious persons, newlie to steale secretlie into the realme, to reuiue the former seditious practises, to the execution of the popes foresaid bull against hir maiestie and the realme, pretending when they are apprehended, that they came onelie into the realme by the commandement of their superiors, the heads of the Iesuits, to whome they are bound (as they saie) by oth against either king or countrie, and here to informe or reforme mens consciences from errors in some points of religion, as they thinke meet. But yet in verie truth, the whole scope of their secret labours is manifestlie prooued to be secretlie to win all people, with whom they dare deale; so to allow of the popes said buls, and of his authoritie without exception, as in obeieng thereof, they take themselues fullie discharged of their allegiance and obedience to their lawfull prince and countrie:

The forren traitors continue sending of persons to mooue sedition in the realme.

countrie: yea, and to be well warranted to take armes to rebell against hir maiestie, when they shall be therevnto called; and to be readie secretlie to ioine with any forren force that can be procured to inuade the realme, whereof also they haue a long time giuen, and yet doo for their aduantage, no small comfort of successe. And so consequentlie the effect of their labours is to bring the realme not onelie into a dangerous warre against the forces of strangers (from which it hath béene frée aboue three and twentie or foure and twentie yeares, a case verie memorable and hard to be matched with an example of the like) but into a warre domesticall and ciuill, wherein no bloud is vsuallie spared, nor mercie yéelded, and wherein neither the vanquishor nor the vanquished can haue iust cause of triumph.

The seditious fugitiues labour to bring the realme into a warre externall and domesticall.

And forsomuch as these are the most euident perils that necessarilie should follow, if these kind of vermine were suffered to créepe by stealth into the realme, and to spred their poison within the same, howsoeuer when they are taken, like hypocrits they colour and counterfeit the same with profession of deuotion in religion: it is of all persons to be yéelded in reason, that hir maiestie and all hir gouernours and magistrats of iustice, hauing care to mainteine the peace of the realme (which God hath giuen in hir time, to continue longer than euer in anie time of hir progenitors) ought of dutie to almightie God the author of peace, and according to the naturall loue and charge due to their countrie, and for auoiding of the flouds of bloud, which in ciuill warres are séene to run and flow, by all lawfull meanes possible, as well by the sword as by law, in their seuerall seasons to impeach and repell these so manifest and dangerous colourable practises, and works of sedition and rebellion.

The dutie of the quéene and all hir gouernors to God and their countrie, is to repell practises of rebellion.

And though there are manie subiects knowne in the realme, that differ in some opinions of religion from the church of England and that doo also not forbeare to professe the same: yet in that they doo also professe loialtie and obedience to hir maiestie, and offer readilie to hir maiesties defense, to impugne and resist anie forreine force, though it should come or be procured from the pope himselfe: none of these sort are for their contrarie opinions in religion prosecuted or charged with anie crimes or paines of treason, nor yet willinglie searched in their consciences for their contrarie opinions, that sauour not of treason. And of these sorts, there haue béene and are a number of persons, not of such base and vulgar note as those which of late haue béene executed, as in particular, some by name are well knowne, and not vnfit to be remembred. The first and chiefest by office was doctor Heth, that was archbishop of Yorke, and lord chancellor of England in quéene Maries time; who at the first comming of hir maiestie to the crowne, shewing himselfe a faithfull and quiet subiect, continued in both the said offices, though in religion then manifestlie differing; and yet was he not restreined of his libertie, nor depriued of his proper lands and goods, but leauing willinglie both his offices, liued in his owne house verie discréetlie, and inioied all his purchased lands during all his naturall life, vntill by verie age he departed this world, and then left his house and liuing to his friends. An example of gentlenesse neuer matched in quéene Maries time.

None charged with capitall crimes, being of a contrarie religion, and professing to withstand forreine forces.

The like did one doctor Poole that had béene bishop of Peterborough, an ancient graue person, and a verie quiet subiect. There were also others that had béene bishops and in great estimation, as doctor Tunstall bishop of Duresme, a person of great reputation, and also whilest he liued of verie quiet behauiour. There were also other, as doctor White and doctor Oglethorpe, the one of Winchester, the other of Carlill, bishops, persons of courteous natures, and he of Carlill so inclined to dutifulnes to the quéenes maiestie, as he did the office at the consecration and coronation of hir maiestie in the church of Westminster: and doctor Thurlebie, and doctor Watson yet liuing, one of Elie, the other of Lincolne, bishops: the one of nature affable, the other altogither sowre, and yet liuing. Whereto may be added the bishop then of Excester, Turberuile, an honest gentleman, but a simple bishop, who liued at his owne libertie to the end of his life: and none of all these pressed with anie capitall

Names of diuerse ecclesiasticall persons professing contrarie religion, neuer charged with capitall crimes.

paine,

paine, though they maintéined the popes authoritie against the lawes of the realme. And some abbats, as maister Feckenam yet liuing, a person also of quiet and courteous behauiour, for a great time. Some also were deanes, as doctor Boxall deane of Windsore, a person of great modestie, learning and knowledge: doctor Cole deane of Paules, a person more earnest than discréet: doctor Reinolds deane of Excester, not vnlearned, and manie such others, hauing borne office and dignities in the church, and that nad made profession against the pope, which they onelie began in queene Maries time to change: yet were these neuer to this daie burdened with capitall peanes, nor yet depriued of anie their goods or proper liuelonds; but onelie remoued from their ecclesiasticall offices, which they would not exercise according to the lawes. And most of them, and manie other of their sort for a great time were detéined in bishops houses in verie ciuill and courteous maner, without charge to themselues or their friends, vntill the time that the pope began by his buls and messages, to offer trouble to the realme by stirring of rebellion. About which time onlie, some of these aforenamed, being found busier in matters of state tending to stir troubles, than was méete for the common quiet of the realme, were remoued to other more priuat places, where such other wanderers as were men knowne to moue sedition, might be restreined from common resorting to them to increase trouble, as the popes bull gaue manifest occasion to doubt: and yet without charging them in their consciences or otherwise, by anie inquisition to bring them into danger of anie capitall law: so as no one was called to anie capitall or bloudie question vpon matters of religion, but haue all inioied their life as the course of nature would: and such of them as yet remaine, may (if they will not be authors or instruments of rebellion or sedition) inioie the time that God and nature shall yeeld them without danger of life or member.

The late fauourers of the popes authoritie were the chiefe aduersaries of the same, by their doctrines and writings.

And yet it is woorthie to be well marked, that the chiefest of all these and the most of them, had in time of king Henrie the eight, and king Edward the sixt, either by preaching, writing, reading, or arguing, taught all people to condemne, yea to abhorre the authoritie of the pope: for which purpose they had many times giuen their othes publikelie, against the popes authoritie, and had also yéelded to both the said kings the title of supreame hed of the church of England next vnder Christ, which title the aduersaries doo most falselie write and affirme, that the quéenes maiestie now vseth: a manifest lie and vntruth, to be séene by the verie acts of parlement, and at the beginning of hir reigne omitted in hir stile. And for proofe that these foresaid bishops and learned men had so long time disauowed the popes authoritie, manie of their books and sermons against the popes authoritie remaine printed both in English and Latin to be séene in these times, to their great shame and reproofe to change so often, but speciallie in persecuting such as themselues had taught and stablished to hold the contrarie. A sin, neere the sin against the holie ghost.

A great number of laie persons of liuelood being of a contrarie religion, neuer charged with capitall crime.

There were also and yet be a great number of others, being laie men of good possessions and lands, men of good credit in their countries, manifestlie of late time seduced to hold contrarie opinions in religion for the popes authoritie: and yet none of them haue béene sought hitherto to be impeached in anie point or quarell of treason, or of losse of life, member, or inheritance. So as it may plainelie appeare, that it is not, nor hath béene for contrarious opinions in religion, or for the popes authoritie alone, as the aduersaries doo boldlie and falslie publish, that anie persons haue suffered death since hir maiesties reigne. And yet some of these sort are well knowne to hold opinion, that the pope ought by authoritie of Gods word to be supreame and onelie head of the catholike church through the whole world, and onelie to rule in all causes ecclesiasticall, and that the quéenes maiestie ought not to be the gouernour ouer anie hir subiects in hir realme being persons ecclesiasticall: which opinions are neuerthelesse in some part by the lawes of the realme punishable in their degrees.

And

No person charged with capitall crime for the onelie maintenance of the popes supremasie.

And yet for none of these points haue anie persons béene prosecuted with the charge of treason, or in danger of life.

Foure points of treason.

Such condemned onelie for treason, as mainteine the effects of the popes bull against hir maiestie and the realme.

And if then it be inquired, for what cause these others haue of late suffered death, it is trulie to be answered as afore is often remembred, that none at all were impeached for treason to the danger of their life, but such as did obstinatlie mainteine the contents of the popes bull afore mentioned; which doo import, that hir maiestie is not the lawfull quéene of England, the first and highest point of treason: and that all hir subiects are discharged of their oths and obedience; a second high point of treason: and all warranted to disobeie hir and hir lawes; a third and a verie large point of treason. And thereto is to be added a fourth point most manifest, in that they would not disallow the popes hostile procéedings in open warres against hir maiestie in hir realme of Ireland, where one of their companie doctor Sanders, a lewd scholer and subiect of England, a fugitiue and a principall companion and conspirator with the traitors and rebels at Rome, was by the popes speciall commission a commander, as in forme of a legat, and sometime a bursor or paiemaster for those wars. Which doctor Sanders in his booke of his church monarchie, did afore his passing into Ireland openlie by writing, gloriouslie auow the foresaid bull of Pius Quintus against hir maiestie, to be lawfull; aud affirmeth that by vertue thereof one doctor Morton, an old English fugitiue and conspirator, was sent from Rome into the north parts of England, which was true, to stirre vp the first rebellion there, whereof Charles Neuill the late earle of Westmerland was a head capteine.

Doctor Sanders maintenance of the popes bull.

The persons that suffered death, were condemned for treason and not for religion.

And thereby it may manifestlie appéere to all men, how this bull was the ground of the rebellions both in England and Ireland, and how for maintenance thereof, and for sowing of sedition by warrant and allowance of the same, these persons were iustlie condemned of treason, and lawfullie executed by the ancient lawes temporall of the realme, without charging them for anie other matter than for their practises and conspiracies both abroad and at home against the queene and the realme; and for the mainteining of the popes foresaid authoritie and bull, published to depriue hir maiestie of hir crowne, and for withdrawing and reconciling of hir subiects from their naturall allegiance due to hir maiestie and to their countrie, and for moouing them to sedition: and for no other causes or questions of religion were these persons condemned; although true it is, that when they were charged and conuinced of these points of conspiracies and treasons, they would still in their answers colourablie pretend their actions to haue beene for religion: but in deed and truth they were manifested to be for the procurement and maintenance of the rebellions and wars against hir maiestie and hir realme.

The diuersitie betwixt truth and falshood.

And herein is now the manifest diuersitie to be séene and well considered betwixt the truth of hir maiesties actions, and the falshood of the blasphemous aduersaries: that where the factious partie of the pope the principall author of the inuasions of hir maiesties dominions, doo falselie allege that a number of persons, whom they terme as martyrs, haue died for defense of the catholike religion; the same in verie truth may manifestlie appeere to haue died (if they so will haue it) as martyrs for the pope, but yet as traitors against their souereigne and quéene in adhering to him, being the notable and onelie open hostile enimie in all actions of warre against hir maiestie, hir kingdomes and people: and that this is the meaning of all these that haue so obstinatlie mainteined the authoritie and contents of this bull, the verie words of the bull doo declare in this sort, as doctor Sanders reporteth them.

A full proofe that the mainteiners of the bull are directlie guiltie of treason.

PIUS Quintus pontifex maximus, de apostolica potestatis plenitudine, declarauit Elisabethem prætenso regni iure, necnon omne & quocunque dominio, dignitate, priuilegióque priuatam; itémque proceres, subditos & populus dicti regni, ac cæteros omnes qui illi quomodocunque iurauerunt, à iuramento huiusmodi ac omni fidelitatis

debita-

debito, perpetuò absolutos: That is to saie, Pius Quintus the greatest bishop, of the fulnesse of the apostolike power, declared Elisabeth to be bereaued or depriued of hir pretended right of hir kingdome, and also of all and whatsoeuer dominion, dignitie and priuilege: and also the nobles, subiects and people of the said kingdome, and all others which had sworne to hir anie maner of wais, to be absolued for euer from such oth, and from all debt or dutie of fealtie, &c: with manie threatning cursings, to all that durst obeie hir or hir laws. As for execution hereof, to prooue, that the effect of the popes bull and message was a flat rebellion, it is not amisse to heare what the same doctor Sanders the popes firebrand in Ireland also writeth in his visible church monarchie, which is thus.

Dr. Mortons secret ambassage from Rome to stir the rebellion in the north.

Pius Quintus pontifex maximus, Anno Domini 1569 reuerendum presbyterum Nicolaum Mortonum Anglum in Angliam misit, vt certis illustribus viris authoritate apostolica denuntiaret, Elisabetham quæ tunc rerum potiebatur, hæreticam esse: ob eámque causam, omni dominio & potestate excidisse, impunéque ab illis velut ethnicam haberi posse, nec eos illius legibus aut mandatis deinceps obedire cogi: That is to saie, Pius Quintus the greatest bishop, in the yeare of our Lord 1569, sent the reuerend priest Nicholas Morton an Englishman into England, that he should denounce or declare by the apostolike authoritie to certeine noblemen, Elisabeth, who then was in possession, to be an heretike; and for that cause, to haue fallen from all dominion and power, and that she may be had or reputed of them as an ethnike, and that they are not to be compelled to obeie hir lawes or commandements, &c. Thus you sée an ambassage of rebellion from the popes holinesse, the ambassador an old doting English priest, a fugitiue and conspirator, sent (as he saith) to some noble men, and these were the two earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, heads of the rebellion. And after this he followeth to declare the successe therof, which I dare saie he was sorie it was so euill with these words.

Qua denuntiatione multi nobiles viri adducti sunt, vt de fratribus liberandis cogitare auderent, ac sperabant illi quidem catholicos omnes summis viribus affuturos esse: verùm etsi aliter quàm illi expectabant res euenit, quia catholici omnes nondum probè cognouerant, Elisabetham hæreticam esse declaratam, tamen laudanda illorum nobilium consilia erant: That is: By which denuntiation, manie noblemen were induced or led, that they were boldened to thinke of the fréeing of their brethren, and they hoped certeinlie that all the catholikes would haue assisted them with all their strength: but although the matter happened otherwise than they hoped for, bicause all the catholikes knew not that Elisabeth was declared to be an heretike, yet the counsels and intents of those noblemen were to be praised. A rebellion and a vanquishing of rebels verie smoothlie described.

This noble fact here mentioned was the rebellion in the north: the noblemen were the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland: the lacke of the euent or successe was, that the traitors were vanquished, and the queenes maiestie and hir subiects had by Gods ordinance the victorie: and the cause why the rebels preuailed not, was bicause all the catholikes had not béene dulie informed that the queenes maiestie was declared to be (as they terme it) an heretike; which want of information, to the intent to make the rebels mightier in number and power, was diligentlie and cunninglie supplied by the sending into the realme of a great multitude of the seminaries and Iesuits, whose speciall charge was to informe the people thereof, as by their actions hath manifestlie appéered. A supplement to amend the former errour.

And though doctor Sanders hath thus written, yet it may be said by such as fauoured the two notable Iesuits, one named Robert Persons (who yet hideth himselfe in corners to continue his traitorous practise) the other named Edmund Campion (who was found out being disguised like a roister and suffered for his treasons)

Persons and Campion are offendors as doctor Sanders is, for allowance of the bull.

that doctor Sanders treason is his proper treason in allowing of the said bull, and not to be imputed to Persons and Campion. Therefore to make it plaine that these two by speciall authoritie had charge to execute the sentence of this bull, these acts in writing following shall make manifest, which are not fained or imagined, but are the verie writings taken about one of their complices, euen immediatlie after Campions death: although Campion before his death would not be knowen of anie such matter. Whereby may appéere what trust is to be giuen to the words of such pseudomartyrs.

FACULTATES CONCESSÆ PP. ROBERTO PERSONIO

ET EDMUNDO CAMPIANO, PRO ANGLIA,

DIE 14 APRILIS, 1580.

PETATUR à summo domino nostro explicatio bullæ declaratoriæ per Pium Quintum contra Elisabetham & ei adhærentes, quam catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo, vt obliget semper illam & hæreticos, catholicos verò nullo modo obliget rebus sic stantibus, sed tum demum quando publicæ eiusdem bullæ executio fieri poterit. Then followed manie other petitions of faculties for their further authorities, which are not néedfull for this purpose to be recited: but in the end followeth this sentence as an answer of the popes. Has prædictas gratias concessit summus pontifex patri Roberto Personio, & Edmundo Campiano in Angliam profecturis, die 14 Aprilis, 1580. Præsente patre Oliuerio Manarco assistente. The English of which Latine sentences is as followeth.

FACULTIES GRANTED TO THE TWO FATHERS

ROBERT PERSONS AND EDMUND CAMPION, FOR ENGLAND,

THE FOURTEENTH DAIE OF APRILL, 1580.

Faculties granted to Persons and Campion by pope Gregorie the thirteenth Anno 1580.

LET it be asked or required of our most holie lord, the explication or meaning of the bull declaratorie made by Pius the fift against Elisabeth, and such as doo adhere or obeie hir, which bull the catholikes desire to be vnderstood in this maner: that the same bull shall alwaies bind hir and the heretikes; but the catholikes it shall by no meanes bind, as matters or things doo now stand or be; but hereafter, when the publike execution of that bull maie be had or made. Then in the end the conclusion was thus added. The highest pontife or bishop granted these foresaid graces to father Robert Persons and Edmund Campion, who are now to take their iournies into England, the 14 daie of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and eightie. Being present the father Oliuerius Manarke assistant. Hereby it is manifest, what authoritie Campion had to impart the contents of the bull against the quéens maiestie, howsoeuer he himselfe denied the same: for this was his errand.

By what authoritie Campion came into England.

And though it be manifest that these two Iesuits, Parsons and Campion, not onelie required to haue the popes mind declared for the bull; but also in their owne petitions shewed how they and other catholikes did desire to haue the said bull to be vnderstood against the quéene of England: yet to make the matter more plaine how all other Iesuits and seminaries; yea how all papists naming themselues catholikes, doo or are warranted to interpret the said bull against hir maiestie and hir good subiects, howsoeuer they will disguise it, you shall see what one of their fellowes, named Hart, who was condemned with Campion and yet liueth, did amongst manie other things declare his knowledge thereof the last daie of December in the same yeare one thousand fiue hundred and eightie, in these words following. The bull of Pius Quintus (for so much as it is against the quéene) is holden amongest the English catholikes for a lawfull sentence, and a sufficient discharge of hir subiects fidelitie, and so remaineth in force: but in some points touching the subiects, it is altered by the present pope. For where in that bull all hir subiects are commanded not to obeie hir, and she being excommunicate and deposed, all that doo obeie hir are likewise innodate and accurssed, which point is perillous to the catholikes: for if they obeie hir, they be in the popes cursse, and if they disobeie hir they are in the quéenes danger; therefore the present pope to releéue them hath altered that part of the bull, and dispensed with them to obeie and serue hir, without perill of excommunication; which dispensation is to indure but till it please the pope otherwise to determine.

Hartsconfession of the interpretation of the bull of Pius Quintus.

Wherefore to make some conclusion of the matters before mentioned, all persons both within the realme and abroad, maie plainelie perceiue that all the infamous libels latelie published abroad in sundrie languages, and the slanderous reports made in other princes courts of a multitude of persons, to haue béene of late put to torments and death onelie for profession of the catholike religion, and not for matters of state against the queenes maiestie, are false and shamelesse, and published to the maintenance of traitors and rebels. And to make the matter seeme more horrible or lamentable, they recite the particular names of all the persons, which by their owne catalog excéed not for these fiue and twentie yeares space, aboue the number of thrée score, forgetting or rather with their stonie and senselesse harts not regarding, in what cruell sort in the time of quéene Marie, which little excéeded the space of fiue yeares, the quéenes maiesties reigne being fiue times as manie, there were by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, of men, women, maidens, and children, almost the number of foure hundred, besides such as were secretlie murthered in prisons: and of that number, aboue twentie that had béene archbishops, bishops, and principall prelats or officers in the church lamentablie destroied; and of women aboue thrée score, and of children aboue fortie, and amongest the women, some great with child, and one, out of whose bodie the child by fire was expelled aliue and yet also cruellie burned; examples beyond all heathen crueltie.

A conclusion that all the infamous bookes against the quéene and the realme, are false.

Difference of the small numbers that haue béene executed in the space of fiue and twentie yeares, from the great numbers in fiue yeares of quéene Maries reigne.

And most of the youth that then suffered cruell death, both men, women, and children (which is to be noted) were such, as had neuer by the sacrament of baptisme, or by confirmation, professed, or was euer taught or instructed, or euer had heard of anie other kind of religion, but onelie of that which by their bloud and death in the fire they did as true martyrs testifie. A matter of an other sort to be lamented in a christian charitie with simplicitie of words, and not with puffed eloquence, than the execution in this time of a verie few traitors; who also in their time, if they excéeded thirtie yeares of age, had in their baptisme professed, and in their youth had learned the same religion which they now so bitterlie oppugned. And besides that, in their opinions they differ much from the martyrs of quéene Maries time: for though they which suffered in queene Maries time continued in the profession of the religion wherein they were christened, and as they were perpetuallie

taught; yet they neuer at their death denied their lawfull quéene, nor mainteined anie of hir open and forren enimies, nor anie procured rebellion or ciuill warre, nor did sow anie sedition in secret corners, nor withdrew anie subiects from their obedience, as these sworne seruants of the pope haue continuallie doone.

And therefore all these things well considered, there is no doubt, but all good subiects within the realme doo manifestlie sée; and all wauering persons (not being led cleane out of the waie by the seditious) will hereafter perceiue, how they haue béene abused to go astraie. And all strangers, but speciallie all christian potentats, as emperours, kings, princes, and such like, hauing their souereigne estates, either in succession hereditarie, or by consent of their people, being acquainted with the verie truth of these hir maiesties late iust and necessarie actions, onelie for defense of hir selfe, hir crowne, and people, against open inuadours, and for eschewing of ciuill warres, stirred vp by rebellion, will allow in their owne like cases, for a truth and rule (as it is not to be doubted but they will) that it belongeth not vnto a bishop of Rome as successour of saint Peter, and therein a pastour spirituall, or if he were the bishop of all christendome, as by the name of pope he claimeth, first by his bulles or excommunications, in this sort at his will in fauour of traitors and rebels, to depose anie souereigne princes, being lawfullie inuested in their crownes by succession in bloud, or by lawfull election; and then to arme subiects against their naturall lords, to make warres, and to dispense with them for their oths in so dooing, or to excommunicat faithfull subiects for obeieng of their naturall princes, and lastlie himselfe to make open warre, with his owne souldiers, against princes moouing no force against him.

An aduertisement vnto all princes of countries abroad.

For if these high tragicall powers should be permitted to him to exercise, then should no empire, no kingdome, no countrie, no citie or towne be possessed by anie lawfull title, longer than one such onelie an earthlie man, sitting (as he saieth) in saint Peters chaire at Rome, should for his will and appetite (without warrant from God or man) thinke méet and determine; an authoritie neuer chalenged by the Lord of lords the sonne of God, Iesus Christ our onelie Lord and sauiour, and the onelie head of his church, whilest he was in his humanitie vpon the earth; nor yet deliuered by anie writing or certeine tradition from saint Peter, from whome the pope pretendeth to deriue all his authoritie: nor yet from saint Paule the apostle of the gentils; but contrariwise by all preachings, precepts, and writings, conteined in the gospell and other scriptures of the apostles, obedience is expresselie commanded vnto all earthlie princes; yea, euen vnto kings by especiall name, and that so generallie, as no person is excepted from such dutie of obedience, as by the sentence of saint Paule euen to the Romans, appeareth, Omnis anima sublimioribus potestatibus sit subdita, that is, Let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers: within the compasse of which law or precept, saint Chrysostome being bishop of Constantinople, writeth, that Euen apostles, prophets, euangelists, and moonks are comprehended.

The authoritie proclamed by the pope not warranted by Christ, or by the two apostles Peter and Paul.

And for proofe of saint Peters mind herein, from whome these popes claime their authoritie, it cannot be plainelier expressed, than when he writeth thus, Proinde subiecti estote cuiuis hũmanæ ordinationi, propter Dominum, siue regi, vt qui supereminеat, siue præsidibus ab eo missis, that is, Therefore be you subiect to euerie humane ordinance or creature for the Lord, whether it be to the king, as to him that is supereminent, or aboue the rest, or to his presidents sent by him. By which two principall apostles of Christ, these popes the pretensed successors, but chieflie by that which Christ the sonne of God the onelie maister of truth said to Peter and his fellow apostles, Reges gentium dominantur, vos autem non sic, that is, The kings of the gentils haue rule ouer them, but you not so, maie learne to forsake their arrogant and tyrannous authorities in earthlie and temporall causes ouer kings and princes,

princes, and exercise their pastorall office: as saint Peter was charged thrise at one time by his Lord and maister, Pasce oues meas, Féed my shéepe, and peremptorilie forbidden to vse a sword, in saieng to him, Conuerte gladium tuum in locum suum, or Mitte gladium tuum in vaginam, that is, Turne thy sword into his place; or, Put thy sword into the scabbard.

All which precepts of Christ and his apostles were dulie followed and obserued manie hundred yeares after their death, by the faithfull and godlie bishops of Rome, that dulie followed the doctrine and humilitie of the apostles, and the doctrine of Christ, and were holie martyrs, and thereby dilated the limits of Christs church and the faith more in the compasse of an hundred yeares, than the latter popes haue doone with their swords and curses these fiue hundred yeares, and so continued vntill the time of one pope Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregorie the seuenth, about the yeare of our Lord, one thousand thrée score and fourtéene; who first began to vsurpe that kind of tyrannie, which of late the late pope called Pius Quintus, and since that time Gregorie now the thirteenth hath followed, for some example as it séemeth: that is, where Gregorie the seuenth, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand thrée score and fourtéene, or thereabout, presumed to depose Henrie the fourth, a noble emperor then being: Gregorie the thirtéenth now at this time, would attempt the like against king Henrie the eights daughter and heire quéene Elisabeth, a souereigne, and a maiden quéene, holding hir crowne immediatlie of God.

Pope Hildebrand the first that made warre against the emperor.

And to the end it may appeare to princes, or to their good counsellors in one example, what was the fortunat successe that God gaue to this good christian emperor Henrie, against the proud pope Hildebrand, it is to be noted, that when the pope Gregorie attempted to depose this noble emperor Henrie, there was one Rodulph a noble man, by some named the count of Reenfield, that by the popes procurement vsurped the name of the emperor, who was ouercome by the said Henrie the lawfull emperor, and in fight hauing lost his right hand, he, the said Rodulph, lamented his case to certeine bishops, who in the popes name had erected him vp, and to them he said, that the selfe same right hand which he had lost, was the same hand wherewith he had before sworne obedience to his lord and maister the emperor Henrie; and that in following their vngodlie counsels, he had brought vpon him Gods heauie and iust iudgements. And so Henrie the emperor preuailing by Gods power, caused Gregorie the pope by a synod in Italie to be deposed, as in like times before him his predecessor Otho the emperor had deposed one pope Iohn for manie heinous crimes: and so were also within a short time three other popes, namelie, Syluester, Bennet, and Gregorie the sixt, vsed by the emperor Henrie the third, about the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, fortie and seuen, for their like presumptuous attempts in temporall actions against the said emperors.

An. Do. 1074 The iudgement of God against the popes false erected emperor.

Pope Gregorie the seuenth deposed by Henrie the fourth.

Manie other examples might be shewed to the emperors maiestie, and the princes of the holie empire now being, after the time of Henrie the fourth: as of Henrie the fift, and Frederike the first, and Frederike the second, and then of Lewes of Bauar, all emperors, cruellie and tyrannouslie persecuted by the popes, and by their buls, cursses, and by open wars, and likewise to manie other the great kings and monarchs of christendome, of their noble progenitors, kings of their seuerall dominions. Whereby they may sée how this kind of tyrannous autoritie in popes to make warres vpon emperors and kings, and to command them to be depriued, tooke hold at the first by pope Hildebrand, though the same neuer had anie lawfull example or warraut from the lawes of God of the old or new testament: but yet the successes of their tyrannies were by Gods goodnesse for the most part made frustrat, as by Gods goodnesse there is no doubt, but the like will followe to their confusions at all times to come.

Henrie the fift. Frederike the first. Frederike the second. Lewes of Bauar, emperors.

And

And therefore, as there is no doubt, but the like violent tyrannous proceedings by anie pope in maintenance of traitors and rebels, would be withstood by euerie souereigne prince in christendome in defense of their persons and crownes, and maintenance of their subiects in peace: so is there at this present a like iust cause that the emperors maiestie, with the princes of the holie empire, and all other souereigne kings and princes in christendome, should iudge the same to be lawfull for hir maiestie being a queene, and holding the verie place of a king and a prince souereigne ouer diuers kingdoms and nations; she being also most lawfullie inuested in hir crowne: and as for good gouerning of hir people, with such applause and generall allowance, loued, and obeied of them; sauing a few ragged traitors, or rebels, or persons discontented, whereof no other realme is free, as continuallie for these fiue and twentie yeares past hath beene notablie seene, and so publikelie marked, euen by strangers repairing into this realme, as it were no cause of disgrace to anie monarch and king in christendome, to haue hir maiesties felicitie compared with anie of theirs whatsoeuer: and it maie be, there are manie kings and princes could be well contented with the fruition of some proportion of hir felicitie.

Whatsoeuer is lawfull for other princes soueregnes, is lawfull for the queene and crowne of England.

And, though the popes be now suffered by the emperor, in the lands of his owne peculiar patrimonie, and by the two great monarchs, the French king and the king of Spaine, in their dominions and territories (although by manie other kings not so allowed) to continue his authoritie in sundrie cases, and his glorious title to be the vniuersall bishop of the world, which title Gregorie the great aboue nine hundred yeares past called a prophane title, full of sacrilege, and a preamble of antichrist; yet in all their dominions and kingdoms, as also in the realme of England, most notablie by manie ancient lawes it is well knowne, how manie waies the tyrannous power of this his excessiue authoritie hath beene, and still is restreined, checked and limited by lawes and pragmatikes, both ancient and new, both in France and Spaine and other dominions: a verie large field for the lawyers of those countries to walke in and discourse.

The title of vniuersall bishop is a preamble of antichrist.

And howsoeuer the popes canonists, being as his bombarders, doo make his excommunications and cursses appeare fearefull to the multitude and simple people: yet all great emperors and kings aforetime, in their owne cases, of their rights and roiall preeminences, though the same concerned but a citie or a poore towne, and sometime but the not allowance of some vnworthie person to a bishoprike or to an abbeie, neuer refrained to despise all popes cursses or forces; but attempted alwaies, either by their swords to compell them to desist from their furious actions, or without anie feare of themselues, in bodie, soule, or conscience, stoutlie to withstand their cursses, and that sometime by force, sometime by ordinances and lawes: the ancient histories whereof are too manie to be repeated, and of none more frequent and effectuall than of the kings of France. And in the records of England dooth appeare, how stoutlie the kings and the baronadie of England from age to age, by extreame penall laws haue so repelled the popes vsurpations, as with the verie name of premunires his proctors haue beene terrified, and his cleargie haue quaked, as of late cardinall Woolseie did proue.

But leauing those that are ancient, we may remember how in this our owne present or late age, it hath beene manifestlie seene, how the armie of the late noble emperour Charles the fift, father to king Philip that now reigneth, was not afraid of his cursses, when in the yeare of our Lord 1527, Rome it selfe was besieged and sacked, and the pope then called Clement, and his cardinals, to the number of about thirtie and three, in his mount Adrian or castell S. Angelo, taken prisoners and deteined seauen moneths or more, and after ransomed by Don Vgo di Moncada a Spaniard, and the marquesse of Guasto, at aboue foure hundred thousand duckets, besides the ransomes of the cardinals which was much greater; hauing

1527 Rome sacked, and the pope Clement taken prisoner by the emperors armie.

not

not long before time béene also (notwithstanding his cursses) besieged in the same castell by the familie of the Colonies and their fautors his next neighbours being then imperialists, and forced to yeeld to all their demands. Neither did king Henrie the second of France, father to Henrie now king of France, about the yeare 1550, feare or regard the pope or his court of Rome, when he made seuerall strict edicts against manie parts of the popes claimes in preiudice of the crowne and cleargie of France, retracting the authoritie of the court of Rome greatlie to the hinderance of the popes former profits. Neither was the armie of king Philip nov. of Spaine, whereof the duke of Alua was generall, striken with anie feare of cursing, when it was brought afore Rome against the pope in the yeare of our Lord 1555, where great destruction was made by the said armie, and all the delicat buildings, gardens, and orchards next to Rome walles ouerthrowne, wherewith his holinesse was more terrified than he was able to remooue with anie his cursses. Neither was quéene Marie, the quéenes maiesties noble late sister, a person not a little deuoted to the Romane religion, so afraid of the popes curssings; but that both shée and hir whole councell, and that with the assent of all the iudges of the realme, according to the ancient lawes, in fauour of cardinall Poole hir kinsman, did most strictlie forbid the entrie of his bulles, and of a cardinals hat at Calis, that was sent from the pope for one frier Peito, an obseruant pleasant frier, whom the pope had assigned to be a cardinall in disgrace of cardinall Poole: neither did cardinall Poole himselfe at the same time obeie the popes commandements, nor shewed himselfe afraid, being assisted by the quéene, when the pope did threaten him with paine of cursses and excommunications; but did still oppose himselfe against the popes commandement, for the said pretended cardinall Peito; who notwithstanding all the threatenings of the pope, was forced to go vp and downe in the stréets of London like a begging frier, without his red hat: a stout resistance in a quéene for a poore cardinals hat, wherin she followed the example of hir grandfather king Henrie the seuenth, for a matter of Allum, wherein the king vsed verie great seueritie against the pope.

1550 King Henrie the second of France his edicts against the pope and his courts of Rome.

The besieging of Rome and the pope by the duke of Alua and king Philips armie.

Quéene Marie and cardinall Poole resisted the pope.

D. Peito a begging frier.

So as howsoeuer the christian kings for some respects in policie can indure the pope to command where no harme nor disaduantage groweth to themselues, yet sure it is, and the popes are not ignorant, but where they shall in anie sort attempt to take from christian princes anie part of their dominions, or shall giue aid to their enimies, or to anie other their rebels, in those cases, their bulles, their curses, their excommunications, their sentences and most solemne anathematicals, no nor their crosse keies, or double edged sword, will serue their turnes to compasse their intentions. And now, where the pope hath manifestlie by his bulles and excommunications, attempted asmuch as he could, to depriue hir maiestie of hir kingdomes, to withdraw from hir the obedience of hir subiects, to procure rebellions in hir realms, yea to make both rebellions and open warres with his owne capteines, souldiers, banners, ensignes, and all other things belonging to warre: shall this pope Gregorie or anie other pope after him, thinke that a souereigne quéene, possessed of the two realmes of England and Ireland, stablished so manie yeares in hir kingdomes as three or foure popes haue sit in their chaire at Rome, fortified with so much dutie, loue and strength of hir subiects, acknowledging no superiour ouer hir realms, but the mightie hand of God: shall she forbeare, or feare to withstand and make frustrate his vnlawfull attempts, either by hir sword or by hir lawes; or to put his soldiers inuadors of hir realme to the sword martiallie, or to execute hir lawes vpon hir owne rebellious subiects ciuillie, that are prooued to be his chiefe instruments for rebellion, and for his open war? This is sure, that howsoeuer either he sitting in his chaire with a triple crowne at Rome, or anie other his proctors in anie part of christendome, shall renew these vnlawfull attempts; almightie God the king of

The kings of christendome neuer suffer popes to abridge their titles or rights, though they suffer them to haue rule ouer their people.

The quéene of England may not suffer the pope by anie meanes to make rebellions in hir realme.

kings

kings whom hir maiestie onlie honoreth and acknowledgeth to be hir onlie souereigne Lord and protector, and whose lawes and gospell of his son Iesus Christ she seeketh to defend, will no doubt but deliuer sufficient power into his maidens hand his seruant quéene Elisabeth, to withstand and confound them all.

Additaments to the popes martyrologe.

And where the seditious trumpetors of infamies and lies haue sounded foorth and intituled certeine that haue suffered for treason, to be martyrs for religion: so may they also at this time (if they list) ad to their forged catalog the headlesse bodie of the late miserable earle of Desmond, the head of the Irish rebellion: who of late, secretlie wandering without succour, as a miserable begger, was taken by one of the Irishrie in his caben, and in an Irish sort, after his owne accustomed sauage maner, his head cut off from his bodie: an end due to such an archrebell. And herewith to remember the end of his chiefe confederats, may be noted for example to others, the strange manner of the death of doctor Sanders, the popes Irish legat, who also wandering in the mountains in Ireland without succor, died rauing in a frensie. And before him, one Iames Fitzmoris the first traitour of Ireland next to Stukeleie the rakehell, a man not vnknowen in the popes palace for a wicked craftie traitor, was slaine at one blow by an Irish noble yoong gentleman, in defense of his fathers countrie, which the traitor sought to burne. A fourth man of singular note was Iohn of Desmond, brother to the earle, a very bloudie faithlesse traitor, and a notable murderer of his familiar friends, who also wandring to séeke some preie like a woolfe in the woods, was taken and beheaded after his owne vsage, being (as he thought) sufficientlie armed with the popes buls and certeine Agnus Dei, and one notable ring with a pretious stone about his necke sent from the popes finger (as it was said) but these he saw saued not his life. And such were the fatall ends of all these, being the principall heads of the Irish warre and rebellion, so as no one person remaineth at this daie in Ireland a knowen traitor: a worke of God and not of man.

The strange ends of Iames earle of Desmond, D. Sanders, Iames Fitzmoris.

Iohn of Desmond.

To this number they may (if they séeke number) also ad a furious yoong man of Warwikeshire, by name Someruile, to increase their kalendar of the popes martyrs who of late was discouered and taken in his waie, comming with a full intent to haue killed hir maiestie, whose life God alwaies haue in his custodie. The attempt not denied by the traitor himselfe, but confessed, and that he was mooued therto in his wicked spirit, by intisements of certeine seditious and traitorous persons his kinsmen and alies, and also by often reading of sundrie seditious vile bookes latelie published against hir maiestie, and his end was in desperation to strangle himselfe to deth: an example of Gods seueritie against such as presume to offer violence to his anointed. But as God of his goodnesse hath of long time hitherto preserued hir maiestie from these and the like trecheries: so hath she no cause to feare, being vnder his protection, she saieng with king Dauid in the psalme: My God is my helper and I will trust in him, he is my protection, and the strength or the power of my saluation. And for the more comfort of all good subiects against the shadowes of the popes bulles, it is manifest to the world that from the beginning of hir maiesties reigne, by Gods singular goodnesse, hir kingdome hath inioied more vniuersall peace, hir people increased in more numbers, in more strength, and with greater riches, and with lesse sickenesse, the earth of hir kingdomes hath yeelded more fruits, and generallie all kind of worldlie felicitie hath more abounded since and during the time of the popes thunders, bulles, cursses and maledictions, than in anie other long times before, when the popes pardons and blessings came yearelie into the realme: so as his cursses and maledictions haue turned backe to himselfe and his fautors, that it may be said to the blessed quéene Elisabeth of England and of hir people, as was said in Deuteronomie of Balaam: The Lord thy God would not heare Balaam, but did turne his maledictions or cursses into benedictions or blessings: the reason is, for bicause thy God loued thée.

Iohn Someruile.

The prosperitie of England during the popes cursses.

Although

Although these former reasons are sufficient to persuade all kind of reasonable persons to allow of hir maiesties actions, to be good, reasonable lawfull and necessarie; yet bicause it may be, that such as haue by frequent reading of false artificiall libels: and by giuing credit to them, vpon a preiudice or foreiudgement afore grounded, by their rooted opinions in fauour of the pope, will rest vnsatisfied: therfore as much as may be, to satisfie all persons as farre foorth as common reason may warrant, that hir maiesties late action in executing certeine seditious traitors, hath not procéeded for the holding of opinions, either for the popes supremasie, or against hir maiesties regalitie; but for the verie crimes of sedition and treason: it shall suffice brieflie, in manner of a repetition of the former reasons, to remember these things following.

Reasons to persuade by reason the fauorers of the pope, that none hath béene executed for religion but for treason.

First, it cannot be denied, but that hir maiestie did for manie yeares suffer quietlie the popes bulles and excommunications without punishment of the fautors thereof, accounting of them but as of words or wind, or of writings in parchment waied downe with lead, or as of water bubbles, commonlie called in Latine Bullæ, and such like: but yet after some proofe that courage was taken therof by some bold and bad subiects, she could not but then estéeme them to be verie preambles, or as forerunners of greater danger: and therefore, with what reason could anie mislike, that hir maiestie did for a bare defense against them, without other action or force, vse the helpe of reuiuing of former lawes, to prohibit the publication or execution of such kind of bulles within hir realme?

The first reason.

The second reason.

Secondlie, when notwithstanding the prohibition by hir lawes, the same bulles were plentifullie (but in secret sort) brought into the realme, and at length arrogantlie set vpon the gates of the bishop of Londons palace neere to the cathedrall church of Paules the principall citie of the realme, by a lewd person, vsing the same like a herald sent from the pope: who can in anie common reason mislike, that hir maiestie finding this kind of denunciation of warre, as a defiance to be made in hir principall citie by one of hir subiects, auowing and obstinatlie mainteining the same, should according to iustice cause the offendor to haue the reward due to such a fact? And this was the first action of anie capitall punishment inflicted for matter sent from Rome to mooue rebellion, which was after hir maiestie had reigned about the space of twelue yeares or more: a time sufficient to prooue hir maiesties patience.

The bull of Pius Quintus set vp at Paules.

The first punishment for the bull.

The third reason.

Thirdlie, when the pope had risen vp out of his chaire in his wrath, from words and writings to actions, and had contrarie to the aduise giuen by saint Barnard to one of his predecessors, that is, when by his messages he left Verbum, and tooke Ferrum, that is, left to féed by the word, which was his office, and began to strike with the sword which was forbidden him, and stirred hir noblemen and people directlie to disobedience and to open rebellion, which was the office of Dathan and Abiram, and that hir lewd subiects by his commandement had executed the same with all the forces which they could make or bring into the field: who with common reason can disallow that hir maiestie vsed hir roiall lawfull authoritie, and by hir forces lawfull subdued rebels forces vnlawfull, and punished the authors thereof no otherwise than the pope himselfe vsed to doo with his owne rebellious subiects, in the patrimonie of his church, as not manie moneths passed he had béene forced to intend? And if anie prince of people in the world would otherwise neglect his office and suffer his rebels to haue their wils; none ought to pitie him, if for want of resistance and courage he lost both his crowne, his head, his life, and his kingdome.

Rebellion in the north.

The fourth reason.

Fourthlie, when hir maiestie beheld a further increase of the popes malice, notwithstanding that the first rebellion was in hir north parts vanquished, in that he interteined abroad out of this realme the traitors and rebels that fled for the rebellion, and all the rable of other the fugitiues of the realme, and that he sent a number of the same in sorts disguised into both the realmes of England and Ireland, who there secretlie allured hir people to new rebellions, and at the same time spared not his

charges to send also out of Italie by sea, certeine ships with capteines of his owne with their bands of souldiers, furnished with treasure, munition, vittels, ensignes, banners, and all other things requisite to the warre, into hir realme of Ireland, where the same forces with other auxiliar companies out of Spaine landed, and fortified themselues verie stronglie on the sea side, and proclamed open warre, erecting the popes banner against hir maiestie: may it be now asked of these persons, fauourers of the Romish authoritie, what in reason should haue béene done by hir maiestie otherwise, than first to apprehend all such fugitiues so stolen into the realme, and dispersed in disguising habits to sow sedition, as some priests in their secret profession, but all in their apparell as roisters or ruffians, some scholers, like to the basest common people, and them to commit to prisons, and vpon their examinations of their trades and haunts, to conuince them of their conspiracies abroad, by testimonie of their owne companions, and of sowing sedition secretlie at home in the realme? What may be reasonablie thought was meet to be doone with such seditious persons, but by the lawes of the realme to trie, condemne, and execute them? And speciallie hauing regard to the dangerous time, when the popes forces were in the realme of Ireland, and more in preparation to follow as well into England as into Ireland, to the resistance whereof hir maiestie and hir realme was forced to be at greater charges, than euer she had béene since she was quéene thereof. And so by Gods power, which he gaue to hir on the one part, she did by hir lawes suppresse the seditious stirrers of rebellion in hir realme of England, and by hir sword vanquished all the popes forces in hir realme of Ireland, excepting certeine capteines of marke that were saued from the sword, as persons that did renounce their quarrell, and seemed to cursse or to blame such as sent them to so vnfortunate and desperate a voiage.

The inuasion of Ireland by the pope.

The popes forces vanquished in Ireland.

But though these reasons, grounded vpon rules of naturall reason, shall satisfie a great number of the aduersaries (who will yeeld that by good order of ciuill and christian policie and gouernement, hir maiestie could nor can doo no lesse than she hath doone, first to subdue with hir forces hir rebels and traitors, and next by order of hir lawes to correct the aiders and abettors, and lastlie to put also to the sword such forces as the pope sent into hir dominions) yet there are certeine other persons, more nicelie addicted to the pope, that will yet séeme to be vnsatisfied: for that, as they will tearme the matter, a number of sillie poore wretches were put to death as traitors, being but in profession scholers or priests, by the names of seminaries, Iesuits, or simple schoolemaisters, that came not into the realme with anie armour or weapon, by force to aid the rebels and traitors, either in England or in Ireland in their rebellions or wars; of which sort of wretches the commiseration is made, as though for their contrarie opinions in religion, or for teaching of the people to disobeie the lawes of the realme, they might haue beene otherwise punished and corrected but yet not with capitall paine. These kinds of defenses tend onelie to find fault rather with the seueritie of their punishments, than to acquit them as innocents or quiet subiects.

The politike aduersaries satisfied.

Obiection of the papists, that the persons executed, are but scholers and vnarmed.

But for answer to the better satisfaction of these nice and scrupulous fauourers of traitors, it must be with reason demanded of them (if at least they will open their eares to reason) whether they thinke that when a king being stablished in his realme, hath a rebellion first secretlie practised, and afterward openlie raised in his realme by his owne seditious subiects; and when by a forren potentate or enimie the same rebellion is maintained, and the rebels by messages and promises comforted to continue, and their treasons against their naturall prince auowed; and consequentlie when the same potentat and enimie, being author of the said rebellion, shall with his owne proper forces inuade the realme and subiects of the prince that is so lawfullie and peaceablie possessed: in these cases, shall no subiect fauouring these rebels, and yéelding obedience to the enimie, the inuador, be committed or punished as a traitor; but

Manie are traitours though they haue no armour nor weapon.

but onelie such of them, as shall be found openlie to carrie armour and weapon? Shall no subiect, that is a spiall and an explorer for the rebell or enimie against his naturall prince, be taken and punished as a traitor, bicause he is not found with armour or weapon; but yet is taken in his disguised apparell, with scrolles and writings, or other manifest tokens, to prooue him a spie for traitors, after he hath wandered secretlie in his souereignes campe, region, court, or citie? Shall no subiect be counted a traitor, that will secretlie giue earnest and prest monie to persons to be rebels or enimies, or that will attempt to poison the vittels, or the founteins; or secretlie set on fire the ships or munition, or that will secretlie search and sound the hauens and créeks for landing, or measure the depth of ditches, or height of bulworks and walles, bicause these offendors are not found with armor or weapon? The answer I thinke must needs be yéelded (if reason and experience shall haue rule with these aduersaries) that all these and such like are to be punished as traitors: and the principall reason is, bicause it can not be denied, but that the actions of all these are necessarie accessaries, and adherents proper to further and continue all rebellions and warres. But if they will denie, that none are traitors that are not armed, they will make Iudas no traitor, that came to Christ without armour, colouring his treason with a kisse.

The application of the scholasticall traitors, to others, that are traitors without armor.

Now therefore it resteth to applie the facts of these late malefactors that are pretended to haue offended but as scholers, or bookemen; or at the most but as persons that onelie in words and doctrine, and not with armour did fauour and helpe the rebels and the enimies. For which purpose let these persons be termed as they list, scholers, schoolemaisters, bookemen, seminaries, priests, Iesuits, friers, beadmen, Romanists, pardoners, or what else you will; neither their titles, nor their apparell hath made them traitors, but their traitorous secret motions and practises: their persons haue not made the warre, but their directions and counsels haue set vp the rebellions. It is trulie to be pondered, that the verie causes finall of these rebellions and warres, haue béene to depose hir maiestie from hir crowne: the popes bull hath roared it so to be. The causes instrumentall are these kind of seminaries and seedmen of sedition: their secret teachings and reconciliations haue confirmed it. The fruits and effects thereof are by rebellion to shed the bloud of all hir faithfull subiects: the rewards of the inuadors (if they could preuaile) should be the disinheriting of all the nobilitie, the clergie, and the whole communaltie, that would (as they are bound by the lawes of God, by their birth, and othes) defend their naturall gratious quéene, their natiue countrie, their wiues, their children, their familie, and their houses.

And now examine these which you call vnarmed scholers and priests, wherefore they first fled out of the realme, why they liued and were conuersant in companie of the principall rebels and traitors at Rome, and in their places, where it is proued that they were partakers of their conspiracies? Let it be answered why they came thus by stealth into the realme? Why they haue wandered vp and downe in corners in disguised sort, changing their titles, names and maner of apparell? Why they haue intised and sought to persuade by their secret false reasons, the people to allow and beléeue all the actions and attempts whatsoeuer the pope hath doone, or shall doo, to be lawfull? Why they haue reconciled and withdrawne so manie people in corners from the lawes of the realme to the obedience of the pope, a forreine potentate and open enimie, whome they know to haue alreadie declared the queene to be no lawfull quéene, to haue mainteined the knowne rebels and traitors, to haue inuaded hir maiesties dominions with open warre? Examine further, how these vagarant disgised vnarmed spies haue answered, when they were taken and demanded what they thought of the bull of pope Pius Quintus, which was published to depriue the quéenes maiestie, and to warrant hir subiects to disobeie hir: whether they thought that all subiects ought to obeie the same bull, and so to rebell? Secondlie, whether they thought hir maiestie to be lawfull queene of the realme, notwithstanding the said bull

Six questions to trie traitors from scholers.

or anie other bull of the pope? Thirdlie, whether the pope might giue such licence as he did to the earls of Northumberland and Westmerland, and other hir maiesties subiects to rebell as they did? Or giue power to doctor Sanders a naturall borne subiect, but an vnnaturall worne priest, to take armes and mooue warres as he did in Ireland? Fourthlie, whether the pope may discharge the subiects of hir maiestie, or of anie other princes christened, of their oths of obedience? Fiftlie, whether the said traitorous priest doctor Sanders or one Bristow a rebellious fugitiue, did in their bookes write trulie or falslie, in approuing the said bull of Pius Quintus, and the contents thereof? Lastlie, what were to be doone, if the pope or anie other assigned by him, would inuade the realme of England, and what part they would take, or what part anie faithfull subiect of hir maiesties ought to take? To these few questions verie apt to trie the truth or falshood of anie such seditious persons, being iustlie before condemned for their disloialtie, these lewd vnarmed traitors I say would in no wise answer diretlie herto, as all other faithfull subiects to anie christian prince ought to doo.

The offendors executed for treason, not for religion.

And as they by refusall to answer directlie to these questions onelie, might haue béene iustlie conuinced as guiltie of treason: so yet were they not therevpon condemned, but vpon all their other former actions, committed both abroad and in the relme, which were no lesse traitorous than the actions of all other the spies and traitors, and of Iudas himselfe afore remembred, which had no armor nor weapon, and yet at all times ought to be adiudged traitors. For these disguised persons (called scholers or priests) hauing béene first conuersant of long time with the traitors beyond the sea in all their conspiracies, came hither by stealth in time of war and rebellion by commandement of the capitall enimie the pope or his legats, to be secret espials and explorers in the realme for the pope, to deliuer by secret, Romish tokens, as it were an earnest or prest, to them that should be in readines to ioine with rebels or open enimies, and in like sort with their hallowed baggages from Rome to poison the senses of the subiects, powring into their hearts malicious and pestilent opinions against hir maiestie and the lawes of the realme; and also to kindle and set on fire the hearts of discontented subiects with the flames of rebellion, and to search and sound the depths and secrets of all mens inward intentions, either against hir maiestie, or for hir: and finallie, to bring into a beadroll, or as it were into a muster roll, the names and powers with the dwellings of all them that should be readie to rebell, and to aid the forreine inuasion.

These kinds of seditious actions for the seruice of the pope and the traitors and rebels abroad, haue made them traitors: not their books, nor their heads, no nor their cakes of waxe which they call Agnus Dei, nor other their relikes, no nor yet their opinions for the ceremonies or rites of the church of Rome: and therefore it is to be certeinelie concluded, that these did iustlie deserue their capitall punishments as traitors, though they were not apprehended with open armour or weapon. Now if this latter repetition, as it were of all the former causes and reasons afore recited, may not serue to stop the boisterous mouthes, and the pestiferous toongs, and venemous breaths of those that are infected with so grosse errors, as to defend seditious subiects, stirrers of rebellion against their naturall prince and countrie; then are they to be left without anie further argument of the almightie God, as persons that haue couered their eies against the sunnes light, stopped their eares against the sound of iustice, and oppressed their hearts against the force of reason, and as the psalmist saith: They speake lies, they are as venemous as the poison of a serpent, euen like the deafe adder that stoppeth his eares.

Vnreasonable and obstinate persons are left to Gods iudgement.

Wherefore with christian charitie to conclude, if these rebels and traitors, and their fautors would yet take some remorse and compassion of their naturall countrie, and would consider how vaine their attempts haue béene so manie yeares; and how manie

manie of their confederats are wasted by miseries and calamities, and how none of all their attempts or plats haue prospered, and therefore would desist from their vnnaturall practises abroad: and if these seminaries, secret wanderers, and explorators in the darke, would imploie their trauels in the works of light and doctrine according to the vsage of their schooles, and content themselues with their profession and deuotion: and that the remnant of the wicked flocke of the seedmen of sedition would cease from their rebellious, false and infamous railings and libellings, altogether contrarie to christian charitie: there is no doubt by Gods grace (hir maiestie being so much giuen to mercie and deuoted to peace) but all colour and occasion of shedding the bloud of anie more of hir naturall subiects of this land, yea all further bodilie punishment should vtterlie cease. Against whose malices, if they shall not desist, almightie God continue hir maiestie with his spirit and power long to reigne and liue in his feare, and to be able to vanquish them all, being Gods enimies, and especiallie hir rebels and traitors both at home and abroad, and to mainteine and preserue all hir naturall good louing subiects, to the true seruice of the same almightie God, according to his holie word and will. Manie other things might be remembred for defense of other hir maiesties princelie, honorable, and godlie actions in sundrie other things, wherein also these and the like seditious railors haue of late time without all shame, by fained and false libels sought to discredit hir maiestie and hir gouernement: but at this time, these former causes and reasons alleaged by waie of aduertisements, onelie for maintenance of truth, are sufficient to iustifie hir maiesties actions to the whole world in the cases remembred. Magna est veritas, & præualet: Great is truth, and she ouercommeth. *2. Esd. 4.*

On the two and twentith of Ianuarie, Iohn Watson bishop of Winchester deceased at Woolseie, and was buried at Winchester on the sixtéenth daie of Februarie; a man he was well taught by the art which he professed and practised, to esteeme this life as it is, euen transitorie and verie vaine; wherin as men are the further stept in age, so should they be the lesse desirous to liue, and take death comming timelie (which is, when as naturall heate and the moisture radicall are decaied) in such good part, as nothing more acceptable. But who thinkes his death to come timelie; but the godlie wise, who haue learned, that as men haue daies of life decreed, so they haue daies of death determined; according to the tetrastichon, which that famous man Ioachimus Camerarius (an excellent man and of singular note) made a little before his departing out of this world: Bishop of Winchester deceased.

Morte nihil tempestiua esse optatius aiunt,
Sed tempestiuam quis putat esse suam?
Qui putat ille sapit; quoniam vt solatia vitæ,
Sic & quisque suæ tempora mortis habet.

On the seuenth of Februarie were arreigned at Westminster, Iames Fenne, George Haddocks, Iohn Munden, Iohn Nutter, and Thomas Homerford: all fiue were found guiltie of high treason, and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, bowelled, and quartered, and were executed at Tiborne on the twelfedaie of Februarie. ¶In this yeare, 1584, euen at the prime of the yeare, namelie in Aprill, maister Walter Raleigh esquier, a gentleman from his infancie brought vp and trained in martiall discipline, both by land and sea, and well inclined to all vertuous and honorable aduentures, hauing built a ship and a pinesse, set them to the sea, furnished with all prouisions necessarie for a long viage, and committed the charge of them to two gentlemen (his owne seruants) the one called Philip Amadis, the other Arthur Barlow, with direction to discouer that land which lieth betwéene Norembega and Florida in the west Indies; who according to their commission, made as sufficient a discouerie thereof as so short a time would permit: for they returned in August next following, and brought with them

Fiue executed for treason.

A. F. ex add. G. C.

Maister Walter Raleigh his viage for the discouerie of that land which lieth betwéene Norembega and Florida.

Philip Amadis, and Arthur Barlow.

Two sauage men and other things brought from the said land discouered.

them two sauage men of that countrie, with sundrie other things, that did assure their maister of the goodnesse of the soile, and of great commodities that would arise to the realme of England, by traffique, if that the English had anie habitation, and were planted to liue there. Wherevpon, he immediatlie prepared for a second viage, which with all expedition (nothing at all regarding the charges that it would amount vnto) did presentlie set in hand.

Maister Walter Raleigh prepareth for a second viage to the said land late discouered.

This countrie of Norembega aforesaid (and the land on this side of it) sir Humfrie Gilbert, brother to sir Walter Raleigh, a man both valiant and well experienced in martiall affaires, did attempt to discouer, with intention to settle an English colonie there, in the yeare 1578: hauing in his companie his two brethren, Walter and Carew Raleighs, Henrie Knolles, George Carew, William Careie, Edward Dennie, Henrie Nowell, Miles Morgan, Francis Knolles, Henrie North, and diuerse other gentlemen of good calling, and ten sailes of all sorts of shipping, well and sufficientlie furnished for such an enterprise, weighed anchor in the west countrie, and set to the sea. But God not fauoring his attempt, the iourneie tooke no good successe: for all his ships inforced by some occasion or mischance, made their present returne againe; that onelie excepted, wherein his brother Walter Raleigh was capteine, who being desirous to doo somewhat woorthie honor, tooke his course for the west Indies, but for want of vittels and other necessaries (needfull in so long a viage) when he had sailed as far as the Ilands of Cape de Verde vpon the coast of Affrica, was inforced ro set saile and returne for England. In this his viage he passed manie dangerous aduentures, as well by tempests as fights on the sea; but lastlie he arriued safelie at Plymouth in the west countrie in Maie next following. Sir Humfreie Gilbert notwithstanding this vnfortunate successe of his first attempt, enterprised the said viage the second time, and set to the sea with thrée ships and pinesses, in the yeare 1584, in the which iourneie he lost his life; but in what sort no man can witnesse. For being by force of foule weather separated from his companie he was neuer heard of afterwards.]

Gentlemen that associated sir Humfreie Gilbert in his viage to Norembega 1578.

The viage hath not wished successe.

Maister Walter Raleigh sailed as far as Cape de Verde, &c.

and arriueth in safetie at Plimouth.

Sir Humfrie Gilberd seuered from his companie dead, and neuer heard of.

¶ In this yeare, and the twentith daie of Maie departed out of this life that famous father of physicke and surgerie, the English Hippocrates and Galen, I meane doctor Caldwell, and was buried on the sixt of Iune immediatlie following at S. Benets church by Paules wharfe, ut the vpper end of the chancell: his bodie was verie solemnelie accompanied to the church with a traine of learned and graue doctors, besides others of that facultie, the heralds of armes dooing him such honour at his funerall as to him of dutie apperteined. Of this mans rare loue to his countrie hath béene spoken before, where mention is made of the institution of a surgerie lecture perpetuallie to be continued for the common benefit of London, and consequentlie of all England: the like whereof is not established nor vsed in anie vniuersitie of christendome (Bononie and Padua excepted) and therefore the more to be esteemed. Indéed the like institution was in towardnesse, whiles Francis the French of that name the first liued: but when he died, as the court that he kept in his time was counted a vniuersitie, but after his deth made an exchange thereof with another name: so likewise discontinued or rather vtterlie brake off that purposed institution of a surgerie lecture at Paris: so that in this point London hath a prerogatiue excelling the vniuersities.

Ab. Fl. horum omnium maximè conscius.

& eceasse of D. Caldwell physician of whom there is former mention.

The court of Francis the first a vniuersitie, &c.

This D. Caldwell in his last will and testament gaue manie great legacies to a great number of his poorest kinsfolkes, as also vnto others nothing alied vnto him. He gaue in his life time two hundred pounds to be lent gratis foreuer to the Clothiers in Burton, whereby clothing might be mainteined, the poore artificers set on worke, and the poore citizens in Lichfield also benefited: the corporation of the said towne being bound for the receiuing and deliuering thereof euerie fiue yeares to the yoongest and poorest occupiers. He gaue great summes of monie to the poore townships in Staffordshire

The distributions of D. Caldwell in his life time: and his bequests after his death.

fordshire where he was borne, both towards the releeuing of their priuat estate, as also to the repairing of their bridges and amending of their high waies, for the commoditie of all the countrie. He left large sums of monie to be emploied by his executors at their discretion, where charitie moued; as also to the publishing of such learned bookes of physike and surgerie (with sundrie chargeable formes grauen in copper and finished in his life) as he meant (if he had liued) to see extant.

His commentaries vpon some part of Paulus Aegineta, and other bookes.

Diuerse good works in his daies he had doone, and hath left order to be doone after his death: which was verie mild and still, not vnlike the deceasse of a babe in the cradle; hauing beene assailed with no extremitie of sicknesse (his * ordinarie infirmitie excepted which was intermissiue) that either might wring him or wearie him to make him vnpatient. So that he died as sleeping, hauing left behind him both credit of lerning, cunning, and other good ornaments, the very beautie of his age, which was exactlie found by true computation to be threescore and foureteene, in which yeare he died; as may be gathered by his counterfet so naturallie conueied into colours, with his white beard, the hollownesse of his cheekes, the wrinkels of his browes, the liuelie sight of his eies, and other accessaries; and all within a module, the circumference whereof exceedeth not six inches, if it amount to so much in exact measure, as a man beholding the said representation, would swere that it were not possible for art to draw more neere in imitation to nature. So that this doctor dieng in so ripe an age, was committed to holie ground, where he rested in peace, his cote armour bearing witnesse of his ancestrie: for such he beareth azure, a crosse forme fiche or, within an vrle of stars or: the second argent, a fesse indented sable charged with foure leuses heads eirant rased or: the third as the second, and fourth as the first quarterlie. Also he beareth to his crest on a tosse or and azure, a cocks head argent, couped, membred geules supporting * a crosse forme fiche or, betweene two wings sable, and mantled geules doubled argent.

* His ordinarie infirmitie was the colicke, which tormented him exceedinglie.

His age and counterfet which seemed to be made 1571, and in the yeare of his age 59.

The armes of Caldwell blasoned.

* The crosse forme fiche was the cote of Cadwallader the last king of Britains, in An. Dom. 680.

In further memorie of whome (so long as the church wherein he lieth buried dooth stand, and the monuments therein blessed from sacrilegious hands) there remaineth fixed in the wall ouer his graue, a copper plate wherein his said cote armour is workemanlie grauen, with the armes of the physicians college so vnder it, as they are knit vnto it. On either side of this latter scutchion are set certeine binding bands and other instruments of surgerie in their right formes, with their proper vse also to be practised vpon ech member: be the same head, leg, arme, hand, or foot: all workemanlie wrought, and vnder the same a memoriall grauen for wished perpetuitie:

Caldwallus iacet hîc patriæ studiosus alumnus,
Chirurgis Chiron, Hippocrates Medicis:
Heracles laqueis dum fascia membra reuincit,
Galenus priscæ laudis & artis amans:
Chirurgis stabilem lecturam condidit, illi
Præfecit Medicos, quos ea turba colat:
Plintheus hinc astat laqueus, Carchesius, inde
Fascia; quæ studij sunt monumenta sui:
Felix Chirurgus patronum qui tibi talem
Nactus es, & felix qui dolet æger erit.

* Laquei { Plintheus 1 / Charchesius 2
Fasciæ { Totum caput cingens 3 / Rhombus 4
Machinamenta { Scamnum Hippocratis 5 / Glossocomium 6

These figurs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, haue relation to certeine marks, namelie, the mullet, the cinquefoile, the fleure delice, the hand, the cressant or moone, and the pansie, grauen in the copper plate, which markes are referred to their like, in and about the armes aboue said.

Quem

Quem tibi vinxisti charum dum vita manebat,
Te cum Melpomene post tua fata canet.

Ric. Forsterus.

Francis Throckmorton arreigned and condemned of high treason.

In this yeare of our Lord 1584, on the one and twentith daie of Maie, Francis Throckemorton esquier was arreigned in the Guildhall of the citie of London, where being found guiltie of high treason, he was condemned and had iudgement accordinglie, to be drawne, hanged, boweled, and quartered. A discouerie of whose treasons, practised and attempted against the quéens maiestie and the realme, were afterward; to wit, in the moneth of Iune, published as followeth.

A TRUE AND PERFECT DECLARATION OF THE TREASONS PRACTISED AND ATTEMPTED BY FRANCIS THROCKEMORTON, LATE OF LONDON, AGAINST THE QUEENES MAIESTIE AND THE REALME.

WHEREAS there haue béene verie lewd and slanderous brutes and reports giuen out, of the due and orderlie proceedings held with Francis Throckemorton latelie arreigned and condemned of high treason at the Guildhall in London, the one and twentith daie of Maie last, whereby such as are euill affected toward hir maiestie, and the present gouernement, haue indeuoured falselie and iniuriouslie to charge hir maiestie and hir faithfull ministers with crueltie and iniustice vsed against the said Throckemorton, by extorting from him by torture, such confessions as he hath made against himselfe, and by inforcing the same to make them lawfull euidence to conuict him of the treasons therein specified: albeit hir maiesties subiects in generall, calling to mind the mild and temperate course she hath held all the time of hir most happie reigne, might rather impute hir clemencie and lenitie vsed towards all sorts of offendors to a kind of fault, than tax hir with the contrarie: yet such as allow of practises and treasons against hir maiestie, doo alwaies interpret both of the one and of the other, according to the particular affections that doo possesse them, that is, to the worst. And forsomuch as the case of Throckemorton at this time hath béene subiect to their sinister constructions; and considering that lies and false brutes cast abroad are most commonlie beleeued, vntill they be controlled by the truth: it hath béene thought expedient in this short discourse to deliuer vnto your view and consideration, a true and perfect declaration of the treasons practised and attempted by the said Throckemorton against hir maiestie and the realme, by him confessed before his arreignement, whereby hir maiestie was iustlie and in reason persuaded to put him to his triall.

But how can their interpretations be sound, whose iudgements are corrupt?

You shall likewise perceiue what course hath béene held with him by hir commissioners to bring him to confesse the truth; with what impudencie and how falselie he hath denied his saiengs and confessions: and lastlie, how by a new submission and confession of his said treasons since his condemnation, he endeuoureth to satisfie hir maiestie, and to shew the reasons that mooued him to denie the first, which he affirmeth and confirmeth by the last; which may in reason satisfie, though not all; yet such as are not forestalled, or rather forepoisoned and infected with the lies and vntruths alreadie spred and deliuered in fauour of the traitor and his treasons. You shall therefore vnderstand, that the cause of his apprehension grew first vpon

The premisses being all sufficient cannot but answer anie circumstance touching this traitor.

secret intelligence giuen to the queenes maiestie, that he was a priuie conueier and receiuer of letters to and from the Scotish quéene: vpon which information neuerthelesse diuerse moneths were suffered to passe on, before he was called to answer the matter, to the end there might some proofe more apparant be had to charge him therewith directlie: which shortlie after fell out, and thervpon there were sent vnto his houses in London, and at Leusham in Kent, to search and apprehend him, certeine gentlemen of no meane credit and reputation; of whome two were sent to his house by Paules wharfe, where he was apprehended, and so by one of them conueied presentlie awaie; the other remaining in the chamber to make search for papers, writings, &c: which might giue proofe of his suspected practises.

In that search, there were found the two papers conteining the names of certeine catholike noblemen and gentlemen, expressing the hauens for landing of forren forces, with other particularities in the said papers mentioned, the one written in the secretarie hand (which he at the barre confessed to be his owne handwriting) and the other in the Roman hand, which he denied to be his, and would not shew how the same came vnto his hands: howbeit in his examinations he hath confessed them both to be his owne handwriting: and so they are in truth. There were also found among other of his papers, twelue petidegrées of the descent of the crowne of England, printed and published by the bishop of Rosse, in the defense of the pretended title of the Scotish quéene his mistresse: with certeine infamous libels against hir maiestie printed and published beyond the seas: which being found in the hands of a man so euill affected, comparing the same with his dooings and practises against hir maiestie, you will iudge the purpose wherefore he kept them.

The bishop of Rosse an enimie to the English state.

Shortlie after his apprehension, he was examined by some of hir maiesties priuie councell, how he came by the said two papers of the hauens; and he most impudentlie denied with manie protestations that he neuer saw them, affirming they were none of his, but were foisted in (as he termed it) among his papers by the gentlemen that searched his house. Notwithstanding being more earnestlie pressed to confesse the truth, he said they had beene left (he knew not how) in his chamber by a man of his, who not long before was departed out of the realme, named Edward Rogers, alias Nuttebie, by whome they were written. And to make this deuise to carie some colour of truth, after his committing vnto the Tower, he found the meanes to get three cards, on the backeside of which cards he wrote to his brother George Throckemorton to this effect, I haue béene examined by whome the two papers, conteining the names of certeine noblemen and gentlemen, and of hauens, &c: were written; and I haue alleged them to haue beene written by Edward Nuttebie my man, of whose handwriting you know them to be: meaning by this deuise to haue had his brother confirme his falshood.

A colour of truth to countenance a manifest lie.

These cards were intercepted, and thereby the suspicion before conceiued of his practises increased. Wherevpon, as vpon other iust cause and matter against him, hauing béene sundrie times brought before some of the principall personages of hir maiesties most honourable priuie councell; and by them with all industrie examined, and persuaded in verie mild and charitable maner, to confesse the truth, promising to procure pardon for him, in case he would bewraie the depth of his practises: but no persuasion preuailing, hir maiestie thought it agréeable with good policie, and the safetie of hir roiall person and state, to commit him ouer to the hands of some of hir learned councell and others hir faithfull seruants and ministers, with commission to them, to assaie by torture to draw from him the truth of the matters appearing so weightie as to concerne the inuading of the realme, &c. These men by vertue of that commission, procéeded with him, first as the councell had formerlie doone by waie of persuasion, to induce him to confesse; but finding that course not to preuaile, they were constreined to commit him to such as are vsuallie appointed in the

The maner of procéeding against Throckemorton by commission.

Tower to handle the racke, by whome he was laied vpon the same, and somewhat pinched, although not much: for at the end of three daies following, he had recouered himselfe, and was in as good plight as before the time of his racking: which if it had then or anie other time beene ministred vnto him with that violence that he and his fauourers haue indeuoured slanderouslie to giue out, the signes thereof would haue appeared vpon his lims for many yeares.

At this first time of torture he would confesse nothing, but continued in his former obstinacie and deniall of the truth. The second time that he was put to the racke, before he was strained vp to anie purpose, he yeelded to confesse anie thing he knew, in the matters obiected against him: wherevpon he was loosed. And then the commissioners proceeded with him according to such interrogatories as had beene deliuered vnto them; which for the more breuitie shall here be omitted, the intent of this declaration tending onelie to discouer vnto you the treasons and treacherous dealings of the said Francis Throckemorton as well before as since his imprisonment, for your better knowledge of the man, and manifestation of the due and iust proceedings held with him by hir maiesties commissioners appointed vnto that seruice. And here you are to note, that when he was first pressed to discouer by whome the plots of the hauens were set downe, and to what purpose; he began (without anie further interrogation ministred) by waie of an historicall narration, to declare that at his being at Spaw in the countrie of Liege certeine yeares past, he entered into conference with one Iennie a notorious knowne traitor, touching the altering of the state of the realme here, and how the same might be attempted by forren inuasion, and to the like effect had sundrie conferences with sir Francis Englefield in the low countries, who dailie solicited the Spanish king in Spaine, and his gouernors in the said countries, to attempt the inuading of the realme, continued a course of practising against hir maiestie and the state, by letters betweene sir Francis Englefield and himselfe, till within these two yeares last past, and that he did from time to time acquaint sir Iohn Throckemorton his late father with his traitorous practises, who (as he said) seeing no probabilitie of successe in them, dissuaded him from anie further meddling with those practises.

The intent of this declaration what it is.

Iennie a notorious knowne traitor, and conferrer with Throckmorton.

He hath further confessed, that he vsed his fathers aduise and opinion in setting downe the names of the catholike noblemen and gentlemen, and did acquaint him with the description of the hauens for the landing of forces, which he conceiued and put in writing onelie by view of the map, and not by particular sight or surueie of the said hauens.

Item, he hath also confessed, that vpon the intermission of writing of letters, and the accustomed intelligences passed betweene sir Francis Englefield and him, he was made acquainted by his brother Thomas Throckemorton, by letters and conference and by Thomas Morgan by letters (two of the principall confederats and workers of these treasons residing in France) with a resolute determination agreed on by the Scotish queene and hir confederats in France and in other forren parts, and also in England, for the inuading of the realme.

Sir Francis Englefield, Thomas Throckemorton and Thomas Morgan.

That the duke of Guise should be the principall leader and executor of that inuasion.

That the pretention (which should be publikelie notified) should be to deliuer the Scotish queene to libertie, and to procure euen by force from the queenes maiestie a tolerance in religion for the pretended catholikes. But the intention (the bottome whereof should not at the first be made knowne to all men) should be vpon the queenes maiesties resistance, to remoue hir maiestie from hir crowne and state.

A pretention of an inuasion into England.

That the duke of Guise had prepared the forces, but there wanted two things, monie, and the assistance of a conuenient partie in England, to ioine with the forren forces;

The speciall meanes wanting.

forces; and a third thing, how to set the Scotish queene at libertie without perill of hir person.

For the first thing wanting, that is, monie; messengers were sent from forren parts both to Rome and Spaine, and their returne dailie expected to their liking. And the Spanish ambassadour to incourage the English to ioine both in purse and person, did giue out, that the king his maister would not onlie make some notable attempt against England, but also would beare halfe the charge of the enterprise. For the second thing, that is, the preparing of a sufficient partie in England, to receiue and to ioine with the forren forces, one especiall messenger was sent ouer into England in August last, vnder a counterfeit name from the confederats in France, to signifie the plat and preparation there, and to solicit the same here.

The Spanish ambassadours words tending to this inuasion.

That Thomas Throckemorton his brother made him priuie to his negotiation at his last being here in England; and that therevpon Francis Throckemorton tooke vpon him to be a follower and meane for the effectuating thereof among the confederats in England, with the helpe of the Spanish ambassadour, whome he instructed how and with whome to deale for the preparing of a conuenient partie here within the realme, for that himselfe would not be séene to be a sounder of men, least he might be discouered, and so indanger himselfe and the enterprise, knowing that the ambassadour being a publike person, might safelie deale therein without perill.

That the duke of Guise and other heads of the enterprise had refused some landing places, and made speciall choise of Sussex, and about Arundell in Sussex, both for the néere cut from the parts of France, where the duke did or best could assemble his force, and for the opportunitie of assured persons to giue assistance, &c.

Landing places for forren forces about Arundell in Sussex.

That he, taking vpon him the pursute of this course, shewed the whole plot and deuise of the hauens for landing to the Spanish ambassadour, who did incourage him therin; he promising, that if he might haue respit vntill the next spring, the same should be doone moré exactlie.

That at the time of Thomas Throckemortons being here, least the negotiation of the enterprise, by some casualtie, might faile in the onelie hand of one man Thomas Throckemorton, there was also from the confederats sent ouer into Sussex, Charles Paget, vnder the name of Mope aliàs Spring, and therof an aduertisement couertlie sent vnto Thomas Throckemorton, both that Thomas might vnderstand it, and not be offended that an other was ioined with him in his labour.

Charles Paget vnder the name of Mope aliàs Spring a confederat in this action.

That the Spanish ambassador, by aduertisements, from the confederats, was made priuie to this comming of Charles Paget vnder the name of Mope, and yet knowne to him to be Charles Paget.

That the said ambassador did, according to his said aduertisements, know and affirme that Charles Paget was come ouer to view the hauens and countrie for landing of such forren forces about Arundell, and speciallie to sound and conferre with certeine principall persons for assistance.

The same ambassadour also knew and affirmed, that Charles Paget had accordinglie doone his message, and had spoken with some principall persons here according vnto his commission, and was returned.

He moreouer confessed that there was a deuise betwéene the Spanish ambassadour and him, how such principall recusants here within the realme, as were in the commission of the peace in sundrie counties, might vpon the first brute of the landing of forren forces, vnder colour and pretext of their authoritie and the defense of hir maiestie, leuie men, whome they might after ioine to the forren forces, and conuert them against hir maiestie.

This would be feared and therefore alwaies by policie preuented.

In these few articles is brieflie comprised the whole effect of his confession made at large, without anie interrogatorie particularlie ministred, other than vpon the

two papers before mentioned, conteining the names of men and hauens. And here you are to note, that at the time of his apprehension, there was no knowledge or doubt had of these treasons, or of his priuitie vnto them; but onelie an information and suspicion deliuered and conceiued of some practise betwéene him and the Scotish queéne, as is before mentioned. For the discouering whereof, after he had béene sundrie times vpon his allegiance commanded to declare his dooings in conueieng and receiuing of letters to and from hir: he did voluntarilie confesse that he had written diuerse letters vnto hir, and had conueied manie to and fro, betwéene hir and Thomas Morgan in France, by whose meanes he was first made knowne to hir, and that he had receiued as manie letters from hir. He also declared the effect of his letters to hir, and of hirs to him; which letters betwéene them were alwaies written in cipher, and the cipher with the nullities and marks for names of princes and councellors he sent vnto the queenes maiestie written with his owne hand. He also deliuered the names of some, by whome he conueied his letters vnto the Scotish quéene, as by one Godfrie Fulgeam, who fled the realme immediatlie vpon Throckemortons apprehension; and one other person, whome he described by his stature, shape, and apparell, and the man since apprehended and examined, hath confessed the same: the mans name is William Ardington.

Throckemorton wrote diuerse letters to Marie the Scotish quéene.

Godfrie Fulgeam was glad to crie Fugiam.

The summe and effect of the most part of these confessions, although they were at the time of his arreignement opened and dilated by hir maiesties sergeant, atturneie, and solicitor generall at the bar, and therefore seeme not néedfull to be repeated here; yet because the purpose of this discourse is to shew sufficient proofe, that the matters conteined in his said confessions, are neither false nor feigned (as Francis Throckmorton most impudentlie affirmed at his triall, alledging that they were méere inuentions of himselfe by policie to auoid the torture) they haue béene here inserted, to the end you may the better iudge of the proofes, presumptions, and circumstances following, by comparing the matters with their accidents, and consequentlie sée the falshood of the traitor, the iust and honorable procéedings of hir maiestie, and the honest and loiall indeuors of hir ministers imploied in the discouering of the treasons.

The cause why Throckmortons confessions are here mentioned.

First, it is true and not denied by himselfe, that he was at Spaw about the time by him mentioned, and had conference with Ienneie in that place, and with sir Francis Englefield in Flanders, and that he hath written letters to sir Francis, and receiued letters from him: for he if should denie the same, he were to be conuinced by good proofe: for it hath béene noted in him by manie of his countriemen, English subiects, that both in those parts and in France, he did continuallie associat himselfe with English rebels and fugitiues. If then you consider with whome he hath conuersed beyond the seas, and compare his religion with theirs, you will iudge of his conuersation accordinglie. And it is to be supposed, that those men, knowne to be continuall practisers against the quéenes maiestie and this realme, from whense for their treasons and vnnaturall demeanours they are woorthilie banished, will not in their conuenticles and méetings forget to bethinke them of their banishment, and how they might be restored to their countrie, wherevnto no desert in hir maiesties life time (which God long continue) can well (without hir maiesties great mercie) restore them.

Throckemorton was at Spaw, and elswhere, &c.

Then I praie you, what conferences might maister Throckemorton haue with sir Francis Englefield, with Ienneie, with Liggons, with Owen, and with such like, who were his dailie companions in France and in the low countries? He hath written letters to sir Francis Englefield. To what purposes? He haunted continuallie two ambassadors in London, by whose meanes he sent and receiued letters to and from beyond the seas dailie. To whome, and from whome? Euen to and from Thomas Morgan, and Thomas Throckemorton at Paris, men knowne to hir maiestie and hir

This is a principall marke whereat they shoot, and therefore they cannot but meditat vpon the meanes.

councell

councell to be notorious practisers, verie inward with the duke of Guise, and contriuers of the treasons and deuises for the inuasion intended. And for verie certeine knowledge thereof, we néed not be beholding to Francis Throckemorton onelie (although he hath said much of them) but to others of better credit than himselfe.

That the duke of Guise did vndertake the enterprise to inuade the realme with a forren power, to be defraied by the pope and king of Spaine (a part of maister Throckemortons confession) and he in truth the first discouerer thereof to hir maiestie: if he will say that it was but inuention, it will approue false. For since he discouered the same, there haue béene diuerse aduertisements thereof sent to hir maiestie from forren princes hir highnesse louing neighbors and alies; as also by other good meanes and intelligences from hir ambassadors and seruants residing in other countries. If he denie (as he hath doone) that he neuer had knowledge of anie such matter when he confessed the same, it hath no likelihood of truth; for Throckemorton was neuer knowne to be a prophet to foretell things De futuro. The duke of Guise his enterprise to inuade the realme.

He resorted often to the Spanish ambassador, at the least twise a wéeke when he was in London: this often repaire could not be to conferre with the ambassador for the exchange of monie for his brother as he pretended at his arreignement: there was some other cause. When he was apprehended, he had a casket couered with gréene veluet, verie cunninglie conueied out of his chamber by a maidseruant of the house, taken vp vnder a beds side in his chamber (one of the gentlemen who were sent to apprehend him then being in the chamber, and vnknowing thereof) which casket not long after his apprehension, was by one Iohn Meredith a follower of Throckemorton, conueied to the hands of the Spanish ambassador. And why to him? If the matters therein might well haue abidden the light, why should not the casket haue béene kept still at home? And if not there, why not sent to some other place of safetie, as well as to the Spanish ambassador? It is to be conceiued, that this casket was not conueied thither without the direction of Francis Throckemorton, though caried by Meredith, who did well know of what moment the matters were that were within the casket, and of what danger to Throckemorton if they had béene disclosed: and therefore meant to bestowe them in a safe place where they could not readilie be had (as he thought) and with a person not vnacquainted with the qualitie of them. After the deliuerie of the casket, Meredith fled: for in truth he was priuie to the treasons, and a fellow practiser in them. To whome Francis Throckemorton, being taken short at the time of his apprehension, and forced to run vp a staire to deface a letter, which he was then in writing to the Scotish quéene in cipher (as he hath confessed) being suddenlie apprehended, and so forced to depart awaie presentlie out of his house, deliuered priuilie into the hands of Meredith, either the cipher by the which he was writing his letter to the Scotish quéene, or a letter in cipher by him written vnto hir: therefore he trusted Meredith, as a man priuie to his dooings. The Spanish ambassador and Throckemorton did often times conuerse and conferre. Throckemorton surprised and put to a narrow shift.

You are also to vnderstand, that Throckemorton was in verie great feare of the discouering of this casket after his apprehension. For remaining two or three daies prisoner in the house of one of the gentlemen that were sent to apprehend him, before he was committed to the Tower, he was permitted to talke with a solicitor of his law causes, who brought him certeine bookes drawne, or other like papers written, which he made shew to peruse. But that was not the matter why he sent for his solicitor: for in perusing the bookes, he conueied into them a little péece of paper, vpon the which he had written with a cole; I would faine know whether my casket be safe: or to the like effect. The solicitor departing from him, and resorting to Throckemortons house, not far distant from the place where he remained prisoner, opening his papers, did shake out this peece of paper, which he tooke vp and deliuered Feare is an ordinarie tormentor of a guiltie conscience.

uered to one of Francis Throckemortons men; but the casket was alreadie conueied to the Spanish ambassador. Wherby you wil perceiue what care he had of the casket, and how much it might import him to haue the writings or matters within the same concealed. He being examined touching the casket, and what was in the same, he denied at the first that euer he had anie such casket; but finding afterwards that the casket was discouered, he confessed the casket, and said there were certeine letters therein that came to his hands for the Scotish quéene from Thomas Morgan at Paris, and other letters and papers, but confessed not all, as it is supposed. That Charles Paget came ouer into the realme to euill purposes, as Throckemorton dooth declare in his confession, could not be inuented: for euen at the same time that he mentioneth, Paget came ouer, in secret and suspicious maner, staied not aboue fiftéene daies, indeuored in a sort to find the disposition of William Shellie esquier, how he might stand affected to giue assistance to the treasons, although Paget discouered not directlie his traitorous intents to Shellie: therefore all Throckemortons confessions were not forged or inuented.

The clouds of lies cannot so darken the truth but it will appeare.

How William Shellie stood affectioned to these treasonable plots.

But bicause the two papers produced at his arreignement, conteining the description of the hauens for the commodious landing of forces, doo most apparantlie condemne him, and are a manifest argument of his priuitie to the whole treason; you may not forget that he acknowledged one of the papers written in the secretarie hand, to haue béene of his owne dooing, but denied the other written in the Romane hand. In the which, vnder the title of Cheshire, &c: is said, Vpon the landing of forren supplies, Chester shall be taken. But what in your opinions might be vnderstood by that sentence, Chester shall be taken, when you shall compare the paper in the secretarie hand with the other written in the Romane hand, intituled; The names of noblemen and gentlemen in euerie countie fit to be dealt withall in this matter (which in truth were both one, although the Romane were somewhat more enlarged) the question is to be asked, What matter? The answer followeth necessarilie, To assist the forren forces that shall come to inuade the realme: for that there is an other title in that paper ouer the names of the hauens, &c: Hauens in euerie coast fit for the landing of forces. Now iudge you, to what end these names of men and descriptions of hauens, their entries, capacities, what winds bring vnto them from Spaine, France, and Flanders, were written and set downe by Throckemorton: the papers are both of his owne handwriting, and the secretarie but a proiect or copie of the Romane.

Certeine words and clauses of letters treasonable.

Is it not likelie (thinke you) that he would acquaint the Spanish ambassador with these papers (as he hath confessed) when he made him partaker of the rest of his traitorous practises and deuises, as you haue heard, and thought his casket of treasons to be most safelie committed to his hands? It may be thought that there is no man of so simple vnderstanding, that will iudge to the contrarie, vnlesse he be parciallie affected to excuse the treasons. And now to shew vnto you what mind this man hath carried towards hir maiestie; you are to be informed that Francis Throckemorton, after he had discouered to hir maiestie his course of practising, repenting himselfe of his plaine dealing in the bewraieng thereof, said to some of the commissioners vpon occasion of speach; I would I had béene hanged when I first opened my mouth to declare anie of the matters by me confessed. And being at other times sent vnto by hir maiestie with offer of pardon, if he would disclose the whole packe and complices of the treasons; he vsed this argument to persuade hir maiestie, that he had confessed all, saieng that sith he had alreadie brought himselfe by his confessions within the danger of the lawes, to the vtter ruine of his house and familie, he wondered why there should be anie conceit in hir maiestie, that he had not declared all. But to persuade such as were sent vnto him for these purposes, the rather to beleeue that he could discouer no more, at one time he vsed these speeches

What mind Throckemorton hath carried towards hir maiestie.

following with great vehemencie: Now I haue disclosed the secrets of hir who was the déerest thing vnto me in the world (meaning the Scotish quéene) and whom I thought no torment should haue drawen me so much to haue preiudiced as I haue doone by my confessions. I sée no cause why I should spare anie one, if I could saie ought against him: and sith I haue failed of my faith towards her, I care not if I were hanged.

This vehement speach importeth some secrets of great moment betwéene Throckemorton and the Scotish quéene.

And when he began first to confesse his treasons, which he did most vnwillinglie, after he was entered into the declaration of them before all the commissioners, vpon aduisement he desired he might deliuer his knowledge but to one of them onelie: wherevnto they yéelded. And thereupon remooving aside from the place where he sat by the racke, he vsed this prouerbe in Italian, Chi a perso la fede, a perso l'honore, that is, He that hath falsed his faith, hath lost his reputation; meaning thereby (as it may be conceiued) that he had giuen his faith to be a traitor, and not to reueale the treasons: and then he began to confesse as you haue heard. By this discourse, conteining the principall heads of his treasons, and the proofes and circumstances of the same, you that are not transported with vndutifull minds and affections, will cléerelie perceiue how impudentlie and vntrulie he denied at his arreignement the truth of his confessions, charging hir maiestie with crueltie, and hir ministers with vntruths in their proceeding against him. But the cause that mooued him thereto, was the vaine conceit he had taken that his case was cleere in law, by the intermission of the time betweene his confession made and his arreignement, grounding himselfe vpon a statute of the thirtéenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, in the which there are certeine treasons specified and made of that nature, that no person shal be arreigned for anie of those offenses committed within anie of the quéenes maiesties dominions, vnlesse the offendor be thereof indicted within six moneths next after the same offense committed; and shall not be arreigned for the same, vnlesse the offense be prooued by the testimonie and oth of two sufficient witnesses, or his voluntarie confession without violence: wherein he was greatlie deceiued. For it was made manifest vnto him by the lord chiefe iustice and other of the iudges in commission at his triall, that his treasons were punishable by a statute of 25. Edw. 3. which admitted no such limitation of time or proofe. Herein his skill failed him, and forgot the aduise giuen vnto him by some of the commissioners who (pitieng his misfortune for sundrie good gifts of the mind appearing in him) assured him that there was no waie so readie for him to redéeme his life, as by submission and acknowledging of his offense, which for a time after he had confessed his treasons he was contented to follow, and now eftsoones after his condemnation by a new submission to the quéens maiestie the fourth of Iune had resumed that course. The submission Verbatim written with his owne hand, followeth.

Chi a perso la fede, a perso l'honore, an Italian prouerbe.

The cause that mooued Throckemorton to denie his confessions at his arreignement.

These gifts in him were Vt venenum in aureo poculo.

TO HIR MOST EXCELLENT MAIESTIE, EUEN TO HIR OWNE ROIALL HANDS.

MOST excellent prince, and my most gratious souereigne, sith to me the most miserable of all your maiesties poore distressed subiects, being iustlie condemned by the ordinarie and orderlie course of your maiesties laws, there resteth no further meane of defense but submission: vouchsafe, most excellent prince, gratiouslie to accept the same, which prostrate in all humilitie I here present vnto the hands of your most excellent maiestie; beseeching the same, that as iustice hath beene deriued from

Throckemortons submison in a letter answering Ad verbum with his owne hands writing.

from your highnesse, as from the founteine, to the triall of mine actions: so I may receiue from the same spring, some drop of grace and mercie for the great and grieuous offense, wherof I rest by your maiesties lawes iustlie condemned: some part, I saie, of that your accustomed gratious clemencie, wherof most your distressed subiects haue tasted, and few beene depriued. And albeit the inconsiderate rashnesse of vnbridled youth hath withdrawen me from that loiall respect, which nature and dutie bound me to owe vnto your maiestie, as to my lawfull and naturall dread souereigne; and that the naturall care in me of the defense of my life mooued me latelie to the vntrue and vndutifull gainesaieng of some such points as had beene before by me in most humble sort confessed: neuerthelesse, I most humblie beseech your most excellent maiestie, that in imitation of God, whose image (both in respect of the happie place you hold, as also in regard of your singular wisdome and other the rare and singular vertues and perfections wherwith God and nature hath plentifullie indued you) you represent vnto vs here in earth, it may please your maiestie to commiserate the lamentable estate of me now the most miserable of all your maiesties subiects and gratiouslie to grant vnto me remission and forgiuenes, that not onelie doo most humblie confesse my selfe worthie of death; but also in shew of my repentance and sorowfull afflicted mind, doo not craue at your maiesties hands the prolonging of my life, if the same shall not stand with your gratious good plesure; but rather desire the trebling of the torment iustlie by your maiesties lawes imposed vpon me, if the same may be anie satisfaction to your maiestie for the heinous crime whereof I remaine by your maiesties lawes iustlie condemned; or anie mitigation of your maiesties indignation worthilie conceiued against me, that desire not to liue without your fauour; and dieng will wish from my hart, that my end may be the beginning of your maiesties securitie, and my death the preseruation of your life, and the increase both to your maiestie, and to this your most flourishing commonwelth, of all the most happie blessings of almightie God.

He sueth for vndeserued mercie to hir maiestie in his miserie, in whose fauour he might haue liued by loialtie.

Your maiesties most wofull subiect in that
he hath offended you:

FRANCIS THROCKEMORTON.

A declaration, &c: written by Throckemorton to the quéenes maiestie.

He sent vnto hir maiestie, togither with the said submission, a declaration written likewise with his owne hand, conteining the effects of the most principall points of his treasons formerlie confessed: retracting onelie the accusation of his father, and some other particularities of no moment to cléere him of his treasons, the effect wherof followeth in his owne words, as he set them downe.

THE DECLARATION WHICH THROCKMORTON SENT TO HIR MAIESTIE WITH HIS LETTER OF SUBMISSION.

THE onelie cause why I coined the practise first by me confessed, and vniustlie touched my father, was, for that partlie I conceiued that the paper written so long since, could not now by law haue touched me: but principallie, for that I was wiling thereby to colour the setting downe of those names and hauens in Romane hand, which were written long after the time by me confessed vpon occasion of conference betwéene the Spanish ambassador and me of this latter practise. Mine intelligence

ligence with the Scotish queene began a little before Christmas was two yeares: the cipher I had from Thomas Morgan in France; the first letter I receiued by Godfrie Fulgeam, by whome also came all such others as I after receiued for the most part, vnlesse it were such as came to me by F. A. his hands, who as he told me, receiued them of the fellow by me spoken of in my former confessions, whose name, I protest before God, I know not, nor whense he is. And for such letters as came vnto me in the absence of Fulgeam, they were inclosed vnder a couerture from Fulgeam, and were deliuered me by the hands of Robert Tunstead his brother in law, vnto whome I deliuered such as I had for the Scotish quéene, couered with a direction vnto Fulgeam: and once I remember or twise I sent by one of my men called Butler, letters for the Scotish queene to the house of the said Tunstead, néere Buckestones, couered with a direction to Tunstead, and vnder a letter to Fulgeam. In such letters as came to me from the Scotish quéene, were inclosed letters to F. A. manie times, and most times some for Thomas Morgan. Hir letters to me conteined, &c. William Arding-ton.

But before I returned mine answer vnto hir, I vnderstood of the death of the duke of Lenox, and withall heard from Morgan, with whome all mine intelligence was (for with my brother I neuer had anie, other than that the matters by me written to Morgan were by him imparted vnto my brother most times) that by the persuasion of the pope and the king of Spaine, the duke of Guise had yeelded to performe the iournie in person: and that it was thought that the next waie to atteine libertie for the Scotish quéene, and to reforme Scotland, was to begin here in England. And therefore he desired to know from me, whether in mine opinion catholikes would not backe any such force as should be sent, considering a demand of tolerance in religion for them should insue the well performing of the said enterprise, and what I thought the force would amount vnto, both of horsse and footmen, and where I thought to be the fittest landing. Mine answer was, that as then, I saw no great probabilitie of the good successe of such an enterprise, for that the catholikes were timorous, dispersed, the matter perillous to be communicated vnto manie, without which I saw not how anie estimat could be made of the forces: besides, that it was an imminent danger vnto the Scotish quéene, whereof I saw no remedie. The next way to atteine libertie for the Scotish quéene, &c.

I tooke notice of this matter in my next letters to the Scotish quéene, whose answer was, that she latelie heard of that determination, &c. Vpon my former answer vnto Morgan, he desired me, that I would conferre with the Spanish ambassador, to whom I should be recommended from thense. Herevpon the said ambassador sent for me, and brake with me in this matter, assuring me that in his opinion he found it verie easie to make great alteration here with verie little force, considering the disuse in men to warre, and troubles would so amaze them (as he thought) that they would be as soone ouerthrowne as assailed: and he could not thinke but in such a case catholikes would shew themselues, sith the purpose tended to the obteining for them libertie of conscience: and therefore he desired me to acquaint him, what I thought men would doo in such a case, and where I thought the fittest landing, and what holds in these parts were easiest to be surprised. I answered him, that (as it séemed) the enterprise stood vpon great vncerteinties, if it depended of the knowledge of a certeine force to be found here, which no man could assure him of, vnlesse he had sounded all the catholikes, which was not possible without a manifest hazard of the discouerie of the purpose. For as for anie great personage, I know no one to be drawne to this action, that could carrie anie more than his ordinarie retinue: the onlie waie in such a case was (I told him) for such as would be drawne The pestilent persuasion of the Spanish ambassador to prefer this pernicious enterprise.

into this matter, and were of credit in their countries, to leuie forces vnder colour of the princes authoritie.

The resolution was frustrate as also the laier of the plot: such was Gods iustice to persecute and supplant both the one and the other.

But for that these things depended vpon vncerteine grounds, which was not fit to be vsed in so great an action, I said it was to be resolued, that the force to be sent should be of that number, that what backing soeuer they should find here, they might be able of themselues to incounter with anie force that might be prouided to be sent against them, and therfore they could not be lesse than fiftéene thousand men. For the place of their landing, I said it depended much vpon the force that should be sent: for if that were in great number, it mattered not where they landed: if in a small companie, then was it requisit that it should be in the countries best affected, and furthest from hir maiesties principall forces, which I said to be in the northerne parts on either side. To the danger of the Scotish quéene by me obiected, he said he knew no remedie, vnlesse she might be taken awaie by some two hundred horsse, which I told him I saw not to be possible: for that I knew not anie gentleman in those parts (which were men, if anie, to performe it) that I durst wish to be made acquainted with the matter before hand

Finallie, our conclusion was, that I should informe him of the hauens as particularlie as I could: and within few daies after, finding by him that the force intended hither was farre inferior vnto that I spake of; and that there was some different betwéene the pope and the king of Spaine for the charge, I told him that the surest course and of least danger were, to send a supplie into Scotland, where a small force would bréed a gr. at alteration, and things being there established by the good liking of the king, I thought it was in him by a continuall war, and by incursions so to annoie this state, as hir maiestie here should be forced to yéeld the libertie of the Scotish quéene, and what should therevpon haue beene reasonablie demanded for the benefit of the catholikes here. And herein I said it would be a great furtherance, if at the same time some few were landed in Ireland: where although they abide the same hazard that the former forces susteined; yet would the charge be so great to hir maiestie, and so great an occasion of dispersing of hir forces, as a much lesse companie than was spoken of first by me, would (being landed here in a conuenient place) shake the minds of men generallie, and be of force (if anie thing) to draw them to shew themselues in the furtherance of the purpose.

Was this (thinke you) a naturall subiects opinion, or not rather the conceipt of a tyrannous traitor?

He vtterlie reiected the purpose for Ireland, and disliked not the purpose for Scotland; but still he was in mind to haue forces landed here: and therefore desired me verie earnestlie to inquire particularlie of the hauens on the side of Cumberland and Lancashire, and what men were dwelling there that were well affected in religion, and what places easie to be taken, and what apt for fortification. The next time that I went to the Spanish ambassador, he found himselfe gréeued that he vnderstood maters were determined in France without his priuitie: and told me that Persons the Iesuit was gone vnto Rome, sent (as he thought) to vnderstand the popes mind. Soone after came ouer my brother Thomas, to make an end of our account, and to persuade me to come ouer, assuring me that for ought he could see in likelihood, the enterprise was neuer like to take effect. In the time of his being here, and while I interteined intelligence with the Scotish quéene concerning hir libertie, the Spanish ambassador sent for me, and told me of the comming ouer of Mope to view Sussex and the hauens, and as he thought, to tast the best of account there: whereat he séemed to be aggreeued, for that such matters had not béene left to him, being one whome they in France made beléeue that they relied vpon principallie in this enterprise. Afterwards, the ambassador told me that it was Charles Paget, and that he was returned, but where he had béene he knew not, and at the same time I receiued

This Spanish ambassador had no good meaning in mooving this request.

This Mope was Charles Paget otherwise named Spring: as before.

ceiued a letter from Morgan, that it was Paget: but assuring me, and so willed me to assure the ambassador, that his comming was not to mooue anie man, but onelie to view the countrie, for that the moquing of anie man was referred vnto him. I did so, and he intreated me to remember him for those foresaid names and hauens, saieng, that so it were doone exactlie by the spring, it would suffice: for that sooner he saw no likelihood of the execution of the enterprise.

Throckmortons purpose if his enterprise succéeded not by the next spring.

My brother hauing made an end of his account with me, returned with this resolution betweene vs (I protest before God) that if the enterprise succéeded not betweene this and the next spring now past, that I would settle my things here and go ouer. And for this cause, he being gone, I went downe into the countrie, both to sell and take order for my lands in those parts, as also to fetch the draught of gentlemen and hauens for the most part of England, which had béene set downe by me aboue two yeares since, and left behind me at Feckenham in my studie. Not finding the draught at Feckenham, I returned to London, where I found the note of names in secretarie hand, which I carried to the Spanish ambassador, and there drew that other in Romane hand in his studie, putting downe Chester to be taken, in respect of the easinesse as I thought, and the rather to giue him incouragement in the matter, I left it with him, promising him that by the next spring I would perfect it, if I taried so long; making knowne vnto him, that I was had in suspicion, and my determination to be gone: but he pressed the contrarie of me, assuring me, that if the enterprise procéeded not, he would then also depart.

Sir Francis Englefield whether excusable or no.

Whether sir Francis Englefield were a dealer in this practise or no, I know not: but sure I am (for so the Spanish ambassador told me) that sir Francis had intelligence with the said ambassador all the time of his being here. The Spanish ambassador told me that he heard the people of Northwales were generallie well affected, and therefore he desired to haue the hauens of that countrie: I told him that hereafter I would helpe him therevnto, although no good might be expected there, for the reasons by me set downe in my first confession: and herevpon the daie before mine apprehension the ambassador sent me backe the said paper in Romane hand, desiring me to set downe the same at my leasure more exactlie, which was the cause that it was not in my gréene veluet casket. The writings in my casket were such as were by me confessed, and came vnto my hands as I haue confessed.

Throckemortons sute for commiseration to hir maiestie.

¶ I most humblie beséech hir most excellent maiestie, that the extremitie which I haue already susteined, and the causes by me discouered, to the safetie of hir maiestie and the state, not made knowne (as hath appeared) by anie other meane than by my selfe, may craue at hir hands the extending of hir gratious commiseration towards the releeuing of the lamentable estate of me, hir maiesties poore distressed subiect, and mine, if God for mine offenses forbid, not the same.

A recapitulation of some treasonable enterprises by Throckemorton.

Now iudge all ye, that be not peruerslie affected whether Throckemorton be iustlie condemned, and whether his confessions (though as he pretended extorted from him by violence) be of force in law against him. He conspired to ouerthrow the state, to bring in strangers to inuade the realme, to remoue hir maiestie from hir lawfull and naturall right and inheritance to the crowne of England, and to place a stranger in hir seat. But this last point, for placing of a stranger, will (per chance) be denied: then note, that in the whole course of the practise, the greatest barre to the prosecution of the enterprise, was, they found no waie how to put the Scotish queene in safetie. Then, if these dangerous treasons be discouered by torture (the onelie meanes left vnto princes to discouer treasons and attempts against their states and persons, where they find apparant matter to induce suspicion, as in the case of Throckemorton, vpon sight of the plots of hauens, &c) may the law touch the traitor or not? If anie man hold this question negatiuelie, hold him for a friend to

traitors and treasons, and an enimie to the quéenes maiestie, whome God long preserue, and confound hir enimies: Amen.

Throckemorton executed.

On the tenth daie of Iulie next following, the same Francis Throckemorton was conueied by water from the Tower of London to the Blacke friers staires, and from thense by land to the sessions hall in the old bailie without Newgate, where he was deliuered to the shiriffes of London, and then laid on a hurdle, from whence he was drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. The nintéenth daie of Iulie, Robert baron of Denbigh, the onelie sonne and heire of Robert earle of Leicester, departed this mortall life, being then of the age of thrée yeares and somewhat more, at Wansted in Essex, the solemnitie of whose funerall was there honorablie kept on the first of August; and after, his bodie was conueied to Warwike, and there in the chappell of Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwike his ancestor honorablie intoomed, on the one and twentith of October. In memorie of whom (but not as an epicedium, nor yet as an epitaph) these verses of fit inuention and deuise may well be vsed:

Robert baron of Denbigh deceassed.

O puer, ô expressa patrum sed maior imago,
Nunc bona cum domino spes tumulata iacet:
Sic rosa, sic teneræ sulco resecantur aristæ,
Candida sic primo lilia vere cadunt.

The charitable déeds of D. S.

In this yeare, an ancient and charitable citizen of London named D. S. embroderer to the quéenes maiestie (whome God from bare estate had aduanced to a degrée of credit, hauing his wife aliue, and by hir onelie eight children, six of them maried, whose children counted together made aboue the number of twentie) this man (I say) notwithstanding these great occasions by multiplied generations might haue prouoked him to gather and laie vp against his death, such worldlie wealth, as they thereby might reape profit after his decease: yet remembring himselfe, that christians are not placed in this world to benefit their children onlie, but also to doo good to the houshold of faith, wherof none are more likelie to be members than the godlie poore, did laie out the most part of his substance (when he was thrée score yeares of age) in and about the building of six proper houses in forme of a quadrangle, with these words in faire great letters round about the same:

These letters are placed about the quadrats or squares of the building.

The poor widowes Inne here you may see,
Where six poore widowes haue houseroome fre:
And twentie shillings yéerelie paid,
During our liues for our further aid:
Though gift be but bare and came from small store,
Despise not the giuer but praise God therefore.
Woorke whilest thou hast breath:
No waie to life but Christs death.

Vpon the front of the building, ouer the doore or gate of entrance, are these words of well wishing grauen in stone: God Saue Our Noble Queene Elisabeth Cheefe Founder Of This Worke. The originall of this foundation was in this maner. The said D. S. did purchase certeine old houses in the ward of castell Bainard, in the citie of London, and pulling them downe to the ground, did (vpon his owne charges) build vpon the same ground six little houses all of bricke and stone, as stronglie as he could deuise to continue, euerie house hauing thrée seuerall roomes one ouer the other: wherein he placed six poore widows immediatlie after they were builded, that is, in euerie house one widow, choosing them within the parish where the said houses doo stand; being such as haue liued in good name and fame all the daies of their liues, and so doo continue, and are of the age of three score yeares or thereabouts, before they shall be admitted to dwell in anie of them:

Six houses of perpetuall releefe, founded vpon S. Peters hill in Bainard castell ward.

and

and being thus admitted, and remaining widowes, they haue their dwelling frée during their liues, and twentie shillings a péece beside, paid them quarterlie by fiue shillings euerie quarter, to buie them wood and coles. And this he trulie paieth them during his owne life, and his wife shall doo it likewise if she doo out liue him during hir life; and after both their deceases, he hath made it ouer vnto Christs hospitall to performe the same for euer. For the performance of the premisses, he hath left vnto the said hospitall sufficient rents, as well to paie the said six pounds yearelie vnto the said six poore widowes; as also to kéepe the said houses in reparations and buildings for euer, with some ouerplus vnto the said hospitall.

Rents left in perpetuitie for the maintenance of the said houses.

And to the intent that his good and charitable prouision should by no misbehauiour be abused, but decent and agreeable to the age of the parties there seated, he made certeine ordinances and rules, to be obserued and kept by those six poore widowes which doo dwell or heereafter shall dwell in anie of those six houses, standing vpon saint Peters hill, in the ward of castell Bainard, erected by the said D. S. embroderer to our most gratious and noble queene Elisabeth, Anno 1584.

Ordinances of the founder to be inuiolablie obserued.

1 First, I will that they shall be such widowes as shall be giuen to serue God, before all other exercises, and such as haue liued in good name and fame, and so doo continue; no blasphemers of the name of God, no drunkards, no scolds, nor anie disquiet persons, but of good and godlie conuersation, to the better example of others. They shall be of the age of thréescore yeares, or of six and fiftie yeares at the least, before they shall be admitted to dwell in anie of the same houses. And if anie of them shall fortune to marrie, they shall depart out of the same house or houses wherein shée or they doo dwell, before they doo marrie, and neuer to be admitted to dwell in anie of the same houses againe.

What kind of widowes are to be admitted into these houses.

2 Also, they nor anie of them shall not lodge, nor suffer to be lodged or harboured by daie nor yet by night, anie manner of person, neither man, nor woman, nor child, within anie of their houses, but onelie themselues; without it be in some great extremitie of sicknesse, when as of necessitie some honest ancient woman a kéeper may watch with anie of them for a night or two vpon great necessitie; or else not lodge, harbour, keepe, or mainteine, or suffer to be lodged, harboured, kept, or mainteined, neither by daie nor yet by night, any maner of person, although they be neuer so néere of bloud or kindred; but if anie of them shall so doo, she or they shall presentlie auoid out of hir or their houses within twentie daies next after anie such offense committed, and neuer to be admitted to dwell in anie of the said houses after. My meaning is not but that they may come the one of them vnto the others house, or their friends, to be merie together (when they shall thinke méete) louinglie, as honest neighbours vse to doo at houres conuenient, and so to depart in good order.

Whom they may lodge and not lodge.

3 Also, they shall be no kéepers of sicke persons in other houses which shall be sicke of the plague, or of anie infectious sickenesse, for bringing of infected clothes among themselues: nor they shall not suffer anie other folkes to haue anie recourse by their meanes, to wash anie bucks or other clothes, neither woollen or linnen at the well, nor in anie other part of the same yards but onelie themselues, for annoieng of the tenants with filth and foule waters running through their yards and houses there adioining. And if anie of the rest of the said widowes doo or shall know that anie of them or more, haue offended anie of these articles aforesaid, and doo not shew the same vnto such persons as shall haue authoritie to correct and amend the same: then all such persons shall be in the like danger as the partie that hath so offended, if it may be proued that they did know thereof: and if they or anie of them shall offend in anie of these articles, they shall be put from their houses as is aforesaid, and not be admitted anie more into anie of them.

An order for the auoiding of infection, sicknesse, annoiance, &c.

4 Also, I will that they and either of them, shall most vsuallie vse the parish church

What wéeke daies they are

to repaire to the church.

church of saint Benets, néere Paules wharfe, and especiallie vpon the sabboth daie, and vpon mondaie, wednesdaie, and fridaie, in euerie wéeke; if there be anie seruice in the same church on the said daies: and if they or anie of them shall be absent from the same church at seruice time, being in the citie, and being not sicke, they shall paie two pence for euerie time so offending, which shall be put into the poores box among themselues, or into the poores box in the said parish church.

Conuenient vse of water, &c.

5 Also, I will that none of them doo occupie anie water aboue the staires of anie of the same houses, for decaieng of the same houses, and perishing of the séelings: and if anie of them shall so offend, she or they shall loose the fiue shillings that they should receiue the next quarter daie following, by vertue of my will.

Performance of these ordinances intended.

6 Also, I will haue them to put in two sufficient suertis to be bound in twentie pounds before they be admitted into anie of the same houses, to performe these articles, or else to auoid the said houses within twentie daies (as is aforesaid) quietlie.

An order for lanthorne and candle light in winter.

7 Also, I will that the two widowes that doo or shall dwell in the two houses next the stréet on either side of the gate, shall hang out one lanthorne betwéene them both, and a whole candell in it burning, according vnto the custome in the citie of London vsed in the winter season; that is to saie, the one widow one wéeke to hang it out, and the other widow another wéeke, and so to continue from time to time, and the said lanthorne to be mainteined by those two widowes that shall haue the hanging of them out. And I will that they doo mainteine them to be faire, large, and cléere lanthorns: and for the prouision of the candels, I will that the other foure widowes dwelling in the other foure houses, shall buie either of them one pound of cotton candels, and deliuer them vnto the two widowes that shall hang out the lanthorne, so as alwaies there shall not be aboue ten candels in the pound. And if any of the same widows shall not performe this my meaning, I will that twise so much more as will performe the premisses, shall be staid out of the fiue shillings that they or either of them should receiue the next quarter daie following, by vertue of my last will and testament.

God grant that they which are better able, may haue no lesse good will to doo the like, or better, that the godlie poore may be relieued here on earth, vpon whom, be it little or much that is bestowed; Christ Iesus no doubt will reward it a hundred fold in heauen: and who would not by workes of faithfull charitie, endeuour to dwell in God, whome the scripture calleth charitie? Considering that the apostle exhorteth all christians in no case to forget to doo good and distribute, sith with such sacrifices he is well pleased.

The loue of the Londoners to the quéenes maiestie.

On the 12 daie of Nouember, the quéens maiestie (returning after hir progresse) came to hir manor of S. Iames, where the citizens of London, to the number of two hundred of the grauest sort in cotes of veluet, and chaines of gold, on horssebacke and a thousand of the companies on foot (hauing with them a thousand men with torches readie there to giue light on euerie side for that the night drew on) receiued and welcomed hir grace. And on the foure and twentith daie of the same moneth, hir maiestie and the lords rode to the parlement, which was that daie begun at Westminster.

A parlement at Westminster.

An. Reg. 27.

Addition of Fr. Thin.

¶ In the foresaid parlement held at Westminster, were manie necessarie lawes ordeined for the commonwealth, amongst which was one speciall act procured by sir Roger Manwood knight chiefe baron of the exchcker, for the maintenance of the famous stone bridge of Rochester. And here bicause there is men tin mad of sir Roger Manwood and Rochester bridge; I thinke it conuenient (sith I haue alwaies determined to set foorth what soeuer might come to my mind and pen touching my sweet and natiue countrie of Kent, and such persons of the same as either by honorable descent in that countrie or by office of hie place in the commonwealth, or

An act for the maintenance of Rochester stone bridge procured by sir Roger Manwood.

by

by worthie remembrance deserue not to be forgotten) to speake somewhat of the same sir Roger Manwood, and such things as he hath doone for that countrie, speciallie sith master Lambard a man of rare iudgement hath not forgotten to treat of him in his booke of the perambulation of Kent vnder the title of Sandwich. Wherfore thinking him worthie remembrance for that which he hath doone in his owne countrie of Kent, I enter in discourse of him a Kentishman in this sort.

Sir Roger Manwood a frend to the commonwealth.

This man being borne at Sandwich in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and fiue and twentie, was first instructed in the grammar schoole of that towne, as then but a meane thing and taught by a chanterie priest of the foundation of one Thomas Ellis. Afterwards, when as by dissolution of chanteries in the time of king Edward the sixt this chanterie schoole was taken away, and the children of the townes people being manie in number were forced to be taught in the grammar schooles far distant from Sandwich, to the great charges of their parents (whereby manie poore mens children for capacitie and paines taking meet for learning, were put by the course of learning, which otherwise might haue prooued learned and become good members of the commonwealth) the said sir Roger Manwood by studie in the law, and reader in the inner temple, well considering the same (and minding to restore to Sandwich towne his birth place, a better grammar schoole than that wherein he was first brought vp) did in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred three score and three, vpon his owne charges procure from the deane and chapter of Christs church of Canturburie a vacant place (hauing manie broken stone walles) neere to the towne gate in Sandwich called Canturburie gate. In which void roome adioining to the riuer of Delfe is now erected a faire schoolehouse (for the schoolemaster, vsher, and certen boording schoolers) framed all of bricke and stone. For perpetuall continuance of which schoole, the said sir Roger Manwood (now lord chiefe baron) in the yeare of our Lord 1586 procured letters patents from the queene for incorporating and assurance of the same schoole (with other lands and reuenues thereto belonging) to the maior and his brethren of Sandwich and to their successors for euer, by the name of the gouernours of the free grammar schoole of Roger Manwood in Sandwich; assuring to the said gouernors of his owne land the cleere yearelie value of 22 pounds and more. Further thervnto procuring of his brother Thomas Manwood (sometime maior of Sandwich) the cleere yearelie value of ten pounds of lands and tenements; and also of one Thomas Tomson (iurat of Sandwich) eight pounds by yeere, De claro, of his owne lands and tenements, in the grosse summe amounting to fourtie pounds by yeare, which lands being sufficientlie assured to the said gouernours, with conuenient dwelling for the master, and vsher, lodging for sixteene boording scholers, and with some beneuolence of parents for the teaching of their children, is a large endowment for perpetuall maintenance of the same grammar schoole.

The place and time of sir Roger Manwoods birth and bringing vp.

Dissolution of chanteries.

Sir Roger Manwood reader in the inner temple.

He erected a faire schoolehouse of brick and stone.

He procureth letters patents &c: for the maintenance of the same in perpetuitie.

The summe of 40 pounds allowed yearlie, &c: to the maintenance of the said grammar schoole.

Besides which, for the further benefit of the same schoole, the same sir Roger Manwood hath obteined two scholers roomes in Gonuile and Caius college in Cambridge, and two other scholers roomes in Lincolne college at Oxford, with pension of foure markes yearelie to euerie of the said foure scholers to be remooued from that schoole of Sandwich, and to be placed in those colleges, from time to time as often as anie of the same college scholers roomes shall be void, and that anie scholer shall be meet to come from that schoole of Sandwich. Beyond all which that he hath doone for recompense of his birth place, with a free grammar schoole for the education of the youth there, he also for relefe of age hath neere vnto his dwelling place of saint Stephans in Hackington parish (adioining to Canturburie) built in the yeare of our redemption 1573, a faire row of seuen almes houses of bricke, placing in euerie of the same almes houses poore folkes, such as are counted to be honest and good. For perpetuall maintenance of which almes persons he hath endowed that building with

Two scholers roomes obteined in Cambridge and two in Oxford for such scholers as remooue from the said schoole to either of the vniuersities.

Seuen almes houses by him founded for the releefe of the honest aged.

with a yéerelie allowance of the value of foure pounds by yeare (to euerie of the same almes men and houses) in monie, bread, and fewell. And in the same parish church néere to those almes houses he hath newlie erected an Ile, where his toome is made and placed, and in that church a new roome of seuen pewes and seates for the almes people to be bestowed in, togither by themselues.

Sir Roger Manwoods toome.

A house of correction for lustie idle persons.

Likewise for setting to worke of middle age, whereby they may eschew idlenesse, this sir Roger Manwood did in the yeare of Christ, one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and eight, build a new house of correction in the Westgate stréet in the suburbs of Canturburie. And moreouer, whereas Rochester bridge standing on the riuer of Medwéie, being famouslie built of stone (in the time of king Richard the second as is most likelie; though some attribute the same to the time of Edward the third) by one sir Robert Knolles knight, with the helpe of Iohn lord Cobham of Cobham, and Margaret Courtneie his wife, being two of the principall benefactors therevnto after the decaie of a woodden bridge (first erected ouer the same riuer some hundred yeares before that of stone) had (for the perpetuall maintenance of the same stone bridge) the ancient contributarie lands (giuen for the support of the woodden bridge) after the ruine of the same woodden bridge reduced (by act of parlement holden in the one and twentith of Richard the second) to the maintenance of the same new stone bridge; and that sundrie manors, lands, tenements, and rents in Kent, London, and Essex, were by deuise of sundrie persons assured for the vpholding of the same new stone bridge: yet by want of due circumspection this new stone bridge became in so great decaie, that in the latter time of quéene Marie, and begining of hir maiestie now reigning, collection was made vpon all horssemen, and carriages passing ouer that bridge in manner of a tole or tax: and more, by reason of the queenes commission, an vniuersall taxation was made in nature of a tenth and fiftéenth ouer all the countrie of Kent, and the citie of Canturburie, for and towards the reparations of the same bridge.

The ancient bridge of Rochester, when builded and by whom.

Diuerse opinions concerning the first founding of the said bridge.

How the said bridge began to decaie, and what meanes are vsed for the reparing of the same.

All which being an vnwilling burthen, and griefe to the people, togither with the reuennes of the bridge lands, did not yet suffice to saue the ruine of that famous stone bridge, vntill by the carefull trauell of the said sir Roger Manwood (then a iustice in the common plées) a remedie was found therefore without iniurie to anie person, and without exaction of anie passenger. Which remedie was, that all the manors, lands, tenements, and rents, belonging vnto the bridge, should be fréed from all leases thereof, made at small rents; and the same lands so let to be dulie improoued to a higher rate, the same being a matter answerable to right and reason; considering the cause of the first gift of those lands then sufficient, and the now dearth of things, which made it insufficient to support the said bridge) the stone, timber and other stuffe, for repare of the same bridge, with the works, wages, and carriages concerning it, being now growne to farre greater prices than in old time they were. Which deuised remedie to vndoo the old leases, was much impugned by manie persons of wealthie hauior, receiuing great profit by those old vnder rented leases.

Sir Roger Manwoods deuised remedie for the kéeping of the said bridge well repared.

His deuised remedie tending to so good a purpose was impugned.

All which notwithstanding, this Roger Manwood prosecuted the same to a good successe: for he making to appeare before the lords of the councell, and the rest of the iudges of the realme (in the presence of such as inioied these old leases, and of their learned councell, and other fauourers) that the said manors, lands, and tenements, belonging to the said bridge, were giuen to the wardens and communaltie, owners of the contributorie lands; and that their old leases made by the wardens onelie, without consent of the communaltie, were not good in law: the farmers submitted themselues to surrender their old insufficient leases, and to take such as might be auailable in law of the same lands. Whereby the yearelie reuenues of the bridge lands grew to be of more value than triple that which they were before: and yet the

The yearelie reuenues of the said bridge amount vnto

old farmers had new leases vnto their owne contentation; bicause the same are not so improoued, but that they are as reasonablie letten as other priuat mens lands be. more in value by triple than they were before.

To which deuise a further remedie was then added, and set foorth by the said iustice Manwood, who for perpetuall supplie (when need should be) procured that the ancient contributorie lands, almost growne into obliuion, should be to that end reduced into a conuenient order answerable vnto right and iustice. And likewise (for good direction in yearelie elections of wardens, and other officers, with the accounts, prouision, works, and other such necessaries required for perpetuall maintenance of that bridge) obteined an act of parlement in the eightéenth yeare of this quéenes reigne, as appeareth in the printed booke of statutes: wherein were manie things ordeined for the good ordering of the said bridge, and the officers belonging therevnto. After all which a charge of fiue hundred pounds was of record demanded and leuied vpon the wardens of the said bridge, for arerages of the stipends of chanterie priests, sometime seruing in the chappell at the east end of the said bridge, to the great damage and ouerthrow of the bridge; had not the said iustice Manwood by his trauell vpon due and lawfull triall at the assizes, deliuered and discharged the bridge of that great demand; as appeareth by record in the court of the excheker, before the said sir Roger Manwood came to be chiefe baron there. And yet abuse and slackenesse being had in these things, the wardens (notwithstanding that great beneuolence and releéfe was at sundrie times and of sundrie persons procured vnto the said bridge, by the carefull and diligent trauell of Thomas Wooten of Boeton Maleherbe of Kent esquier, a deére father and fauourer of his countrie, as well at the times of the elections of the wardens, and the accounts of the officers) were forced to disburse great sums of their owne monie from time to time, to dispatch the néedfull charges and works required for the bridge, without anie conuenient allowance of the contributorie persons, at the yearelie elections of the wardens, and without due regard had for order of the said lands, belonging and contributorie to the bridge.

A further remedie deuised.

An act of parlement obteined for the behoofe of the said bridge.

Maister Thomas Wooten of Kent esquier a father and fauourer of his countrie.

For auoiding wherof the said sir Roger Manwood, then and now lord chiefe baron of the excheker, procured to pas another act of parlement, in the seuen and twentith yeare of hir maiestie reigne, wherein is further prouision made for the said bridge, as in the printed booke of statutes at large appeareth. By which fullie prouided meanes and by reasonable following the presidents of the works and accounts (written in great * ligear books by the said chiefe baron, and William Lambard esquier, in the yeare next after the said last mentioned act of parlement of the seauen and twentith of the quéenes reigne, they then executing the office of wardens) all néedfull reparations be so doone, and prouision before hand so made, as it is now growne out of all controuersie, that the said famous stone bridge of Rochester for euer is like to last, according to the intent of the first building, and the endowment thereof for the good and beneficiall seruice of the commonwealth. This sir Roger Manwood, hauing had before an other wife issued of the gentlemanlie familie of the Theobalds, is at this daie ioined in marriage with Elisabeth (descended of an ancient and worshipfull familie) the daughter of Iohn Copinger, of Alhallowes in the countie of Kent esquier: which Elisabeth, being a woman of such rare modestie and patience, as hir verie enimies must néeds confesse the same, occasioned these verses following to be composed touching hir and hir husband the said sir Roger Manwood:

* Sir Roger Manwood and maister William Lambard esquier wardens of the said bridge.

Elisabeth (daughter of Iohn Copinger esquier) second wife to sir Roger Manwood, hir modestie, &c.

Scaccarij prothobaro (Manwoode) beatum
Quem faciunt leges, lingua, loquela virum:
Coniuge fœlicior tamen es, quæ nata Copinger
Egregia est summa fœmina digna viro:

Quæ viduata thoro Wilkins, coniunctáque Manwood,
Coniugibus coniux est sociata binis.]

The earle of Lincolne deceassed.

In the moneth of Ianuarie deceassed Edward Fines lord Clinton, earle of Lincolne, and lord admerall of England, knight of the garter, and one of hir maiesties priuie councell, a man of great yeares, and seruice, as well by sea as land, he was buried at Windsor, leauing manie children behind him honorablie married. Of this noble man (whiles he liued) one to whome the honorable lords of the court were not obscurelie knowne, writing of the * peaceable regiment of the queenes maiestie, and comprising in an orderlie discourse their high places of seruice to the crowne, amongest others, speaketh verie commendablie and deseruedlie of this deceassed earle who (at such time as the said booke was published vnder the title aforenamed) had béene lord great admerall of England thirtie yeares, and of councell vnto thrée princes: alwaies of vnspotted report speciallie for allegiance, and therefore as singularlie beloued in his life; so accordinglie bemoned at his death. The words that concerne this noble mans memoriall are thus extant, to the aduancement of his honour, testified by report of two English poets:

* Εἰρηνάρχα siue Elisabetha. C. O.

O Clintone tuæ concessa est regia classis
Tutelæ, totos ter denos circiter annos:
Consuluisse tribus (nec & hæc tibi gloria parua)
Principibus, veterum satraparum sanguine clares,
Multa gerens pelago præclarè, multáque terris:
Hunc decorat comitem grandi Lincolnia fastu.

And before this, namelie in the yeare 1564, at what time the said noble man was honored with the title of Præfectus maris, and attendant vpon hir maiestie in presence, at hir being in Cambridge, where she was magnificallie interteined with all hir troope of lords and traine of ladies, &c: thus did an academike write in praise of the forenamed earle:

Regnatórque maris Clintonus, cuius in vndis
Excellens nomen præcipuúmque decus:
Ille mihi Neptunus, aquas mouet ille tridente,
Hunc Triton, hunc pelagi dijque deæque colunt.

Iesuits, seminaries, and massing priests set ouer the seas and banished out of this realme of England for euer.

On the one and twentith daie of Ianuarie, one and twentie Iesuites, seminaries, and other massing priests, late prisoners in the Tower of London, Marshalsee, and Kings bench, were shipped at the Tower wharffe, to be conueied towards France, and banished this realme for euer, by vertue of a commission from hir maiestie, as may more fullie appeare by that which followeth.

A VEW OF THE SAID COMMISSION FROM THE QUEENES MAIESTIE.

WHEREAS the queenes most excellent maiestie, foreseeing the danger that hath and might grow vnto the realme, by accesse of Iesuits and seminarie priests, and other like wandering and massing priests comming hither to seduce and withdraw hir louing subiects from their due obedience to God and hir maiestie; and therewithall, traitorouslie to practise the mouing and stirring of rebellion within the realme, as hath appeared by sufficient proofe against them, and by confession of sundrie of themselues; for the which diuerse of the said Iesuits and seminaries haue béene tried, condemned, and executed by the ordinarie and orderlie course of hir maiesties

maiesties lawes, and yet they haue not refrained dailie to practise and attempt the like treasons. Hir maiestie notwithstanding, following the accustomed course of hir princelie clemencie, liking rather for this time to haue them onelie banished out of the realme, than to suffer the iustice of hir lawes to be executed against them (although they haue deserued the same in the highest degrée) hath giuen power to vs of hir maiesties priuie councell and others, by commission and warrant vnder the great seale of England, bearing date the fiftéenth daie of this present month of Ianuarie, to sée this hir purpose and determination for their banishment put in execution. By vertue whereof, we haue procéeded therevnto, and haue committed to the charge of these bearers, William Bolles one of hir maiesties yeomen of hir chamber, and Anthonie Hall, the persons whose names doo follow, that is to saie, Iames Bosgraue, Iohn Hart, Edward Rushton, Iaspar Heiwood, William Tedder, Samuell Coniers, Arthur Pits, William Warmington, Richard Slake, William Hartlie, Richard Norris, William Deane, William Bishop, Robert Nutter, Thomas Stephanson, Iohn Coliton, Christopher Tomson, Thomas Worthington, Iohn Barns, William Smith, clearks, being Iesuits, seminaries, and other wandering and massing priests, and Henrie Orton gentleman: all which haue béene apprehended in this realme, to be by them imbarked, and transported beyond the seas, according to such direction as they haue receiued in that behalfe.

The quéenes maiesties mercie notable.

The names of such Iebusites (Iesuits, I should say) as by vertue of the quéenes commission were banished out of the quéenes dominions.

These shall be therefore by the authoritie aforesaid, to will and require you, and in hir maiesties name strictlie to charge and command you, and euerie of you hir maiesties officers, as well within the realme of England and Ireland, as in anie other parts of hir maiesties dominions and countries, to whome it may and shall apperteine, not onelie to suffer them to passe vnder the charge of the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall: but also that in case by contrarietie of winds or extremitie of weather, they shall be after their imbarking, driuen into anie port or creeke within anie of your iurisdictions, that vpon the sight of this pasport ye aid and assist the said Bolles, and Anthonie Hall, if they shall so require you, in séeing them safelie reteined, committed, and kept in custodie (if they shall come aland) till such time as they the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall may with safetie put againe into the sea, to transport them to such place beyond the sea, as by our direction they are appointed; and to suffer them eftsoones to imbarke and depart, without staie or interruption. Foreseeing, that they the said Iesuits and seminaries, and other wandering and massing priests aforesaid, nor anie of them, nor the said Henrie Orton be suffered to conueie or transport out of the realme, anie thing that by the lawes be prohibited or forbidden. Whereof (as of the rest commanded herein) we require you not to faile, as you will answer to the contrarie at your perils. Giuen vnder our hands at Gréenewich the twentith daie of Ianuarie, in the seuen and twentith yeare of hir maiesties reigne. ¶ Now followeth a certificat of the maister that transported the forenamed one and twentie banished persons, as followeth.

A further charge vpon the said seminaries touching transportation.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORDS AND OTHERS OF HIR MAIESTIES MOST HONORABLE PRIUIE COUNCELL, AND ALL OTHER OFFICERS TO WHOME IT MAY APPERTEINE.

A certificat to the lords of the councell, &c: concerning the foresaid matter.

THESE may be to certifie, &c: that William Bolles, yeoman vsher of hir maiesties chamber, and Anthonie Hall of London skinner, hauing imbarked at the Tower wharffe of London, the one and twentith daie of Ianuarie 1584 one and twentie persons being banished men into my barke called the Marie Martin of Colchester, to be transported and conueied into Normandie, for sixteene of which said one and twentie persons they had compounded with me aforehand. The same William Bolles and Anthonie Hall haue satisfied and paid me for all their passages and vittels, and haue also hired at Douer an experimented pilot for the coasts of Normandie; which said Bolles and Hall with the said banished men in their charges, after their being by contrarie winds driuen to staie against Erith, at Grauesend, in Tilberie hope, at Lée, at the Spaniard, at the Downes, at Douer, and at Rie, were by force of weather and chase of pirats driuen to Bullen, and there arriued all safelie the second day of Februarie 1584, and thense sent the said banished men, some by horsse, but most on foot, with conducts to Abbiuile in the coasts of Normandie. Witnesse my hand herevnto this fift of Februarie, 1584. ¶ By me Matthew Strut.

AN OTHER CERTIFICAT, WRITTEN AND DIRECTED INTO ENGLAND BY THE SAID BANISHED MEN.

A certificat worthie to hang vpon perpetuall record, wherein the Iesuits doo acknowledge the exceeding courteous and bountifull vsage shewed vnto them at and in their banishment, &c. Note good reader note.

TO all magistrats, officers, and ministers, within the realme of England or elsewhere, to whome it may in anie wise apperteine: this may be to giue certification, that we whose names are here vnder written, who were imbarked at the Tower wharffe of London the one and twentith daie of Ianuarie 1584; and there receiued into the charge of maister William Bolles and maister Anthonie Hall, by commission from their lordships and other hir maiesties most honourable priuie councell, haue béene by them the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall verie friendlie and honestlie intreated, and with carefull diligence safelie conducted, transported, and conueied to the prouince of Normandie, and by them left this third daie of Februarie, according to the English computation, in the yeare of Christ 1584, which said Bolles and Hall haue in our presence paid the maister of the barke which transported vs for his whole fraught and vittels in the ship for the time of our remaining abroad: and generallie so well vsed vs in all respects, that we can not but acknowledge our selues much beholding to them and fullie satisfied, in hauing béene committed to the charge of so courteous officers, sith the case standeth so with vs that we are banished our countrie contrarie to our desires, wherein we take no little griefe of mind. For testimonie wherof, we haue herevnto set our seuerall hands

hands this present third daie of Februarie 1584. Iaspar Haiwood, Edward Rushton, Iohn Hart, &c.

¶ O Lord what a mercifull quéene is this, in such sort to forgiue and forget iniuries, yea treasonable iniuries, as by banishment onelie to chastise them, that deserued extreame punishment? Yea with a banishment scarce fitlie to be so termed; sith in the execution thereof there was such clemencie shewed, as that the banished by their owne confessions haue left acknowledged vnder their owne handwriting, a notable kind of courtesie receiued by the meanes of hir maiestie. And therefore they cannot but in conscience commend hir highnesse tender affection so gratiouslie exchanged for seuere affliction; insomuch that it may rightlie be reported of hir highnesse, which the poet spake of Cesar, that is to saie:

Ouid. lib. 1. de Pont.

Est piger ad pœnas princeps, ad præmia velox,
Cuique dolet quoties cogitur esse ferox.

Earle of Derbie ambassador into France.

Henrie earle of Darbie appointed to be hir maiesties ambassador, to Henrie the third French king, and to inuest him with the order of the garter, tooke his leaue of the quéenes maiestie at Greenewich on the twentith daie of Ianuarie, and with him such gentlemen as were present, were admitted to kisse hir highnesse hand. Maister Robert Cooke Clarenceaux appointed to attend in that voiage in place of Garter, whose roome was void, and Robert Glouer Sumerset herald likewise appointed to that iourneie, were referred to the two and twentith daie of the same moneth.

Attendants vpon the said ambassador.

Noble men and gentlemen attending on the earle of Derbie; the lord Sands with eight seruants, the lord Windsore eleuen seruants, maister Scroope sonne and heire to the lord Scroope two seruants, maister Windsore brother to the lord Windsore three seruants, sir Richard Sherborne three seruants, sir Randolph Brereton six seruants, maister Clarenceaux for Garter foure seruants, maister Anthonie Cooke foure seruants, maister Gerard sonne and heire to sir Thomas Gerard, maister Fléetwood, maister Nudigate, maister Stallage gentleman vsher, the quéenes seruants. Maister Sumerset herald of armes two seruants, maister Crompton, maister Smith, maister Denton, maister Thomas Mils one seruant. The earls owne; maister Thomas Arden stuard two seruants, maister Fox controllor one seruant, maister Newton gentleman vsher one seruant, maister Philips chapleine one seruant, maister Alexander gentleman of the horsse one seruant, maister Morecroft physician one seruant. The earls waiting gentleman; maister Dawnie sonne and heire to sir Iohn Dawnie one seruant, maister Legh son and heire to sir Piers a Leigh one seruant, maister Warren one seruant, maister Thomas Shereborne sonne to sir Richard Shereborne, maister Doilie had one seruant, maister Macket one seruant, maister Richard Starkie one seruant, maister Stanlie one seruant, maister Brierton, maister Hanmer one seruant, maister Flood one seruant, maister Salisburie one seruant, maister Bushie my lords page, master Downes one seruant, maister Francis Starkie one seruant, maister Baptist one seruant, maister Randolph one seruant, maister Tusser, maister Chambers, one seruant, maister Forton, maister Russell one seruant. The earles yeomen fiftie. This traine had to carie trunks, males, and chests, fiue carts and a wagon throughout from Calis to Paris, besides the earls sumpter horsse and gardeviands on horsse backe.

The lord ambassadour passeth from London to Grauesend, and so to Douer, and arriueth at Calis.

On the six and twentith daie of Ianuarie, the earle with his traine passed from London to Grauesend in a tiltboat called a light horsseman, and there taking post horsses rid to Sittingborne, and there lodged, from whense they rid to Douer, where they imbarked and landed at Calis on the first of Februarie, the earle of Derbie lord ambassador, with the lords Sands and Windsor transported in the quéens ship named the Scout, the other gentlemen and traine in craiers of Douer to the number of eight in the whole, where they were all receiued and welcomed to the

towne

Monsieur de Gourdan gouernour of Calis interteineth the ambassadour.

towne by monsieur de Gourdan gouernour therof, and rested there the next daie: on which daie at night the said earle, barons, and principall gentlemen were inuited to a supper, by the said monsieur de Gourdan, which was prepared for them in a merchants house in verie sumptuous sort and great interteinement, and after supper musicke and dansing, some ladies and gentlewomen of the towne being purposelie brought to the place to interteine and to danse with the noblemen and others.

On the third of Februarie the whole traine went from Calis to Bullogne to bed, where they were verie well interteined, the gouernors deputie presenting the earle with certeine pots of wine of sundrie sorts. On the fourth of Februarie they rid to Monstrell to bed, and there were likewise presented. On the fift they went to Albeuill to bed, and were met with one hundred and fiftie shot of harquebuzers at the entrie of the towne, where on either side the streets were made ranks of shot all the way as they passed to their lodging, and after marched oft about the market place, giuing manie a volée of shot till it waxed darke, the gouernor of the towne presenting sundrie sorts of wine. And the daie following they tooke their iournie to Amiens to bed, where of monsieur Creuicure called Boniuet, lieutenant of Picardie for the king, accompanied with an hundred gentlemen, and best citizens, met the earle halfe a mile without the towne, and so rid talking with him and his traine. That night the said Creuicure presented the earle with great store of verie large and good fresh water fish, and the towne with wine of diuerse sorts, and the daie following being sundaie, the said Creuicure inuited the earle to dinner, which dinner was greatlie commended. After dinner his lordship and traine went to Brethnill to bed, the next daie to Cleremont, where he staied tuesdaie, and on wednesdaie the tenth of Februarie to Luzarch.

Monsieur Creuicure lieutenant of Picardie méeteth the lord ambassadour, &c.

Sir Edward Stafford the quéenes ambassador resident with the French king, &c.

On the 11 he went to S. Denise, where by the waie his lordship was met by sir Edward Stafford, hir maiesties ambassador resident with the French king, who brought with him diuerse gentlemen of England, to the number of thirtie horsse, and so accompanied him to S. Denise where they kept companie all the daie following being fridaie. On saturdaie his Lordship made his entrie into Paris, about two or thrée of the clocke at after noone, there being of the lord ambassadors traine more than two hundred horsse; and midwaie betwéene saint Denise and Paris, there met with their lordships sent from the king, the duke of Montpensier a prince of the bloud, the lords of Cauignie, le Chapelle aux Vrsins, countie de Lude, de Pienne, de Malicorne, de la Moth Fenelon, who had sometimes béene ambassador liger in England, Deffrie, D'abin, de Fontaines, de Cormisson, the marques of Curton, the countie de Grignan, all councellors in the councell, and knights of the holie ghost. The duke of Tremouille, the counties de Brissac, de Creance, Sancerre, and of Lasuze, with a great number of lords and barons, gentlemen of the chamber, which all were comanded by the king to mount on horssebacke, and accompanie the said duke de Montpensier, who met the earle of Derbie and the English traine midwaie betwixt Paris and saint Denise, and did accompanie him vnto hostell de Longueuille, sometime called the hostle of Aniou. At his lordships entrie into the said lodging, the siers de Marle and de Gonaix maistres de hostell to his maiestie, gaue him to vnderstand how they were appointed by the king to haue care of his good vsage and interteinement, who likewise had appointed mesiers de la Moth Fenelon, the marques de Curton, and the countie de Grignan, to keepe his lordship companie at all times. And so was his lordship with the other lords and gentlemen lodged in the hostell de Longueuille, where was thrée tables verie sumptuouslie furnished for them all of the kings cost; the one table in the great chamber for the lords and gentlemen, seruants to hir maiestie; the other in the hall for the erle of Derbies gentlemen; and the

The lord ambassadors interteinement and vsage.

third

third in a gallerie beneath for gentlemens seruants, besides liuerie into euerie chamber both of wax, wood, wine, and such like, in as great plentie as could be desired.

The statelie and honorable receiuing of the lord ambassadour before he came in presence and audience of the French king.

On sundaie the fouretéenth of Februarie after the English account, and the foure and twentith after the French reckoning, the said earle betwixt the houres of two and three in the after noone, went from his lodging by a posterne through the garden, which is néere to the Louure, accompanied with the said lords de la Moth Fenelon, de Curton, and Grignan, togither with the sier de Gondie, and the said de Marlé, and de Gonaix, and found the capteins of the regiment of the kings gard, making two ranks on either side of the stréet, beginning from the posterne to the Louure gate, who welcommed him in the kings behalfe. Without the gate of the said Louure he was receiued by the lieutenants of the great prouost of France and his archers; at the Louure gate by the sier de Montegnie capteine thereof to his maiestie and his archers; which archers togither with those of the great prouost made two ranks from the said gate of the Louure to the foot of the staiers. From the foot of the staiers his lordship was receiued by the sier de Perdillon the French lieutenant of the Swissers of the kings gard, which from the foot of the said staiers to the doore of the hall, made two ranks for his Lordships passage. At the entrie of the hall, his lordship was receiued by the sier de Chasteau viaux knight of the holie ghost, and capteine of the archers of the kings gard; who likewise from the said doore vnto the doore of the antichamber made two ranks. From the doore of the antichamber, his lordship was receiued by the sier de Combault of the holie ghost, chiefe master de hostell to the king, and by the other masters of the hostell to his maiestie, and by his gentlemen waiters; and there in the said antichamber all the said earle of Derbies officers and gentlemen wearing liueries were appointed to staie, and the quéenes seruants that procéeded next after them, and before the said earle went still forward. At the entrie of the chamber of estate his lordship was receiued by the sier de Liencourt knight of the holie ghost, chiefe escuir of the kings escuir, and the other escuires of the escuir togither, with the lieutenant of the hundred gentlemen of his maiestie, who made likewise two ranks for his lordships passage from that chamber doore to the chamber of audience, euerie of them bearing halberds in their hands. At the entrance of the antichamber, his lordship was receiued by the duke Ioieulx, accompanied with the gentlemen of the kings chamber ordinarie, who made two ranks from that chamber doore to the doore of the chamber roiall.

The chamber roiall, and manner of receiuing and conducting of the lord ambassadour thereunto, and other notable obseruations.

Into the said chamber roiall first entred all the gentlemen, the quéenes maiesties seruants, the lords that had receiued and accompanied the said earle and lords: and the said duke de Ioieulx accompanied the said earle of Derbie euen vnto the bars that stood about the edge of the haltpase, or mounting floore in the same chamber, where the king stood at his beds féet, accompanied without the said barriers on his right hand with the cardinals of Bourbon, Vandosme, and Ioieulx; and on the left hand with the lords, the princes of Contie, the countie de Soissons, and duke Montpensier, princes of the bloud: the dukes de Neuers, Delbeufe, de la Tremouille, de Retz, monsieur le chancellor, sier de Vilequier, du Bouchase, de la Valette, Dantragues, de la Chapelle aux Vrsins, Chauignie, la Vauguion, countie de Mauleurier, Clermont, Dantragues, de Larchaut, and other knights of the holie ghost, and councellors of the estate in great number. The said earle with the lord ambassador ordinarie of England alonelie entered within the said haltpase within the barriers vnto his maiestie, of whom they were receiued with great courtesie, and as amiable countenance as could be. And the earle deliuered the quéenes maiesties letters vnto the king with great reuerence, and then making rehearsall of that he had in charge to saie, the said ambassador presented vnto the king the lords Sands and Windsor, with other the English knights and gentlemen; which all one after an other mounted vpon the haltpase, kissed their hands, and did their reuerence vnto the king. Then the erle

The earle of Darbie and sir Edward Stafford, &c: are courteouslie receiued of the king.

tooke

The lord ambassador saluted the quéene mother.

tooke his leaue, and was conducted by all the lords and capteins that had before receiued him, and conueied him vnto the place where they had first receiued him. Afterwards he went to salute the quéene mother, and at the entrance into hir antichamber he was receiued by monsieur de Lansac knight of the holie ghost, and knight of honour vnto the same queene, whome he found accompanied with hir néece the princesse of Loraine standing at hir beds head, the princesses of Conde and Iontie, and the duches of Neuers standing at the beds féet, the duchesses Dusez, and of Rez, and other ladies and gentlewomen in great number. From thense his lordship was conueied to the quéene Regents chamber, at the entrance whereof he was receiued by the countie de Fiesque knight of the holie ghost, and hir knight of honour, finding hir accompanied with the duchesses of Montpensier and Ioieulx, who stood at hir beds féet, the ladie of Roiden hir ladie of honour and other ladies and gentlewomen also in great number, and then returned to the foresaid hostell de Longueuille.

The lord ambassadour conueied to the quéene Regents chamber.

On mondaie the fiftéenth of Februarie, the king by monsieur le Moth Fenelon told the lord ambassador his mind touching the receipt of the order, that he intended to receiue it on thursdaie following in the after noone, at the Augustine friers, which was doone accordinglie with a mantle of blew veluet, and a hood, and collar of the order, with a booke of the statutes of the order, which all were inuested vpon the king in a place called maison de Nautralles; but the oth was ministred vnto the king in the friers church, Magnificat being then soong, or singing. On sundaie the eight and twentith of Februarie, the ambassador with his traine tooke their leaue, at whose returne from the court to his lodging he was presented that night with a rich cupboord of plate, woorth twelue hundred pounds at the least; and vnto maister Clarenceaux was giuen a chaine of gold woorth one hundred and twentie pounds and better, of two hundred thirtie and six links; to maister Sumerset a chaine of one hundred and fiftie links, woorth one hundred marks; and to Thomas Mils a chaine of the same value.

The French king inuested into the order of the garter.

Gifts of roiall magnificence bestowed and receiued.

On the thursdaie following, the earle with his traine set forward homewards from Paris vnto saint Denise, and so were lodged all the waie in the same lodgings that before they had beene receiued in, and arriued prosperouslie in England, from Bullogne to Douer, on fridaie the twelfe day of March; and on the tuesdaie following were brought to the quéenes maiesties presence at Greenewich, who gratiouslie welcommed them home.

William Parrie hanged and quartered at Westminster.

This yeare on the second daie of March being tuesdaie, William Parrie was drawne from the Tower thorough the citie of London to Westminster, and there in the palace court, hanged, boweled, and quartered, for high and horrible treasons by him practised, as maie appeare by the discourse that followeth, published vpon his execution, to giue generall intimation of his notorious trecheries vnto all the quéenes maiesties subiects.

A TRUE

A TRUE AND PLAINE DECLARATION

OF THE HORRIBLE TREASONS PRACTISED BY WILLIAM PARRIE AGAINST THE QUEENES MAIESTIE, AND OF HIS CONUICTION AND EXECUTION FOR THE SAME, THE SECOND OF MARCH 1584, ACCORDING TO THE ACCOUNT OF ENGLAND.

A description of William Parrie.

THIS William Parrie, being a man of verie meane and base parentage, but of a most proud and insolent spirit, bearing himselfe alwaies far aboue the measure of his fortune, after he had long led a wastfull and dissolute life, and had committed a great outrage against one Hugh Hare, a gentleman of the inner temple, with an intent to haue murthered him in his owne chamber, for the which he was most iustlie conuicted, séeing himselfe generallie condemned with all good men for the same, and other his misdemeanors, he left his naturall countrie, and gaue himselfe to trauell into forren parts beyond the seas. In the course of this his trauell he forsooke his allegiance and dutifull obedience to hir maiestie, and was reconciled, and subiected himselfe to the pope. After which, vpon conference with certeine Iesuits and others of like qualitie, he first conceiued his most detestable treason to kill the quéene (whose life God long preserue) which he bound himselfe by promise, letters, and vowes, to performe and execute: and so with this intent he returned into England in Ianuarie one thousand fiue hundred foure score and thrée; and since that did practise at sundrie times to haue executed his most diuelish purpose and determination: yet couering the same so much as in him laie with a veile and pretense of great loialtie vnto hir maiestie.

William Parrie reconciled to the pope: and of his treason In superlatiuo gradu.

Immediatlie vpon his returne into England, he sought to haue secret accesse to hir maiestie, pretending to haue some matter of great importance to reueale vnto hir: which obteined, and the same so priuatlie in hir highnesse palace at Whitehall, as hir maiestie had but one onelie councellor with hir at the time of his accesse, in a remote place, who was so far distant, as he could not heare his spéech. And there then he discouered vnto hir maiestie (but shadowed with all craftie and traitorous skill he had) some part of the conference and procéeding as well with the said Iesuits, and other ministers of the popes, as especiallie with one Thomas Morgan a fugitiue, residing at Paris, who aboue all others did persuade him to proceed in that most diuelish attempt (as is set downe in his voluntarie confession following) bearing hir maiestie notwithstanding in hand, that his onelie intent of proceeding so farre with the said Iesuits, and the popes ministers, tended to no other end, but to discouer the dangerous practises deuised and attempted against hir maiestie by hir disloiall subiects and other malicious persons in forren parts: albeit it hath since appeared most manifestlie, as well by his said confession, as by his dealing with one Edmund Neuill esquier, that his onelie intent of discouering the same, in sort as he craftilie and traitorouslie did, tended to no other end, but to make the waie the easier to accomplish his most diuelish and wicked purpose.

O papisticall dissimulation.

Thomas Morgan a fugitiue and furtherer of Parries purpose.

Edmund Neuill not ignorant of this attempt.

And although anie other prince but hir maiestie (who is loth to put on a hard cen-

sure of those that protest to be loiall, as Parrie did) would rather haue proceeded vnto the punishment of a subiect that had waded so farre, as by oth and vow to promise the taking awaie of hir life (as he vnto hir maiesties selfe did confesse) yet such was hir goodnesse, as in stead of punishing, she did deale so gratiouslie with him, as she suffered him not onelie to haue accesse vnto hir presence: but also manie times to haue priuat conference with hir, and did offer vnto him vpon opinion once conceiued of his fidelitie towards hir (as though his wicked pretense had béene, as he protested, for hir seruice) a most liberall pension. Besides, to the end that he might not grow hatefull to the good and well affected subiects of the realme (from whome he could in no sort haue escaped with safetie of his life, if his diuelish purpose had beene reuealed) hir maiestie did conceale the same, without communicating it to anie creature; vntill such time as he himselfe had opened the same vnto certeine of hir councell; and that it was also discouered that he sought to draw the said Neuill to haue béene a partie in his diuelish and most wicked purpose.

O gratious queene and too too fauourable, euen to thine enimies!

A verie rare example, and such as dooth more set forth the singular goodnesse and bountie of hir maiesties princelie nature, than commend (if it be lawfull for a subiect to censure his souereigne) hir prouidence such as ought to be in a prince and person of hir maiesties wisdome and qualitie. And as the goodnesse of hir maiesties nature did hereby most manifestlie shew it selfe to be rare in so extraordinarie a case, and in a matter of so great perill vnto hir owne roiall person: so did the malice of Parrie most euidentlie appeare to be in the highest and extreamest degrée, who notwithstanding the said extraordinarie grace and fauour extended towards him, did not onlie persuade the said Neuill to be an associat in the said wicked enterprise: but did also verie vehementlie (as Neuill confesseth) importune him therein as an action lawfull, honourable, and meritorious, omitting nothing that might prouoke him to assent therevnto. But such was the singular goodnesse of almightie God (who euen from hir maiesties cradle by manie euident arguments hath shewed himselfe hir onelie and especiall protector) that he so wrought in Neuils heart, as he was mooued to reueale the same vnto hir maiestie, and for that purpose made choice of a faithfull gentleman and of good qualitie in the court, vnto whome vpon mondaie the eight of Februarie last past, he discouered at large all that had passed betwéene Parrie and him, who immediatlie made it knowne to hir maiestie. Wherevpon hir highnesse pleasure was, that Neuill should be examined by the earle of Leicester, and sir Christopher Hatton; who in the euening of the same daie did examine him, and he affirmed constantlie all which he had before declared to the said gentleman.

The malice of Parrie groweth to an extremitie of mischiefe against the queene.

Neuill discouereth the intended treason against hir maiestie.

In the meane time, hir maiestie continued hir singular and most princelie magnanimitie, neither dismaied with the rarenesse of the accident, nor appaled with the horror of so villanous an enterprise, tending euen to the taking awaie of hir most gratious life (a matter especiallie obserued by the councellor that was present at such time as Parrie after his returne did first discouer vnto hir maiestie his wicked purpose; who found no other alteration in hir countenance, than if he had imparted vnto hir some matter of contentment) which sheweth manifestlie how she reposeth hir confidence wholie in the defense of the almightie. And so hir maiestie, following the woonted course of hir singular clemencie, gaue order that Parrie the same mondaie in the euening (though not so knowne to him) should be sent vnto maister secretaries house in London, he being then there; who according vnto such direction as he receiued from hir maiestie, did let him vnderstand, that hir highnesse (in respect of the good will she knew he bare vnto the said Parrie, and of the trust that Parrie did outwardlie professe to repose in maister secretarie) had made especiall choice of him to deale with him in a matter that concerned hir highlie, and that he doubted not, but that he would discharge his dutie towards hir, according vnto that extraordinarie deuotion that he professed to beare vnto hir.

Did euer anie man read or heare of the like magnanimitie in a woman?

Parrie is committed to the custodie and examination of sir Francis Walsingham.

And

And therevpon he told him that hir maiestie had béene aduertised, that there was somewhat intended presentlie against hir owne person, wherwith she thought he could not but be made acquainted, considering the great trust that some of hir woorst affected subiects reposed in him: and that hir pleasure therefore was, that he should declare vnto him his knowledge therein: and whether the said Parrie himselfe had let fall anie spéech vnto anie person (though with an intent onelie to haue discouered his disposition) that might draw him in suspicion, as though he himselfe had anie such wicked intent. But Parrie with great and vehement protestations denied it vtterlie. Whervpon maister secretarie, the rather to induce him to deale more plainelie in a matter so important, declared vnto him, that there was a gentleman of qualitie euerie waie as good or better than himselfe, and rather his friend than enimie, that would auouch it to his face: yet Parrie persisted stubbornelie in his former deniall, and iustification of his owne innocencie, and would not in anie respect yéeld that he was partie or priuie to anie such motion, enterprise, or intent.

Parrie denieth with protestations whatsoeuer is demanded of him.

Being lodged that night at M. secretaries house, the next morning he desired earnestlie to haue some further spéech with maister secretarie: which granted, Parrie declared to him that he had called to remembrance that he had once some spéech with one Neuill a kinsman of his (so he called him) touching a point of doctrine conteined in the answer made to the booke, intituled, The execution of iustice in England; by which booke it was resolued, that it was lawfull to take awaie the life of a prince, in furtherance of the catholike religion: but he protested that they neuer had anie speech at all of anie attempt intended againt hir maiesties person. Which deniall of his (at two sundrie times after so much light giuen him) dooth set forth most apparantlie both the iustice and prouidence of God: his iustice, for that (though he was one of a sharpe conceipt) he had no power to take hold of this ouerture, thereby to haue auoided the danger that Neuils accusation might bring him into by confessing the same, as a thing propounded onelie to féele Neuils mind, whome before he had reported vnto maister secretarie he found a person discontented, and therefore his confession might to verie great purpose haue serued to haue cléered himselfe touching the intent: his prouidence, for that of his great mercie he would not suffer so dangerous and wicked a member to escape and liue to hir maiesties perill.

Parrie is desirous to haue some spéech with maister secretarie.

The same daie at night, Parrie was brought to the earle of Leicesters house, and there eftsoons examined before the said earle of Leicester, maister vice chamberlaine, and maister secretarie: he persisted still in his deniall of all that he was charged with. Wherevpon, Neuill being brought before him face to face, iustified his accusation against him. He notwithstanding would not yet yéeld to confesse it, but verie proudlie and insolentlie opposed his credit against the credit of Neuill, affirming that his no, was as good as Neuills yea, and as by way of recrimination, obiected the crime to Neuill himselfe. On the other side, Neuill did with great constancie affirme all that he had before said, and did set downe manie probable circumstances of the times, places, and maners of their sundrie conferences, and of such other accidents as had happened betwéene them in the course of that action: whervpon Parrie was then committed to the Tower, and Neuill commanded by their honors to set downe in writing vnder his hand, all that which before he had deliuered by words: which he did with his owne hand as followeth.

Parrie is examined before certeine lords of the councell, &c.

Neuill chargeth Parrie so precisely, that he is committed to the Tower.

EDMUND NEUILL HIS DECLARATION

THE TENTH OF FEBRUARIE, 1584, SUBSCRIBED WITH HIS OWNE HAND.

Note the malicious humor of Parrie because he might not obteine preferment to his liking.

WILLIAM Parrie the last summer, soone after his repulse in his sute for the maistership of Saint Katharins, repaired to my lodging in the White friers, where he shewed himselfe a person greatlie discontented, and vehementlie inueighed against hir maiestie, and willed me to assure my selfe, that during this time and state, I should neuer receiue contentment. But sith, said he, I know you to be honorablie descended, and a man of resolution, if you will giue me assurance, either to ioine with me, or not to discouer me, I will deliuer vnto you the onelie meanes to doo your selfe good. Which when I had promised him, he appointed me to come the next daie to his house in Feuter lane: and repairing thither accordinglie, I found him in his bed; wherevpon he commanded his men foorth, and began with me in this order.

A triple reason that moued Parrie to his pretended treason.

My lord said he (for so he called me) I protest before God, that three reasons principallie doo induce me to enter into this action which I intend to discouer vnto you: the replanting of religion, the preferring of the Scotish title, and the aduancement of iustice, woonderfullie corrupted in this commonwealth. And thervpon entred into some discourses, what places were fit to be taken to giue entrance to such forren forces as should be best liked of, for the furtherance of such enterprises as were to be vndertaken. And with these discourses he passed the time, vntill he went to dinner: after which, the companie being retired, he entered into his former discourses, And if I be not deceiued (said he) by taking of Quinborough castell, we shall hinder the passage of the queenes ships foorth of the riuer. Wherevnto when he saw me vse no contradiction, he shooke me by the hand. Tush (said he) this is nothing: if men were resolute, there is an enterprise of much more moment, and much easier to performe: an act honorable, and meritorious to God and the world.

Parrie counted it an act meritorious to murther hir maiestie.

Which seeing me desirous to know, he was not ashamed to vtter in plaine termes, to consist in killing of hir maiestie: wherein, saith he, if you will go with me, I will loose my life, or deliuer my countrie from hir bad and tyrannous gouernment. At which speeches finding me discontented, he asked me if I had read doctor Allens booke, out of which he alledged an authoritie for it. I answered, no, and that I did not beleeue that authoritie. Well (said he) what will you saie, if I shew further authoritie than this, euen from Rome it selfe, a plaine dispensation for the killing of hir, wherein you shall find it (as I said before) meritorious? Good cousine said I, when you shall shew it me, I shall thinke it verie strange, when I shall see one to hold that for meritorious, which another holdeth for damnable. Well, said Parrie, doo me but the fauour to thinke vpon it till to morrow: and if one man be in the towne, I will not faile to shew you the thing it selfe: and if he be not, he will be within these fiue or six daies; at which time if it please you to meete me at Chanon row, we may there receiue the sacrament to be true ech to other, and then I will discouer vnto you both the partie, and the thing it selfe. Whervpon I praied Parrie to thinke better vpon it, as a matter of great charge both of soule and bodie. I would to God, said Parrie, you were as perfectlie pesuaded in it as I am! for then vndoubtedlie you should doo God great seruice.

O villanous persuasion or inducement to be accessarie to the treason.

Not long after eight or ten daies (as I remember) Parrie comming to visit me at my lodging in Herns rents in Holborne, as he often vsed, we walked foorth into the fields,

fields, where he renewed againe his determination to kill hir maiestie, whom he said he thought most vnwoorthie to liue, and that he woondered I was so scrupulous therein. She hath sought, said he, your ruine and ouerthrow, why should you not then seeke to reuenge it? I confesse (quoth I) that my case is hard, but yet am I not so desperat as to reuenge it vpon my selfe, which must néeds be the euent of so vnhonest and vnpossible an enterprise. Vnpossible, said Parrie! I woonder at you, for in truth there is not anie thing more easie: you are no courtier, and therefore know not hir customes of walking with small traine, and often in the garden verie priuatlie, at which time my selfe may easilie haue accesse vnto hir, and you also when you are knowen in court. Vpon the fact we must haue a barge readie to carie vs with spéed downe the riuer, where we will haue a ship readie to transport vs if it be néedfull: but vpon my head, we shall neuer be followed so far. I asked him; How will you escape foorth of the garden? For you shall not be permitted to carie anie men with you, and the gates will then be locked, neither can you carie a dag without suspicion. As for a dag (said Parrie) I care not: my dagger is enough. And as for mine escaping, those that shall be with hir, will be so busie about hir, as I shall find opportunitie enough to escape, if you be there readie with the barge to receiue me.

Note Parries pestilent humor of malice against hir maiestie.

These doubts were of aduantago to Neuill, but meanes of reprochfull ruine to Parrie.

But if this séeme dangerous in respect of your reason before shewed, let it then rest till hir comming to saint Iames, and let vs furnish ourselues in the meane time with men and horsse fit for the purpose: may ech of vs kéepe eight or ten men without suspicion? And for my part, said he, I shall find good fellowes that will follow me without suspecting mine intent. It is much, said he, that so manie resolute men maie doo vpon the sudden, being well appointed with ech his case of dags: if they were an hundred waited vpon hir, they were not able to saue hir, you comming on the one side, and I on the other, and discharging our dags vpon hir, it were vnhappie if we should both misse hir. But if our dags faile, I shall bestirre me well with a sword yer she escape me. Wherevnto I said: Good doctor giue ouer this odious enterprise, and trouble me no more with the hearing of that which in heart I loth so much. I would to God the enterprise were honest, that I might make knowne vnto thée whether I want resolution! And not long after, hir maiestie came to saint Iames, after which, one morning (the daie certeine I remember not) Parrie reuiued againe his former discourse of killing hir maiestie, with great earnestnesse and importunitie persuading me to ioine therein: saieng he thought me the onelie man of England like to performe it, in respect of my valure, as he termed it.

Note the traitorous practise of Parrie laid downe in order as it should haue béene doone.

Wherevpon I made semblance as if I had beene more willing to heare him than before, hoping by that means to cause him to deliuer his mind to some other that might be witnesse thereof with me, wherin neuerthelesse I failed. After all this, on saturdaie last being the sixt of Februarie, betwéene the hours of fiue and six in the after noone, Parrie came to my chamber, and desired to talke with me apart, wherevpon we drew our selues to a window. And where I had told Parrie before, that a learned man whom I met by chance in the fields, vnto whom I proponed the question touching hir maiestie, had answered me that it was an enterprise most villanous and damnable, willing me to discharge my selfe of it: Parrie then desired to know that learned mans name, and what was become of him, saieng after a scornefull maner; No doubt he was a verie wise man, and you wiser in beléeuing him: and said further, I hope you told him not that I had anie thing from Rome. Yes in truth, said I. Wherevnto Parrie said, I would you had not named me, nor spoken of anie thing I had from Rome! And therevpon he earnestlie persuaded me eftsoones to depart beyond the seas, promising to procure me safe passage into Wales, and from thense into Britaine, whereat we ended. But I then resolued not to doo so, but to discharge my conscience,

Marke the resolutenes of Parrie to accomplish his treason by oft frequenting the action.

Neuill is resolued at no hand to be partaker with Parrie in his treason.

conscience, and laie open this his most traitorous and abhominable intention against hir maiestie: which I reuealed in sort as is before set downe.

Edmund Neuill.

AFTER this confession of Edmund Neuill, William Parrie the eleuenth daie of Februarie last, being examined in the Tower of London, by the lord Hunsdon, lord gouernour of Berwike, sir Christopher Hatton knight vicechamberleine to hir maiestie and Francis Walsingham knight principall secretarie to hir maiestie, did voluntarilie and without anie constraint, by word of mouth make confession of his said treason, and after set it downe in writing all with his owne hand in his lodging in the Tower, and sent it to the court the thirteenth of the same, by the lieutenant of the Tower. The parts whereof concerning his maner of dooing the same, and the treasons wherewith he was iustlie charged and here set downe, word for word, as they are written and signed with his owne hand and name the eleuenth of Februarie, 1584.

Parries voluntarie confession in the hearing of certeine lords, &c.

THE VOLUNTARIE CONFESSION OF WILLIAM PARRIE IN WRITING ALL WITH HIS OWNE HAND.

¶ The voluntarie confession of William Parrie, doctor of the lawes (now prisoner in the Tower) and accused of treason by Edmund Neuill esquier, promised by him (with all faith and humilitie) to the queenes maiestie, in discharge of his conscience and dutie towards God and hir. Before the lord Hunsdon lord gouernor of Berwike, sir Christopher Hatton knight vicechamberlaine, sir F. Walsingham knight principall secretarie, the thirteenth of Februarie 1584.

Parrie.

In the yeare 1570 I was sworne hir maiesties seruant, from which time vntill the yeare 1580, I serued, honored, and loued hir with as great readinesse, deuotion and assurance as anie poore subiect in England. In the end of that yeare, and vntill Midsummer 1582, I had some trouble for the hurting of a gentleman of the Temple. In which action I was so disgraced and oppressed by two great men (to whome I haue of late béene beholden) that I neuer had contented thought since. There began my misfortune, and here followeth my wofull fall. In Iulie after, I laboured for licence to trauell for three yeares, which (vpon some consideration) was easilie obteined. And so in August, I went ouer with doubtfull mind of returne, for that being suspected in religion, and not hauing receiued the communion in two and twentie yeares, I began to mistrust my aduancement in England. In September I came to Paris, where I was reconciled to the church, and aduised to liue without scandale, the rather for that it was mistrusted by the English catholikes, that I had intelligence with the greatest councellour of England. I staied not long there, but remooued to Lions (a place of great traffike) where, bicause it was the ordinarie passage of our nation to and fro betwéene Paris and Rome, I was also suspected.

Alacke, good and gratious ladie, whose hard hap it was to interteine so bad and graceless a seruant.

Parrie sueth for licence to trauell beyond sea, and obteineth it.

To put all men out of doubt of me, and for some other cause, I went to Millaine, from whense as a place of some danger (though I found fauour there) after I had cléered my conscience, and iustified my selfe in religion before the inquisitor, I went to Venice. There I came acquainted with father Benedicto Palmio, a graue and a learned Iesuit. By conference with him of the hard state of the catholikes in England, and by reading of the booke De persecutione Anglicana, and other discourses

Parrie iustifieth himselfe in religion before the inquisitor of Milla ine.

of like argument, 1 I conceiued a possible meane to relieue the afflicted state of our catholikes, if the same might be well warranted in religion and conscience by the pope, or some learned diuines. I asked his opinion, he made it cléere, commended my deuotion, comforted me in it, and after a while made me knowen to the Nuntio, Campeggio, there resident for his holinesse. By his meanes I wrote vnto the pope, presented the seruice, and sued for a pasport to go to Rome, and to returne safelie into France. Answer came from cardinall Como, that I might come, and should be welcome. I misliked the warrant, sued for a better, which I was promised: but it came not before my departure to Lions, where I promised to staie some time for it.

Parrie is resolued in the plot of his treacherous deuise.

And being indéed desirous to go to Rome, and loth to go without countenance, I desired Christofero de Salazar, secretarie to the king catholike in Venice, who had some vnderstanding (by conference) of my deuotion to the afflicted catholikes at home and abroad, to commend me to the duke di Noua terra gouernour of Millaine, and to the countie of Oliuaris Embi, then resident for the king his master in Rome: which he promised to doo effectuallie for the one, and did for the other. And so I tooke my iournie towards Lions, whither came for me an ample pasport (but somewhat too late) that I might come and go In verbo pontificis per omnes iurisdictiones ecclesiasticas, absque impedimento. I acquainted some good fathers there of my necessitie to depart towards Paris by promise, and praied their aduises vpon diuerse points, wherein I was well satisfied. And so assuring them that his holinesse should heare from me shortlie, it was vndertaken that I should be excused for that time.

Note with what felows, enimies to God and his church, Parrie linketh himselfe.

In October I came to Paris, where (vpon better opinion conceiued of me amongst my catholike countriemen) I found my credit well setled, and such as mistrusted me before, readie to trust and imbrace me. And being one daie at the chamber of Thomas Morgan a catholike gentleman (greatlie beloued and trusted on that side) amongst other gentlemen, talking (but in verie good sort) of England, I was desired by Morgan to go vp with him to another chamber, where he brake with me, and told me that it was hoped and looked for, that I should doo some seruice for God and his church. I answered him I would doo it, if it were to kill the greatest subiect in England: whom I named, and in truth then hated. No no, said he, let him liue to his greater fall and ruine of his house: 2 it is the quéene I meane. I had him as I wished, and told him it were soone doone, if it might be lawfullie doone, and warranted in the opinion of some learned diuines. And so the doubt once resolued (though as you haue heard I was before reasonablie well satisfied) I vowed to vndertake the enterprise, for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the sée apostolike. Diuers diuines were named, doctor Allen I desired, Parsons I refused. And by chance came master Wats a learned priest, with whome I conferred, and was ouerruled.

Note the diuelish conference betwéene Morgan and Parrie.

Parrie voweth to vndertake the killing of the quéene.

3 For he plainelie pronounced (the case onelie altered in name) that it was vtterlie vnlawfull: with whome manie English priests did agrée as I haue heard, if it be not altered, since the booke made in answer of the execution of the English iustice was published, which I must confesse hath taken hard hold in me, and (I feare me) will doo in others, if it be not preuented by more gratious handling of the quiet and obedient catholike subiects, whereof there is * good and greater store in England than this age will extinguish. Well, notwithstanding all these doubts, I was gone so far by letters and conference in Italie, that I could not go backe, but promised faithfullie to performe the enterprise, if his holinesse vpon my offer and letters would allow it, and grant me full remission of my sinnes. 4 I wrote my letters the first of Ianuarie 1584, by their computation, tooke aduise vpon them in confession of father Aniball a Codreto a learned Iesuit in Paris, was louinglie imbraced,

* O Lord what a lamentable hearing is this.

Parrie is now become altogither past grace.

and growne resolute with Iudas to kill the Lords anointed.

braced, commended, confessed, and communicated at the Iesuits at one altar with the cardinals of Vandosmi and Narbone: whereof I praïed certificat, and inclosed the same in my letter to his holines, to lead him the rather to absolue me, which I required by my letters, in consideration of so great an enterprise vndertaken without promise or reward.

5 I went with Morgan to the Nuntio Ragazzoni, to whome I read the letter and certificat inclosed, sealed it, and left it with him to send to Rome: he promised great care of it, and to procure answer; and so louinglie imbraced me, wished mee good spéed, and promised that I should be remembred at the altar. 6 After this I desired Morgan, that some speciall man might be made priuie to this matter, least he dieng and I miscarieng in the execution, and my intent neuer trulie discouered, it might sticke for an euerlasting spot in my race. Diuerse were named, but none agréed vpon for feare of bewraieng. 7 This being doone, Morgan assured me, that shortlie after my departure, the L. Fernehurst (then in Paris) should go into Scotland, and be readie vpon the first newes of the queens fall, to enter into England with 20 or 30000 men to defend the queene of Scotland (whom, and the king hir sonne, I doo in my conscience acquit of anie priuitie, liking or consent to this, or anie other bad action, for anie thing that euer I did know.)

A prouiso for a Scotish inuasion after the deuise of Parrie executed.

I shortlie departed for England, and arriued at Rie in Ianuarie 1583, from whense I wrote to the court, aduertised some, that I had a speciall seruice to discouer to the quéens maiestie. 8 Which I did more to prepare accesse and credit, than for anie care I had of hir person, though I were fullie resolued neuer to touch hir (notwithstanding anie warrant) if by anie deuise, persuasion, or police she might be wrought to deale more gratiouslie with the catholikes than she dooth, or by our maner of proceéding in parlement meaneth to doo, for anie thing yet seene. I came to the court (then at Whitehall) praied audience, had it at large, and verie priuatlie discouered to hir maiestie this conspiracie, much to this effect, though couered with all the skill I had: she tooke it doubtfullie, I departed with feare. And amongst other things, I cannot forget hir maiesties gratious speech then vttered touching the catholikes, which of late, after a sort I auowed in parlement: she said to me that neuer a catholike should be troubled for religion or supremasie, so long as they liued like good subiects. Whereby I mistrusted that hir maiestie is borne in hand, that none is troubled for the one or the other. It may be trulie said that it is better than it hath béene, though it be not yet as it should be.

Note the villans ill mind to hir maiestie.

Note hir maiesties vndeserued gratiousnes to pretended catholikes.

In March last, while I was at Gréenewich (as I remember) suing for saint Katharines, came letters to me from cardinall Como, dated at Rome the last of Ianuarie before, whereby I found the enterprise commended, and allowed, and my selfe absolued (in his holinesse name) of all my sinnes, and willed to go forward in the name of God. That letter I shewed to some in court, who imparted it to the quéene: what it wrought, or maie worke in hir maiestie, God knoweth: onelie this I know, 9 That it confirmed my resolution to kill hir, and made it cléere in my conscience, that it was lawfull and meritorious. And yet was I determined neuer to doo it, if either policie, practise, persuasion, or motion in parlement could preuaile. I feared to be tempted, and therefore alwaies when I came neere hir, I left my dagger at home. 10 When I looked vpon hir maiestie, and remembred hir manie excellencies, I was greatlie troubled: and yet I saw no remedie, for my vowes were in heauen, my letters and promises in earth, and the case of the catholike recusants and others little bettered.

Note Parries resolution by letters from cardinall Como.

Parrie is in a mammering what to doo as maie be noted by these spéeches interrogatorie.

Sometimes I said to my selfe: Why should I care for hir? What hath she doone for me? Haue I not spent ten thousand markes since I knew hir seruice, and neuer had penie by hir? It maie be said, she gaue me my life. But I saie (as my case stood) it had béene tyrannie to take it: and I feare me it is little lesse yet. If it

please

please hir gratiouslie to looke into my discontentments, would to Iesus Christ she had it, for I am wearie of it. And now to come to an end of this tragicall discourse. In Iulie I left the court, vtterlie reiected, discontented, and as hir maiestie might perceiue by my passionate letters, carelesse of my selfe. I came to London: doctor Allens booke was sent me out of France: 11 It redoubled my former conceipts, euerie word in it was a warrant to a prepared mind. It taught that kings maie be excommunicated, depriued, and violentlie handled. It prooueth that all warres ciuill or forren, vndertaken for religion, is honourable. Hir maiestie maie doo well to read it, and to be out of doubt (if things be not amended) that it is a warning, and a doctrine full dangerous. This is the booke I shewed, in some places read, and lent to my cousine Neuill (tlie accuser) who came often to mine house, put his finger in my dish, his hand in my purse, and the night wherein he accused me, was wrapped in my gowne, six moneths at least after we had entered into this conspiracie: in which space hir maiestie, and ten princes in seuerall prouinces might haue béene killed. God blesse hir maiestie from him: for before almightie God I ioie and am glad in my soule, that it was his hap to discouer me in time, though there were no danger neere.

Parrie desperat.

How long the conspiracie was in handling yet it was detected.

And now to the matter of our méetings. He came to me in the beginning of August, and spake to me in this or the like sort: Cousine, let vs doo somewhat, sith we can haue nothing. I offered to ioine with him, and gladlie heard him, hoping bicause I knew him to be a catholike, that he would hit vpon that I had in my head: but it fell not out so. He thought the deliuerie of the quéene of Scotland easie, presuming vpon his credit and kindred in the North: I thought it dangerous to hir, and impossible to men of our fortunes. He fell from that to the taking of Berwike: I spake of Quinborough and the nauie, rather to interteine him with discourse, than that I cared for those motions, my head being full of greater matter. 12 I told him that I had an other maner of enterprise, more honourable and profitable vnto vs, and the catholikes commonwealth, than all these, if he would ioine in it with me as he presentlie vowed to doo. He pressed to know it, I willed him to sleepe vpon the motion: he did so, and (belike ouertaken) came vnto me the next morning to my lodging in London, offered to ioine with me, and tooke his oth vpon a bible, to conceale and constantlie to pursue the enterprise for the aduancement of religion: which I also did, and meant to performe: the killing of the quéene was the matter.

Note the actions that should haue béene commensed and finished in this conspiracie.

This oth and all of the like qualitie and nature are violable Salua interim anima.

The maner and place, to be on horssebacke, with eight or ten horsses, when she should ride abroad about saint Iames, or some other like place. It was once thought fit in a garden, and that the escape would be easiest by water into Shepeie, or some other part: but we resolued vpon the first. This continued as agréed vpon manie moneths, till he heard of the death of Westmerland, whose land and dignitie (whereof he assured himselfe) bred belike this conscience in him to discouer a treason in Februarie, contriued and agreed vpon in August. If it cost him not an ambitious head at last, let him neuer trust me. He brought a tall gentleman (whome he commended for an excellent pistolier) to me to Chanon Row, to make one in the match: but I refused to deale with him, being loth to laie my head vpon so manie hands.

The death of Westmerland reported.

M. Neuill hath (I thinke) forgotten, that he did sweare to me at diuerse times, that all the aduancement she could giue, should serue but for hir scourge, if euer time and occasion should serue: and that although he would not laie hand vpon hir in a corner, his hart serued him to strike off hir head in the field. Now leauing him to himselfe, thus much (to make an end) I must confesse of my selfe: I did meane to trie what might be doone in parlement, to doo my best to hinder all hard courses, to haue praied hearing of the queenes maiestie, to mooue hir (if I could)

Parrie chargeth Neuill with grieuous speeches of cursed disloialtie.

to take compassion vpon hir catholike subiects, and when all had failed, to doo as I intended. If hir maiestie by this course would haue eased them, though she had neuer preferred me, I had with all comfort and patience borne it: 13 but if she ha dpreferred me without ease or care of them, the enterprise had held. ¶ God preserue the quéene, and incline hir mercifull hart to forgiue me this desperat purpose, and to take my head (with all my hart) for hir better satisfaction.

God (no doubt) will preserue good queene Elisabeth, though a thousand su h traitors as Parrie conspire hir death to their owne destruction.

W. Parrie.

After which, for the better manifesting of his treasons, on the fouretéenth of Februarie last past, there was a letter written by him to hir maiestie, verie voluntarilie, all of his owne hand, without anie motion made to him. The tenor whereof, for that which concerneth these his traitorous dealings, is as followeth.

A LETTER WRITTEN BY PARRIE TO HIR MAIESTIE.

Parries purpose conceiued in Venice, continued in Lions, resolued in Paris to be executed in England.

YOUR maiestie maie see by my voluntarie confession, the dangerous fruits of a discontented mind: and how constantlie I pursued my first conceiued purpose in Venice, for the releefe of the afflicted catholikes, continued it in Lions, and resolued in Paris to put it in aduenture, for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the see apostolike. You maie see withall how it is commended, allowed, and warranted in conscience, diuinitie, and policie, by the pope and some great diuines: though it be true or likelie, that most of our English diuines (lesse practised in matters of this weight) doo vtterlie mislike and condemne it.

Neuill charged by Parrie to be accessarie to the treason.

The enterprise is preuented, and conspiracie discouered, by an honourable gentleman my kinsman, and late familiar friend, maister Edmund Neuill, priuie and by solemne oth (taken vpon the bible) partie to the matter, wherof I am hardlie glad, but now sorie (in my verie soule) that euer I conceiued or intended it, how commendable or meritorious so euer I thought it. God thanke him, and forgiue me, who would not now (before God) attempt it (if I had *libertie* and opportunitie to doo it) to gaine your kingdome. I beseech Christ that my death and example maie as well satisfie your maiestie, and the world, as it shall glad and content me.

Compare these warnings with the euents in Anno 1585, 1586, specialle about August.

The queene of Scotland is your prisoner, let hir be honourablie intreated, but yet surelie garded. The French king is French, you know it well enough, you will find him occupied when he should doo you good; he will not loose a pilgrimage to saue you a crowne. I haue no more to saie at this time, but that with my hart and soule I doo now honour and loue you, am inwardlie sorie for mine offense, and readie to make you amends by my death and patience. Discharge me A culpa but not A pœna, good ladie. And so farewell, most gratious and the best natured and qualified queene that euer liued in England. From the Tower, the fourteenth of Februarie, one thousand fiue hundred eightie and foure.

W. Parrie.

Parries guiltie conscience exoneratethit selfe by voluntarie confession.

After which, to wit, the eightéenth of Februarie last past, Parrie, in further acknowledging his wicked and intended treasons, wrote a letter all of his owne hand in like voluntarie maner to the lord treasuror of England, and the earle of Leicester, lord steward of hir maiesties house, the tenor wherof is as followeth.

WILLIAM

WILLIAM PARRIES LETTER TO THE LORD TREASUROR, AND THE EARLE OF LEICESTER.

MY lords, now that the conspiracie is discouered, the fault confessed, my conscience cleared, and mind prepared patientlie to suffer the paines due for so hainous a crime; I hope it shall not offend you, if crieng Miserere with the poore publicane, I leaue to despaire with curssed Caine. My case is rare and strange, and for anie thing I can remember, singular: a naturall subiect solemnlie to vow the death of his naturall queene (so borne, so knowne, and so taken by all men) for the releefe of the afflicted catholikes, and restitution of religion. The matter first conceiued in Venice, the seruice (in generall words) presented to the pope, continued and vndertaken in Paris, and lastlie commended and warranted by his holinesse, digested and resolued in England, if it had not beene preuented by accusation, or by hir maiesties greater lenitie and more gratious vsage of hir catholike subiects.

A traitor of singular note by his owne confession was Parrie.

This is my first and last offense conceiued against my prince and countrie, and dooth (I cannot denie) conteine all other faults whatsoeuer. It is now to be punished by death, or most gratiouslie (beyond all common expectation) to be pardoned. Death I doo confesse to haue deserued, life I doo (with all humilitie) craue, if it may stand with the queenes honor, and policie of the time. To leaue so great a treason vnpunished were strange; to drawe it by death in example were dangerous; a sworne seruant to take vpon him such an enterprise vpon such a ground, and by such a warrant, hath not beene seene in England; to indict him, arreigne him, bring him to the scaffold, and to publish his offense, can doo no good; to hope that he hath more to discouer than is confessed, or that at his execution he will vnsaie anie thing he hath written, is in vaine; to conclude, that it is impossible for him in time to make some part of amends, were verie hard, and against former experience.

An offense sufficient to hang 1000 traitors without drop of mercie.

Parrie had more glosing rhetorike than faithfull obedience.

The question then is, whether it be better to kill him, or (least the matter be mistaken) vpon hope of his amendment to pardon him. For mine owne opinion (though parciall) I will deliuer you my conscience. The case is good queene Elisabeths, the offense is committed against hir sacred person, and she may (of hir mercie) pardon it without preiudice to anie. Then this I say in few words, as a man more desirous to discharge his troubled conscience, than to liue: Pardon poore Parrie and releeue him; for life without liuing is not fit for him. If this may not be, or be thought dangerous, or dishonorable to the queenes maiestie (as by your fauours, I thinke it full of honor and mercie) then I beseech your lordships (and no other) once to heare me before I be indicted, and afterwards (if I must die) humblie to intreat the queenes maiestie to hasten my triall and execution: which I praie God (with all my heart) may prooue as honorable to hir, as I hope it shall be happie to me, who will while I liue (as I haue doone alwaies) praie to Iesus Christ for hir maiesties long and prosperous reigne. From the Tower the eighteenth of Februarie, 1584.

W. Parrie.

Good Lord with what heart might Parrie hope after anie thing but death hauing beene so capitall a traitor.

AND where in this meane time sir Francis Walsingham secretarie to hir maiestie, had dealt with one William Creitchton, a Scot for his birth, and a Iesuit by his profession, now prisoner also in the Tower, for that he was apprehended with diuerse plots for inuasions of this realme, to vnderstand of him, if the said Parrie had euer dealt with him in the parties beyond the seas touching that question, whether it were

Creitchton apprehended with diuerse plots for inuasions of this realme.

lawfull to kill hir maiestie or not. The which at that time the said Creitchotn called not to his remembrance: yet after vpon better calling it to mind, vpon the twentith daie of Februarie last past, he wrote vnto maister secretarie Walsingham thereof voluntarilie, all of his owne hand, to the effect following.

WILLIAM CREITCHTONS LETTER

TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, FEBR. 20.

RIGHT honorable sir, when your honor demanded me if maister Parrie did aske me, if it were leason to kill the queene; in deed and veritie, then I had no remembrance at all thereof. But since, thinking on the matter, I haue called to mind the whole fashion of his dealing with me, and some of his arguments: for he dealt verie craftilie with me, I dare not say malicíouslie. For I did in no wise thinke of anie such deseine of his, or of anie other, and did answer him simplie after my conscience and knowledge to the veritie of the question. For after that I had answered him twise before, Quòd omninò non liceret; he returned late at euen by reason I was to depart earlie in the next morning toward Chamberie in Sauoie where I did remaine, and being returned out of the closse within one of the classes of the college, he proponed to me of new the matter, with his reasons and arguments.

Note Creitchtons report of Parries craft and malice.

Creitchtons reasons to repell Parries traitorous allegations.

First he alleged the vtilitie of the deed for deliuering of so manie catholikes out of miserie, and restitution of the catholike religion. I answered, that the scripture answereth thereto saieng: Non sunt facienda mala, vt veniant bona. So that for no good, how great that euer it be, may be wrought anie euill, how little that euer it be. He replied that it was not euill to take awaie so great euill, and induce so great good. I answered, that all good is not to be doone, but that onelie: Quòd bene & legitimè fieri potest. And therefore, dixi Deum magis amare aduerbia, quàm nomina. Quia in actionibus magis ei placent bene & legitimè, quàm bonum. Ita vt nullum bonum liceat facere, nisi bene & legitimè fieri possit. Quòd in hoc casu fieri non potest. Yet said he, that seuerall learned men were of the opinion, Quòd liceret. I answered, that they men perhaps were of the opinion, that for the safetie of manie in soule and bodie, they would permit a particular to his danger, and to the occult iudgement of God: or perhaps said so, mooued rather by some compassion and commiseration of the miserable estate of the catholikes, nor for anie such doctrine that they did find in their bookes. For it is certeine, that such a thing is not licit to a particular, without speciall reuelation diuine, which exceedeth our learning and doctrine. And so he departed from me. Out of the prison in the Tower, the 20 of Februarie.

Deum magis amare aduerbia quàm nomina.

Creitchton holdeth Parries attempt vnlawfull: note.

Your honors poore seruitor in Christ Iesu,
W. Creitchton prisoner.

AND where also the same Parrie was on the same twentith daie of Februarie examined by sir Francis Walsingham knight, what was become of the letter conteined in his confession to be written vnto him by the cardinall de Como: he then answered that it was consumed and burnt. And yet after, the next daie following, being more vehementlie vrged vpon that point in examination (because it was knowne that it was not burnt) he confessed where he had left it in the towne: wherevpon, by Parries direction it was sent for, where it had beene lapped vp togither with other friuolous papers.

Parrie saith and vnsaith like a traitor to shift off the heauie charge of treason.

papers, and written vpon the one side of it; The last will of William Parrie. The which letter was in the Italian toong as hereafter followeth, with the same in English accordinglie translated.

A MON SIGNORE, MON SIGNOR GUGLIELMO PARRIE.

MON Signore, la Santita di N. S. ha veduto le lettere di V. S. del primo con la fede inclusa, & non può se non laudare la buona dispositione che scriue di tenere verso il seruitio & beneficio publico, nel che la Santita sua lessorta di perseuerare, con farne riuscire li effetti che V. S. promette: & accioche tanto maggiormente V. S. sia aiutata da quel buon spirito che l'ha mosso, le concede sua beneditione, plenaria indulgenza & remissione di tutti li peccati, secondo che V. S. ha chiesto, assicurandossi che oltre il merito, che n'hauera in cielo, vuole anco sua Santitata constituirsi debitore a reconoscere li meriti di V. S. in ogni miglior modo che porta, & cio tanto piu, quanto che V. S. vsa maggior modestia in non pretender niente. Metta dunque ad effetto li suoi santi & honorati pensieri, & attenda a star sano. Che per fine io me le offero di core, & le desiderio ogni buono & felice successo. Di Roma a 30 di Gennaro, 1584.

Cardinall de Como his animating letter to Parrie to perseuere in his diuelish deuise.

But as God would, Parries enterprise wanted that wished Buono & felice successo.

Al piacerdi V. S.
N. cardinali di Como.
Al Sig. Guglielmo Parri.

CARDINALL DE COMOS LETTER TO D. PARRIE,

30. IAN. 1584 BY ACCOUNT OF ROME.

MON signor, his holinesse hath seene your letter of the first, with the certificat included, and cannot but commend the good disposition and resolution which you write to hold towards the seruice and benefit publike: wherein his holines dooth exhort you to perseuere, and to bring to effect that which you haue promised. And to the end you may be so much the more holpen by that * good spirit which hath mooued you therevnto, he granteth vnto you his blessing, plenarie indulgence and remission of all your sinnes, according to your request. Assuring you, that besides the merit that you shall receiue therfore in heauen, his holines will further make himselfe debtor to acknowledge your deseruings in the best maner that he can: and so much the more, in that you vse the greater modestie in not pretending anie thing. Put therefore to effect your * holie and honorable purposes, and attend your health. And to conclude, I offer my selfe vnto you hartilie, and doo desire all good and happie successe. From Rome the 30 of Ianuarie, 1584.

A good cleargie in the meane time that allow treasons in this sort.

* Good spirit. naie malignant spirit and more than diabolicall.

* Naie cursed and abhominable purposes, with destruction to the vndertaker.

At the pleasure of your Signorie,
N. Card. of Como.

VPON all which former accusation, declaration, confessions and proofes, vpon mondaie the two and twentith daie of Februarie last past, at Westminster hall, before sir Christopher Wraie knight chiefe iustice of England, sir Gilbert Gerrard knight master

Parrie conuented and arreigned at Westminster hall the 22 of Februarie.

master of the rolles, sir Edmund Anderson knight chiefe iustice of the common plées, sir Roger Manwood knight chiefe baron of the excheker, sir Thomas Gawdie knight one of the iustices of the plees before hir maiestie to be holden, and William Periam one of the iustices of the common plées, by vertue of hir maiesties commission to them and others in that behalfe directed: the same Parrie was indicted of high treason, for intending and practising the death and destruction of hir maiestie, whome God long prosper, and preserue from all such wicked attempts. The tenor of which indictment appeareth more particularlie in the course of his arreignment following.

THE MANER OF THE ARREIGNMENT OF WILLIAM PARRIE

The names of such personages of honor and worship as had the triall of Parrie arreigned.

THE 25 of Februarie 1584, at Westminster, in the place where the court commonlie called the Kings bench is vsuallie kept by vertue of hir maiesties commission of oier and terminer, before Henrie lord Hunsdon gouernour of Barwike, sir Francis Knolles knight treasuror of the queenes maiesties houshold, sir Iames Croft knight comptroller of the same houshold, sir Christopher Hatton knight vicechamberleine to hir maiestie, sir Christopher Wraie knight chiefe iustice of England, sir Gilbert Gerrard knight master of the rols, sir Edmund Anderson knight chiefe iustice of the common plees, sir Roger Manwood knight chiefe baron of the excheker, and sir Thomas Hennage knight treasuror of the chamber.

The lieutenant of the tower returneth his precept.

FIRST three proclamations for silence were made, according to the vsuall course in such cases. Then the lieutenant was commanded to returne his precept, who did so, and brought the prisoner to the bar, to whome Miles Sands, esquier clerke of the crowne said; William Parrie hold vp thy hand: and he did so. Then said the clerke of the crowne; Thou art here indicted by the oths of twelue good and lawfull men of the countie of Midlesex, before sir Christopher Wraie knight and others, which tooke the indictment by the name of W. Parrie, late of London gentleman, otherwise called W. Parrie, late of London doctor of the law, for that thou as a false traitor against the most noble and christian prince, quéene Elisabeth thy most gratious souereigne and liege ladie, not hauing the feare of God before thine eies, nor regarding thy due allegiance (but being seduced by the instigation of the diuell, and intending to withdraw and extinguish the hartie loue and due obedience, which true and faithfull subiects should beare vnto the same our souereigne ladie) diddest at Westminster in the countie of Midlesex on the first daie of Februarie, in the six and twentith yeare of hir highnesse reigne, and at diuerse other times and places in the same countie, maliciouslie, and traitorouslie conspire and compasse, not onelie to depriue and depose the same our souereigne ladie of hir roiall estate, title and dignitie; but also to bring hir highnesse to death and finall destruction, and sedition in the realme to make, and the gouernement thereof to subuert, and the sincere religion of God established in hir highnesse dominions to alter and supplant.

The indictment against Parrie, wherin his heinous treason appeereth.

Parrie sent letters to Gregorie the 13 bishop of Rome: and what was the scope of them.

And that, whereas thou William Parrie, by thy letters sent vnto Gregorie bishop of Rome, diddest signifie vnto the same bishop thy purposes and intentions aforesaid, and thereby diddest praie and require the same bishop to giue thée absolution; that thou afterwards, that is to saie, the last day of March in the six and twentith yeare aforesaid,

aforesaid, diddest traitorouslie receiue letters from one called cardinall de Como, directed vnto thée William Parrie, whereby the same cardinall did signifie vnto thée, that the bishop of Rome had perused thy letters, and allowed of thine intent; and that to that end he had absolued thee of all thy sinnes, and by the same letter did animate and stir thée to procéed with thine enterprise; and that therevpon, thou, the last daie of August in the six and twentith yeare aforesaid, at saint Giles in the fields, in the same countie of Midlesex, diddest traitorouslie confer with one Edmund Neuill esquier, vttering to him all thy wicked and traitorous deuises, and then and there diddest moone him to assist thée therein, and to ioine with thee in those wicked treasons aforesaid, against the peace of our said souereigne ladie the queene, hir crowne and dignitie. What saiest thou William Parrie, art thou guiltie of these treasons whereof thou standest here indicted, or not guiltie?

Parrie mooued Neuill to assist him in his treasons.

Then Parrie said; Before I plead not guiltie, or confesse my selfe guiltie, I praie you giue me leaue to speake a few words: and with humbling himselfe began in this maner. God saue quéene Elisabeth, and God send me grace to discharge my dutie to hir; and to send you home in charitie. But touching the matters that I am indicted of, some were in one place, and some in another, and doone so secretlie, as none can sée into them, except that they had eies like vnto God: wherefore I will not laie my bloud vpon the iurie, but doo mind to confesse the indictment. It conteineth but the parts that haue béene openlie read, I praie you tell me. Whervnto it was answered, that the indictment conteined the parts he had heard read, and no other. Whervpon the clerke of the crowne said vnto Parrie; Parrie, thou must answer directlie to the indictment, whether thou be guiltie or not.

Parries answer to the indictment, wherein he confesseth it.

Then said Parrie, I doo confesse that I am guiltie of all that is therein conteined: and further too, I desire not life, but desire to die. Vnto which the clerke of the crowne said; If you confesse it, you must confesse it in maner and forme as it is comprised in the indictment. Wherevnto he said; I doo confesse it in maner and forme as the same is set downe, and all the circumstances thereof. Then the confession being recorded, the quéenes learned councell being readie to praie iudgement vpon the same confession, master vicechamberleine said: These matters conteined in this indictment, and confessed by this man, are of great importance; they touch the person of the quéenes most excellent maiestie in the highest degrée, the verie state and weldooing of the whole commonwealth, and the truth of Gods word established in these hir maiesties dominions, and the open demonstration of that capitall enuie of the man of Rome, that hath set himselfe against God and all godlinesse, all good princes and good gouernement, and against good men. Wherefore I praie you for the satisfaction of this great multitude let the whole matter appéere, that euerie one may see that the matter of it selfe is as bad as the indictment purporteth, and as he hath confessed.

Parrie confesseth that he is guiltie of all things conteined in the indictment.

Sir Christopher Hattons collection out of Parries indictment.

Whereto in respect that the iustice of the realme hath béene of late verie impudentlie slandered, all yeelded as a thing necessarie to satisfie the world in particular, of that which was but summarilie comprised in the indictment, though in the law, his confession serued sufficientlie to haue procéeded therevpon vnto iudgement. Wherevpon the lords and others the commissioners, hir maiesties lerned councell, and Parrie himselfe agréed, that Parries confession (taken the eleuenth and thirteenth of Februarie 1584 before the lord of Hunsdon, master Vicechamberleine, and master Secretarie) and cardinall de Como his letters, and Parries letters to the lord treasuror and lord steward, should be openlie read.

Certeine speciall matters vnder writing read in open audience of the multitude for their satisfaction.

And Parrie, for the better satisfieng of the people and standers by, offered to read them himselfe: but being told how the order was, that the clerke of the crowne should read them, it was so resolued of all parts. And then maister vicechamberleine caused to be shewed to Parrie his said confession, the cardinals letter, and his owne

letter

letter aforesaid: which after he had particularlie viewed euerie leafe thereof, he confessed, and said openlie they were the same. Then said maister vicechamberleine; Before we proceed to shew what he hath confessed, what saie you (said he to Parrie) is that which you haue confessed here true, and did you confesse it fréelie and willinglie of your selfe, or was there anie extort means vsed to draw it from you? Surelie (said Parrie) I made that confession fréelie without anie constraint, and that is all true, and more too: for there is no treason that hath beene since the first yeare of the queene anie waie touching religion, sauing receipt of Agnus Dei, and persuading of others, wherein I haue not much dealt, but I haue offended in it. And I haue also deliuered mine opinion in writing, who ought to be successor to the crowne: which he said to be treason also.

Parries confession was not Coacta but Voluntaria: ergo more credible.

Then his confession of the eleuenth and thirtéenth of Februarie, all of his owne handwriting, and before particularlie set downe, was openlie and distinctlie read by the clerke of the crowne. And that doone, the cardinall di Como his letter in Italian was deliuered vnto Parries hand, by the direction of maister vicechamberleine, which Parrie there perused, and openlie affirmed to be wholie of the cardinals owne handwriting, and the seale to be his owne also, and to be with a cardinals hat on it: and himselfe did openly read it in Italian, as before is set downe. And the words bearing sense as it were written to a bishop or to a man of such degrée, it was demanded of him by maister vicechamberleine, whether he had not taken the degrée of a bishop? He said, No: but said at first, those tearmes were proper to the degrée he had taken: and after said that the cardinall did vouchsafe as of a fauour to write so to him. Then the copie of that letter in English as before is also set downe, was in like manner openlie read by the clerke of the crowne, which Parrie then acknowledged to be trulie translated. And therevpon was shewed vnto Parrie his letter of the eightéenth of Februarie, written to the lord treasuror, and the lord steward: which he confessed to be all of his owne handwriting, and was as before is set downe.

Parries confession of his treasons was read by his owne assent. A letter of cardinall di Como vnto Parrie also read.

Parries letter of the eightéenth of Februarie to the lord treasuror and the earle of Leicester read.

These matters being read openlie for manifestation of the matter, Parrie praied leaue to speake; whereto maister vicechamberleine said: If you will saie anie thing for the better opening to the world of those your foule and horrible facts, speake on: but if you meane to make anie excuse of that which you haue confessed, which else would haue beene and doo stand prooued against you; for my part, I will not sit to heare you. Then hir maiesties atturnie generall stood vp and said: It appeareth before you my lords, that this man hath béene indicted and arreigned of seuerall most heinous and horrible treasons, and hath confessed them, which is before you of record: wherefore there resteth no more to be doone, but for the court to giue iudgement accordinglie, which here I require in the behalfe of the quéenes maiestie. Then said Parrie, I praie you heare me for discharging of my conscience; I will not go about to excuse my selfe, nor to séeke to saue my life, I care not for it, you haue my confession of record, that is inough for my life: and I meane to vtter more, for which I were worthie to die; and said: I praie you heare me, in that I am to speake to discharge my conscience. Then said maister vicechamberleine; Parrie, then doo thy dutie according to conscience, and vtter all that thou canst saie concerning those thy most wicked facts.

The quéenes atturnie requireth iudgement.

Then said Parrie: My cause is rare, singular and vnnaturall, conceiued at Venice, presented in generall words to the pope, vndertaken at Paris, commended and allowed of by his holinesse, and was to haue béene executed in England, if it had not béene preuented. Yea, I haue committed manie treasons, for I haue committed treason in being reconciled, and treason in taking absolution. There hath béene no treason since the first yeare of the quéenes reigne touching religion, but that I am guiltie of (except for receiuing of Agnus Dei, and persuading as I haue said) and yet neuer intended to kill quéene Elisabeth. I appeale to hir owne knowledge and to my

my lord treasurors and maister secretaries. Then said my lord of Hunsdon: Hast thou acknowledged it so often, and so plainelie in writing vnder thy hand, and here of record; and now, when thou shouldest haue thy iudgement according to that which thou hast confessed thy selfe guiltie of, doest thou go backe againe, and denie the effect of all? How can we beleeue that thou now saiest?

Parrie had for his credit afore time said verie secretlie, that he had béene solicited beyond the seas to commit the fact.

Then said maister vicechamberleine; This is absurd, thou hast not onelie confessed generallie, that thou wert guiltie according to the indictment, which summarilie, and yet in expresse words dooth conteine that thou haddest traitorouslie compassed and intended the death and destruction of hir maiestie: but thou also saidst particularlie that thou wert guiltie of euerie of the treasons conteined therein, whereof the same was one in plaine and expresse letter set downe, and read vnto thée; Yea thou saiedst that thou wert guiltie of more treasons too beside these? And diddest thou not vpon thy examination voluntarilie confesse, how thou wast mooued first thervnto by mislike of thy state after thy departure out of the realme? And that thou diddest mislike hir maiestie for that she had doone nothing for thée? How by wicked papists and popish bookes thou wert persuaded that it was lawfull to kill hir maiestie? How thou wert by reconcilïation become one of that wicked sort, that held hir maiestie for neither lawfull quéene, nor christian? And that it was meritorious to kill hir? And diddest thou not signifie that thy purpose to the pope by letters, and receiuedst letters from the cardinall, how he allowed of thine intent, and excited thée to performe it, and therevpon diddest rêceiue absolution? And diddest thou not conceiue it, promise it, vow it, sweare it, and receiue the sacrament that thou wouldest doo it? And diddest not thou therevpon affirme, that thy vowes were in heauen, and thy letters and promises on earth to bind thee to doo it? And that what soeuer hir maiestie would haue doone for thée, could not haue remooued thee from that intention or purpose, vnlesse she would haue desisted from dealing as she hath doone with the catholikes, as thou callest them? All this thou hast plainelie confessed; and I protest before this great assemblie, thou hast confessed it more plainelie and in better sort, than my memorie will serue me to vtter: and saiest thou now, that thou neuer meantest it?

but he would not doo it, wherewith he craftilie abused both the quéenes maiestie, and those two councellors, wherof he now would helpe himselfe with these spéeches against most manifest proofs.

Maister vicechamberleins spéeches, prooning manifestlie Parries traitorous intentions.

Note all this charge of maister vicechamberleine to be a recapitulation of all or most the treasons of Parrie.

Ah (said Parrie) your honors know how my confession vpon mine examination was extorted. Then both the lord Hunsdon and master Vicechamberleine affirmed, that there was no torture or threatning words offered him. But Parrie then said, that they told him, that if he would not confesse willinglie, he should haue torture. Whervnto their honors answered, that they vsed not anie spéech or word of torture to him. You said, said Parrie, that you would proceed with rigour against me, if I would not confesse it of my selfe. But their honors expreslie affirmed that they vsed no such words. But I will tell thée, said master Vicechamberleine, what we said; I spake these words: If you will willinglie vtter the truth of your selfe, it may doo you good, and I wish you to doo so; if you will not, we must then procéed in ordinarie course to take your examination. Whervnto you answered, that you would tell the truth of your selfe. Was not this true? Which then he yéelded vnto. And herevnto, hir maiesties attournie generall put Parrie in remembrance what spéeches he vsed to the lieutenant of the Tower, the queenes maiesties sergeant at law, M. Gaudre, and the same attournie on saturdaie the twentith of Februarie last at the Tower, vpon that he was by them then examined by order from the lords: which was, that he acknowledged he was most mildlie and fauourablie dealt with, in all his examinations: which he also at the bar then acknowledged to be true.

Parrie chargeth the lords of the councell with vntruth.

Parrie reproued of false spéeches, and so by himselfe also confessed.

Then maister vicechamberleine said, that it was woonder to sée the magnanimitie of hir maiestie, which after that thou haddest opened those traitorous practises in sort as thou hast laid it downe in thy confession, was neuerthelesse such, and so far from all feare as that she would not so much as acquaint anie one of hir highnesse priuie

The magnanimitie of the queenes maiestie notified by sir Christopher Hatton.

councell with it, to his knowledge, no not vntill after this thine enterprise discouered and made manifest. And besides that which thou hast set downe vnder thine owne hand, thou diddest confesse, that thou haddest prepared two Scotish daggers fit for such a purpose: and those being disposed awaie by thée, thou diddest saie that an other would serue thy turne. And withall, Parrie, diddest thou not also confesse before vs how woonderfullie thou wert appalled and perplexed vpon a sudden at the presence of hir maiestie at Hampton court this last summer, saieng that thou didest thinke thou then sawest in hir the verie likenesse and image of king Henrie the seuenth? And that therewith, and vpon some speaches vsed by hir maiestie, thou diddest turne about and weepe bitterlie to thy selfe? And yet diddest call to mind that thy vowes were in heauen, thy letters and promises on earth; and that therefore thou diddest saie with thy selfe, that there was no remedie but to doo it? Diddest thou not confesse this? The which he acknowledged.

The lord of Hunsdons spéeches conuincing Parrie manifestlie of hie treason.

Then said the lord Hunsdon; Saiest thou now, that thou diddest neuer meane to kill the quéene? Diddest thou not confesse, that when thou diddest vtter this practise of trecherie to hir maiestie, that thou diddest couer it with all the skill thou haddest; and that it was doone by thee, rather to get credit and accesse thereby, than for anie regard thou haddest of hir person? But in truth thou diddest it, that thereby thou mightest haue better opportunitie to performe thy wicked enterprise. And wouldest thou haue run into such feare as thou diddest confesse that thou wert in, when thou diddest vtter it, if thou haddest neuer meant it? What reason canst thou shew for thy selfe? With that he cried out in a furious maner: I neuer meant to kill hir: I will laie my bloud vpon quéene Elisabeth and you, before God and the world: and therevpon fell into a rage and euill words with the quéenes maiesties attourneie generall. Then said the lord Hunsdon; This is but thy popish pride and ostentation, which thou wouldest haue to be told to thy fellowes of that faction, to make them beléeue that thou diest for poperie, when thou diest for most horrible and dangerous treasons against hir maiestie, and thy whole countrie. For thy laieng of thy bloud, it must lie on thine owne head, as a iust reward of thy wickednesse. The lawes of the realme most iustlie condemne thée to die out of thine owne mouth, for conspiring the destruction both of hir maiestie, and of vs all: therefore thy bloud be vpon thée: neither hir maiestie nor we at anie time sought it; thy selfe hast spilt it.

Parries exclamation of outrage and vnpatientnesse.

Then he was asked what he could saie, why iudgement of death ought not to be awarded against him? Whereto he said, he did not sée that he must die, because he was not setled. What meanest thou by that, said maister vicechamberleine? Said he, Looke into your studie, and into your new bookes, and you shall find what I meane. I protest (said his honor) I know not what thou meanest: thou dooest not well to vse such darke spéeches, vnlesse thou wouldest plainelie vtter what thou meanest thereby. But he said, he cared not for death, and that he would laie his bloud amongst them. Then spake the lord chiefe iustice of England, being required to giue iudgement according to law, and said; Parrie, you haue beene much heard, and what you meane by being setled, I know not; but I see you are so setled in poperie, that you cannot setle your selfe to be a good subiect. But touching that you should saie to staie iudgement from being giuen against you, your spéeches must be of one of these kinds; either to proue the indictment (which you haue confessed to be true) to be insufficient in law; or else to pleade somewhat touching hir maiesties mercie, why iustice should not be doone of you. All other spéeches wherein you haue vsed great libertie, is more than by law you can aske. These be the matters you must looke to, what saie you to them? Whereto he said nothing.

Parrie abuseth the honorable and worshipfull of the bench with termes vncouth and darke spéeches.

More libertie of spéech giuen to Parrie than by law was allowable.

Then said the lord chiefe iustice; Parrie, thou hast béene before this time indicted of diuerse most horrible and hatefull treasons, committed against thy most gratious

gratious souereigne, and natiue countrie: the matter most detestable, the maner most subtill and dangerous, and the occasions and meanes that lead thée therevnto most vngodlie and villanous. That thou diddest intend it, it is most euident by thy selfe. The matter was the destruction of a most sacred and an anointed queene thy souereigne and mistresse, who hath shewed thée such fauour as some thy betters haue not obteined: yea, thé ouerthrow of thy countrie wherein thou wert borne, and of a most happie common-wealth whereof thou art a member, and of such a quéene, as hath bestowed on thée the benefit of all benefits in this world (that is to saie) thy life, hertofore granted thée by hir mercie when thou hadst lost it by iustice and desert. Yet thou hir seruant sworne to defend hir, mentest with thy bloudie hand to haue taken awaie hir life, that mercifullie gaue thée thine, when it was yéelded into hir hands. This is the matter wherein thou hast offended.

Parries treasons recapitulated by the lord chiefe iustice, both for maner and matter.

The maner was most subtill and dangerous, beyond all that before thée haue committed anie wickednesse against hir maiestie: for thou making shew as if thou wouldest simplie haue vttered for hir safetie the euill that others had contriued, diddest but seeke thereby credit and accesse, that thou mightest take the apter opportunitie for hir destruction. And for the occasions and meanes that drew thée on, they were most vngodlie and villanous: as the persuasions of the pope, of papists, and popish bookes. The pope pretendeth that he is a pastor, when as in truth he is far from féeding of the flocke of Christ, but rather as a woolfe séeketh but to féed on and to sucke out the bloud of true christians, and as it were thirsteth after the bloud of our most gratious and christian quéene. And these papists and popish bookes, while they pretend to set foorth diuinitie, they doo indéed most vngodlie teach and persuade that which is quite contrarie both to God and his word. For the word teacheth obedience of subiects toward princes, and forbiddeth anie priuat man to kill; but they teach subiects to disobeie princes, and that a priuat wicked person may kill. Yea and whome? a most godlie quéene, and their owne naturall and most gratious souereigne. Let all men therfore take héed how they receiue any thing from him, heare or read anie of their bookes, and how they confer with anie papists. God grant hir maiestie, that she maie know by thée, how euer she trust such like to come so néere hir person!

The occasions and meanes that induced Parrie to these treasons.

The danger and dampablenesse of popish bookes either read or listened vnto of papists, &c.

But see the end, and why thou diddest it, and it will appeare to be a most miserable, fearefull, and foolish thing: for thou diddest imagine, that it was to releeue those that thou callest catholikes, who were most likelie amongst all others to haue felt the woorst of it, if thy diuelish practise had taken effect. But sith thou hast béene indicted of the treasons comprised in the indictment, and therevpon arreigned, and hast confessed thy selfe guiltie of them; the court dooth award, that thou shalt be had from hense to the place whense thou diddest come, and so drawne through the open citie of London vpon an hurdle to the place of execution, and there to be hanged and let downe aliue, and thy priuie parts cut off, and thy entrals taken out and burnt in thy sight, then thy head to be cut off, and thy bodie to be diuided in foure parts, and to be disposed at hir maiesties pleasure: and God haue mercie on thy soule.

The forme of iudgement against the traitor pronounced by the lord cheefe iustice.

Parrie neuerthelesse persisted still in his rage and fond speach, and raginglie there said, he there summoned quéene Elisabeth to answer for his bloud before God: wherewith the lieutenant of the Tower was commanded to take him from the barre: and so he did. And vpon his departure, the people striken as it were at heart with the horror of his intended enterprise, ceased not, but pursued him with out cries, as; Awaie with the traitor, awaie with him, and such like: whervpon he was conueied to the barge, to passe to the Tower againe by water: and the court was adiorned. After

Parrie rageth at the iustice bar without all reuerence.

William Parrie the traitor executed.

ter which, vpon the second daie of this instant March, William Parrie was by vertue of processe in that behalfe awarded from the same commissioners of oier and terminer, deliuered by the lieutenant of the Tower erlie in the morning vnto the shiriffes of London and Middlesex, who receiued him at the Tower hill, and therevpon, according to the iudgement, caused him there to be foorthwith set on the hurdle: from whense he was drawne therevpon through the middest of the citie of London, vnto the place for his execution in the pallace at Westminster: where, hauing long time of staie admitted vnto him before his execution, he most maliciouslie and impudentlie, after some other vaine discourses eftsoons and often deliuered in speach, that he was neuer guiltie of anie intention to kill quéene Elisabeth, and so (without anie request made by him to the people to pray to God for him, or praier publikelie vsed by himselfe for ought that appeared: but such as he vsed, if he vsed anie, was priuat to himselfe) he was executed according to the iudgement. And now for his intent, how soeuer he pretended the contrarie in words, yet by these his owne writings, confessions, letters, and manie other proofes afore here expressed, it is most manifest to all persons, how horrible his intentions and treasons were, and how iustlie he suffered for the same: and thereby greatlie to be doubted, that as he had liued a long time vainelie and vngodlie, and like an atheist and godlesse man, so he continued the same course till his death to the outward sight of men. ¶ Here endeth the true and plaine course and processe of the treasons, arrest, arreignement, and execution of William Parrie the traitor.

Parrie (euen at the time of his death) séeketh to cleare and purge himselfe as innocent of the treasons for the which he was condemned.

AN ADDITION NOT VNNECESSARIE

FOR THIS PURPOSE.

FORSOMUCH as Parrie in the aboundance of his proud and arrogant humour, hath often both in his confession, and letters, pretended some great and grieuous causes of discontentment against hir maiestie and the present state: it shall not be impertinent, for better satisfaction of all persons, to set foorth simplie and trulie, the condition and qualitie of the man, what he was by birth and education, and in what course of life he had liued. This vile and traitorous wretch was one of the yoonger sonnes of a poore man, called Harrie ap Dauid: he dwelled in Northwales, in a little village called Northop, in the countie of Flint: there he kept a common alehouse, which was the best and greatest staie of his liuing. In that house was this traitor borne, his mother was the reputed daughter of one Conwaie a priest, parson of a poore parish called Halkin in the same countie of Flint: his eldest brother dwelleth at this present in the same house, and there kéepeth an alehouse as his father did before him. This traitor in his childhood so soone as he had learned a litle to write and read, was put to serue a poore man dwelling in Chester, named Iohn Fisher, who professed to haue some small skill and vnderstanding in the law. With him he continued diuerse yeares, and serued as a clerke, to write such things as in that trade, which his master vsed, he was appointed.

A description of Parrie both by linage person, education, and qualitie, &c.

Parrie baselie borne and baselie brought vp.

During this time, he learned the English toong, and at such times of leasure as the poore man his master had no occasion otherwise to vse him, he was suffered to go to the grammar schoole, where he got some litle vnderstanding in the Latine toong. In this his childhood he was noted by such as best knew him, to be of a most villainous and dangerous nature and disposition. He did often run awaie from his

his master, and was often taken and brought to him againe. His master, to correct his peruerse and froward conditions, did manie times shut him as prisoner in some close place of his house, and manie times caused him to be chained, locked, and clogged, to staie his running awaie. Yet all was in vaine: for about the third yeare of hir maiesties reigne, for his last farewell to his poore master, he ran awaie from him, and came to London to séeke his aduentures. He was then constreined to seeke what trade he could to liue by, and to get meat and drinke for his bellie, and clothes for his backe.

Parrie a verie runnagate and vagarante rakehell in his yoong yeares.

His good hap in the end was to be interteined in place of seruice aboue his desert, where he staied not long, but shifted himselfe diuerse times from seruice to seruice, and from one master to another. Now he bégan to forget his old home, his birth, his education, his parents, his friends, his owne name, and what he was. He aspired to greater matters, he challenged the name and title of a great gentleman, he vanted himselfe to be of kin, and alied to noble and worshipfull, he left his old name which he did beare, and was commonlie called by in his childhood, and during all the time of his abode in the countrie, which was William ap Harrie (as the maner in Wales is.) And bicause he would séeme to be in déed the man which he pretended, he tooke vpon him the name of Parrie, being the sirname of diuerse gentlemen of great worship and hauiour. And bicause his mothers name by hir father a simple priest was Conwaie: he pretended kindred to the familie of sir Iohn Conwaie, and so thereby made himselfe of kin to Edmund Neuill.

Note Parries ambition, and how the priest forgetteth that euer he was parish clerke.

Being thus set foorth with his new name and new title of gentleman, and commended by some of his good fauorers, he matched himselfe in mariage with a widow in Southwales, who brought him some reasonable portion of wealth. She liued with him but a short time, and the welth he had with hir lasted not long: it was soone consumed with his dissolute and wastfull maner of life. He was then driuen to his woonted shifts, his creditors were manie, the debt which he owed great, he had nothing wherewith to make paiment, he was continuallie pursued by sergeants and officers to arrest him, he did often by sleights and shifts escape from them. In this his néedie and poore estate, he sought to repare himselfe againe by a new match in mariage with another widow, which before was the wife of one Richard Heiwood.

Parrie matcheth himselfe in marriage with a widow in Southwales.

Parrie a shifter in debt and danger; he marrieth a rich widow, &c.

This matter was so earnestlie followed by himselfe, and so effectuallie commended by his fréends and fauourers, that the sillie woman yéelded to take him to husband: a match in euerie respect verie vnequall and vnfit. Hir wealth and yearelie liuelihood was verie great, his poore and base estate worse than nothing, he verie yoong, she of such age as for yeares she might haue beene his mother. When he had thus possessed himselfe of his new wiues wealth, he omitted nothing that might serue for a prodigall, dissolute, and most vngodlie course of life. His riot and excesse was vnmeasurable, he did most wickedlie defloure his wiues owne daughter, and sundrie waies pitifullie abuse the old mother: he caried himselfe for his outward port and countenance (so long as his old wiues bags lasted) in such sort, as might well haue sufficed for a man of verie good hauiour and degrée. But this lasted not long, his proud hart and wastfull hand had soone powred out old Heiwoods wealth.

Parrie defloureth his wiues owne daughter, and sundrie waies abuseth the old mother.

He then fell againe to his woonted shifts, borowed where he could find anie to lend, and ingaged his credit so far as anie would trust him. Amongst others, he became greatlie indebted to Hugh Hare, the gentleman before named. Who after long forbearing of his monie, sought to recouer it by law. For this cause Parrie conceiued great displeasure against him, which he pursued with all malice, euen to the seeking of his life. In this murtherous intent he came in the night time to M Hares chamber in the Temple, broke open the doore, assaulted him, and wounded him grieuouslie, and so left him in great danger of life. For this offense he was apprehended,

hended, committed to Newgate, indicted of burgularie, arreigned, and found guiltie by a verie substantiall iurie, and condemned to be hanged, as the law in that case requireth.

Parrie condemned for burgularie, is pardoned of the quéene.

He standing thus conuicted, hir maiestie of hir most gratious clemencie, and pitifull disposition, tooke compassion vpon him, pardoned his offense, and gaue him his life, which by the law and due course of iustice he ought then to haue lost. After this he taried not long, but pretending some causes of discontentment, departed the realme, and trauelled beyond the seas. How he demeaned himselfe there from time to time, and with whome he conuersed, is partlie in his owne confession touched before. This is the man, this is his race, which he feared should be spotted if he miscaried in the execution of his traitorous enterprise, this hath béene the course of his life, these are the great causes of his discontentment.

Parrie pretended a conscience of religion, being vtterlie prophane and of no religion.

And whereas at his arreignement and execution, he pretended great care of the disobedient popish subiects of this realme, whom he called catholikes, and in verie insolent sort séemed to glorie greatlie in the profession of his pretended catholike religion: the whole course and action of his life sheweth plainelie how prophanelie and irreligiouslie he did alwaies beare himselfe. He vaunted, that for these two and twentie yeares past he had béene a catholike, and during all that time neuer receiued the communion; yet before he trauelled beyond the seas, at three seuerall times within the compasse of these two and twentie years, he did voluntarilie take the oth of obedience to the queenes maiestie, set downe in the statute made in the first yeare of hir highnesse reigne; by which, amongst other things, he did testifie and declare in his conscience, that no forreine prince, person, prelat, state, or potentat, hath or ought to haue anie iurisdiction, power, preeminence, or authoritie, ecclesiasticall or spirituall, within this realme; and therfore did vtterlie renounce and forsake all forren iurisdictions, powers, and authorities, and did promise to beare faith and true allegiance to the quéenes highnesse, hir heires and lawfull successours.

Parries voluntarie oth (thrise taken in 22 yeares) of obedience to hir maiestie.

With what conscience or religion he tooke that oth so often, if so be he were then a papist in deed, as since the discouerie of his treasons he pretended, let his best freends the papists themselues iudge. But perhaps it may be said, that he repented those his offenses past: that since those thrée oths so taken by him, he was twise reconciled to the pope, and so his conscience cleared, and he become a new man, and (which is more) that in the time of his last trauell, he cast awaie all his former lewd maners: that he changed his degrée and habit, and bought or begged the graue title of a doctor of law, for which he was well qualified with a little grammar schoole Latine: that he had plenarie indulgence and remission of all his sinnes, in consideration of his vndertaking of so holie an enterprise as to kill quéene Elisabeth, a sacred annointed queene, his naturall and souereigne ladie: that he promised to the pope, and vowed to God to performe it: that he confirmed the same by receiuing the sacrament at the Iesuits, at one altar with his two beaupéeres the cardinals of Vandosme and Narbone: and that since his last returne into England he did take his oth vpon the bible to execut it. These reasons may séeme to beare some weight in déed amongst his friends the Iesuits, and other papists of state, who haue speciall skill in matters of such importance.

And this is most like, for what will not the pope dispense withall.

Parries two beaupéers the cardinals of Vandosme and Narbone.

What a notable dissembler was his?

But now latelie in the beginning of this parlement in Nouember last, he did eftsoones solemnelie in publike place take the oth before mentioned, of obedience to hir maiestie. How that maie stand with his reconciliations to the pope, and with his promises, vowes, and oth to kill the quéene, it is a thing can hardlie be warranted, vnlesse it be by some speciall priuilege of the popes omnipotencie. But let him haue the glorie he desired, to liue and die a papist. He déserued it, it is fit for him, his death was correspondent to the course of his life, which was disloiall, periured, and traitorous towards hir maiestie; and false and perfidious towards the pope himselfe, and his catholikes, if they will beléeue his solemne protestations which he made at his

Parrie periured towards hir maiestie and perfidious to the pope, &c.

his arreignement and execution, that he neuer meant nor intended anie hurt to hir highnesse person. For if that be true, where are then his vowes which he said were in heauen, his letters and promises vpon earth? Why hath he stollen out of the popes shop so large an indulgence and plenarie remission of all his sinnes, and meant to performe nothing that he promised? Why was his deuotion and zele so highlie commended? Why was he so speciallie praid for and remembred at the altar? All these great fauours were then bestowed vpon him without cause or desert: for he deceiued the pope, he deceiued the cardinals and Iesuits with a false semblance and pretense to doo that thing which he neuer meant.

No trust nor certeine dealing vsed by Parrie to or fro.

But the matter is cleere, the conspiracie, and his traitorous intent is too plaine and euident: it is the Lord that reuealed it in time, and preuented their malice: there lacked no will or readinesse in him to execute that horrible fact. It is the Lord that hath preserued hir maiestie from all the wicked practises and conspiracies of that hellish rable: it is he that hath most gratiouslie deliuered hir from the hands of this traitorous miscreant. The Lord is hir onelie defense in whome she hath alwaies trusted, he will defend hir maiestie, and fulfill for hir sake no lesse than good king Dauid (sundrie times assalted with falseharted enimies) and all loiall subiects will hartilie praie for; namelie such vengeance and heauie measure of iudgement to be proportioned and allotted them, as is wished against the malicious wicked in the eight and fiftith psalme, effectuallie set downe by the Paraphrast in these words following:

Buch. in psalm 58.

Confringe malas (ô Deus) impudens
Os comminutis contere dentibus:
Et rictibus sæuis hiantes
Hos inhibe catulos leonum, &c.
Sensim liquescant, tardigradus velut
Limax: acerbo funere deserant
Vitale lumen, more fœtus
Ante suum pereunt is ortum, &c.

A FEW OBSERUATIONS GATHERED OUT OF THE VERIE WORDS AND writings of William Parrie the traitor, applied to prooue his traitorous coniuration, with a resolute intent, imagination, purpose, and obstinate determination to haue killed hir maiestie, our most gratious souereigne, whom the Lord hath saued, and euer maie he saue by his mercie.

THIS William Parrie the traitor 1 confesseth to haue conceiued the treason at Venice, by conference with B. Palmio, of whome he still thinketh so well, as he can not but speake of him with reuerend mention; whereas, if he had neuer thought, or did now forethinke the treason, he would rather cursse the time that euer he met with such a bloudie and treacherous ghostlie father. Well, this graue and learned frier Palmio (saith he) made the matter cleere in religion and conscience, and commended the traitors deuotion. This treason Parrie so apprehended, as he wrote presentlie to the pope, presenting the seruice. 2 Returning to Paris, he conferred with Morgan, vowed to performe it for restitution of England, &c. 3 Being dissuaded (as the credible man writeth) by Wats, he replied that he was gone so farre, as he could not go backe, but promised faithfullie to performe the enterprise, if the pope would vpon his offers and letters allow it, and grant remission, &c.

Benedicto Palmio a Iesuit mentioned before.

Thomas Morgan and Wats the one termed a catholike gentleman.

Where-

Where this by the waie is to be noted, that if the opinions of these English priests (as he will néeds make vs beléeue) were differing from the pope, and our English Iesuits, varieng from Iesuit Palmio and others beyond sea Iesuits, in the question of murthering a prince: some of them at least would haue giuen loiall intelligence of such a treason conceiued and nourished in that man, who had made so manie priuie both beyond and on this side the sea, as could not be dissuaded from his purpose, but euer departed with a resolution contrarie vnto these cold dissuaders.

They cannot be sound in loialtie that are vnsound in religion: Ergo how can they giue Caesar his right that denie God his due and true seruice?

It were no good policie to trust this popish traitor, but rather to suspect all pope created priests to be of the same mind with their supreame head, and all English Iesuits to consent with forren Iesuits their fellow members. They be all of one order and vow, they haue one superior; and if they had detested this fact in déed, some of them, séeing the wretch to persist, must néeds haue bewraied it, and not to suffer him to go on headlong in such a sinne, leauing hir roiall person to the will and malice (as much as in them laie) of a murthering ruffian.

But to prooue his intent with continuance and growing of the same, 4 Againe he writeth letters to the pope, in Ianuarie one thousand fiue hundred eightie and foure by that account, tooke aduise vpon them in the confession of A. Codreto, was commended, againe confessed, tooke the sacrament (verilie Cruentum sacramentum & sacrificium cruoris) at the Iesuits, at one altar, with the cardinals of Vandosmi and of Narbone. Hereof he had certificat to the pope, which he sent inclosed in his letters to his holinesse, to lead him to absolue him; which he required in consideration of so great an enterprise vndertaken without reward. 5 The letter and certificat he read to Ragazzoni, and left with him to be sent to the pope, who wished him good spéed, promising he should be remembred at the altar. 6 He doubteth, least if Morgan died, and he miscarried in the execution (as he did, God be thanked, and choked in the halter, notwithstanding their remembrance at the altar) and his intent neuer trulie discouered; that is to saie, that he did it for the catholikes, it might be a spot in his race. Marke here the verie word (intent) in his owne confession. 7 Morgan assureth him, that the lord Fernehurst should go into Scotland, and be readie to enter vpon the first newes of our quéenes fall. Thus much for his intent beyond the sea, and before his coniuration discouered.

Aniball a Iesuit in Paris, of whome before.

Ragazzoni the Nuntio: sée before.

Sée before.

Vpon his arriuall in England, he wrote to court, that he had a speciall seruice of discouerie vnto the quéene: but with what intent, let his owne words speake, 8 More to prepare accesse and credit, than for anie care had of hir person. Admitted vnto hir gratious audience, he discouered the coniuration; yet in what maner, let himselfe saie, euen couered with all the skill he had. This intent was with déepe treason: for (as he saith) so he did, he disclosed onelie so much as he thought good and necessarie to ground in hir highnesse a setled confidence towards him, wherby he might effect his traitorous intent with better opportunitie, and his owne safetie. He bewraied himselfe so farre as he might couer his chiefe drift, manie principall things concealed, nothing of lord Fernehurst with his Scotish forces, &c. 9 Receiuing from the pope himselfe commendation and allowance of his enterprise, of incouragement, and plenarie indulgence by no meaner man than cardinall of Como, though he shewed the letter to hir maiestie, not for anie care of hir person, but for his better accesse and credit, as the rest, yet let his owne words tell what his intent was at the verie receiuing and shewing of the same letter. Forsooth (saith he) this letter confirmed his resolution to kill the quéene, making it cléere in his conscience, as a thing lawfull and meritorious.

Sée before.

Cardinall of Como, of whom sée before, and his letter to Parrie.

Now is his intent grown to a resolution not doubtfull, but cleere in conscience, not alone lawfull, but meritorious. Papa dixit, a cardinall is Nuntio. What other thing is this, than for the pope and his cardinals, like an other Antoninus Commodus,

dus, to make one Inter sicarios & gladiatores? The diuell inforcing this traitors heart to execute his intent, 10 He was troubled looking vpon the quéene, and remembring hir excellencies: yet he saw no remedie, his vowes were in heauen, his letters and promises on earth. Yea, he stroue to close his eies at these excellencies, and obstinated his heart by séeking reasons to quench all sparks of humanitie and allegiance arising in his thoughts. For thus reasoneth he against his conscience; Why shouldest thou care for hir? What hath she doone for thee? Hast thou not spent ten thousand marks, &c. What more diuelish intent could possesse a traitor, than to labour to suppresse a small remaine of conscience, abhorring to kill so excellent a personage, which God stirred vp in his thoughts to his iuster condemation? Sée before.

1 Doctor Allens booke redoubled his former conceipts, euerie word was a warrant to a prepared mind. Sée before, part of Parries voluntarie confession.

Sée how the smooth words of that catholike booke are interpreted and conceiued. One spirit occupieth the catholike reader with the catholike writer, and therefore can best expound the writers sense in his readers mouth, euen to be a booke fraught with emphaticall speaches of energeticall persuasion to kill and depose hir maiestie, and yet dooth the hypocrite writer, that traitor catholike, dissemble and protest otherwise. 12 Parrie suffering repulse in a sute for S. Katharins, communeth with maister Neuill, recommendeth the enterprise as honorable and profitable to the catholike common-weale. Being preiudiced in opinion of Allens booke (as before) he commendeth it, and deliuereth it to Neuill, thereby to worke the same vile intent in him which it had alreadie confirmed in himselfe. He tooke now an other oth vpon the bible, after the maner of a protestant, to pursue the enterprise, and ment (he saith) to performe it, so far foorth as the place and maner of dooing was appointed. This second coniuration he neuer bewraied in six moneths, till accused by Neuill, and then at first denied it. Note the pernicious dealing of Parrie euerie waie hurtfull Tam principi quàm populo, deinceps sibimet vt proditori summo.

13. Finallie, to declare his height of malice, he saith, if the quéene had preferred him neuer so greatlie, yet must this bloudie enterprise haue holden, except she had releeued the catholikes. Was this no intent, which neither benefit nor bountie could staie? Which neither feare of God, nor reuerence of excellencie could repell? Which neither dread of punishment, nor tract of time could remooue? Did he conceiue it, conferre and aduise of it, vow himselfe to the execrable seruice, present and offer it, harden his heart against others dissuasions, beat backe contrarie motions of his owne conscience, go so farre as he could not go backe, promise it faithfullie receiue a church sacrament therevpon, make certificat thereof, propound himselfe the end and reason of his intent, discourse vpon the contingent sequele, preuenting the spot of his race, receiue letters of allowance, commendation, incouragement, and absolution, could he vow in heauen, and promise on earth, could he doo all this in a thing which he meant not?

Could he resolue and confirme his resolution of a thing which he intended not; yea, could he intend and meane (for all these be his owne words) that which he neuer meant nor intended? could he redouble his conceits, and haue a prepared mind for that he intended not? Would such a craftie traitor practise with others by persuasiue speach, and traitorous booke in such a matter, as the onelie broching thereof must capitallie indamage his kinsman and friend, and withall laie his owne head in his friends hand? And yet notwithstanding, either he meant this treason, either else he little loued his friend, to tempt him so dangerouslie; whom yet, he saith, he loued so, as to suffer his finger in his dish, and his hand in his purse. But which is aboue all, would anie man sweare againe on the bible, appoint time and place, conceale it with as much perill as if he had doone it; would he denie it, would so ambitious a man discontent himselfe with all preferment, for the atchiuing of that All these circumstances proone that Parrie was resolute, and prepared both in hart and by hand to put in practise his conceiued vnnaturall treason.

which he meant not? Was this mischiefous course, begun and continued, a long time, at home and abroad, in manie kingdomes, communicated with manie persons, of seuerall nation and qualitie, as pope, cardinall, Nuntio, frier, priest, kings secretarie and ambassadors, all this while not meant? Was it frankelie and voluntarilie confessed, meant, finallie, recorded by pleading guiltie in maner and forme with all circumstance, and yet could he die an innocent for intent?

How could this hellhound die an innocent for intent; the premisses considered.

All this falling vpon no simple man, but vpon one, not now the first time holding vp his hand at barre, and vpon a doctor of law, the verie hood whereof is able to giue a man more iudgement, than to slip without light in all these things: I know not how he maie be excused without strong suspicion of the excuser. And if a prince may not iudge a wicked seruant out of his owne mouth, nor determine an offense by two or three mouthes, it were a notable world for traitors and murtherers, thus to haue all procéedings set loose, as well of our common lawes, which condemne vpon all euidences, as of the ciuill lawes, which giue capitall sentence vpon confession onelie: yea, Moses wisedome is ouerreached, and Christes equitie in his euangelicall parable against the lewd seruant not vsing his talent is eluded. All this is also ratified by voluntarie letters of his to hir maiestie apart, and to hir honorable councell. And if anie Italianat papist neuerthelesse will néeds beleeue this repugnancie of his last speaches, let him yet take this one note of him, whereby to consider how credible a man he crediteth.

A dilemma or reason of aduantage, concluding that Parrie died a periured traitor.

Either Parrie meant this monstrous murther according to his vowes in heauen, and sworne promises in earth, and so died a desperat traitor, protesting the contrarie in his last words vpon his soule and damnation: or else was he periured, to the foule abuse of pope and all poperie, most execrablie prophaning Gods name by promising, swearing, vowing, &c: that which he meant not. Necessarilie therefore must he perish vpon periured treason, or wrecke vpon desperat deieration. Nothing auoideth this dilemma, but a popish bull of dispensation, which if he had, I know not how princes may not as safelie suffer woolues and beares come to their presence, as such papists. And verie like it is that Parrie had a speciall bull, either else was it comprehended in his indulgence, that he might take othes contrarie to his catholike conscience, as he did the oth of supremasie in the beginning of the last parlement. Which if his coniuratours had not béene priuie with what intention he did sweare, he neuer durst haue taken it, least they should haue now bewraied him as a man sworne against the pope, therefore not to be trusted. But the truth is, this papist Parrie was both a traitor and a manifold periured traitor, whome (with all other of the like stampe) we leaue to the finall iudgement of God at the last and dreadfull doome: registring (in the meane time) a proper epigram, and of no lesse fit than true deuise, in memorie of the said capitall traitor, requiting that propheticall posie concerning Daruell Gatheren and frier Forrest, of whome you shall read in the thirteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight; this of Parrie being as followeth:

William Parrie
Was ap Harrie
By his name:
From the alehouse
To the gallows
Grew his fame.

Gotten westward
On a bastard
As is thought:
Wherefore one waie
Kin to Conwaie
Hath he sought.

Like a beast
With a inceast
He begon:
Mother maried
Daughter caried
Him a sonne.

Much he borrowed
Which he sorrowed
To repaie:
Hare is good
Bought with blood
As they saie.

Yet for paiment
Had arrainment
Of his detter:
Shee that gaue him
Life to saue him
Hangd a better.

Parrie his pardon
Thought no guardon
For his woorth:
Wherefore sought
That he mought
Trauell foorth.

Which obtained
He remained
As before:
And with rashnes
Shewd his bashnes
More and more.

He did enter
To aduenter
Euen hir death:
By whose fauor
He did euer
Draw his breath.

It was pittie
One so wittie
Malcontent:
Leauing reason
Should to treason
So be bent.

But his gifts
Were but shifts
Void of grace:
And his brauerie
Was but knauerie
Vile and base.

Wales did beare him
France did sweare him
To the pope:
Venice wrought him
London brought him
To the rope.

Wherewith strangled
And then mangled
Being dead:
Poles supporters
Of his quarters,
And his head.

In this yeare one thousand fiue hundred eightie and foure, sir Walter Mildmaie knight, one of hir maiesties most honorable priuie councell, founded a college in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and named it Emmanuell college. ¶ The same was sometimes a house of friers, and came to king Henrie the eight by dissolution, as appeareth by the sequeale, being an extract out of a substantiall and large booke written in parchment (which I haue seene, and whense I had this transcript) conteining the entrie or inrolment of certeine letters patents, writings and euidences touching the said college. First the premisses came vnto king Henrie the eight by act of parlement touching the dissolution of monasteries; and afterwards the said king by letters patents vnder the great seale of England, dated Decimo sexto Aprilis, anno tricesimo quinto regni sui, did grant the same to Edward Elrington and Humfreie Metcalfe, and to the heires of the said Edward for euer. After that, the said Edward Elrington and Humfreie Metcalfe by their déed pold dated Quarto Martij, anno tricesimo sexto Henrici octaui, did grant the premisses to William Sherwood gentleman and his heires for euer. Then George Sherewood gentleman, sonne and heire to William Sherwood by déed pold dated Vicesimo nono Septembris, anno

Abr. Fl. in lib. manuscripto.

Situs nuper domus fratrum prædicatorum vocata le Blackefriers in villa Cantabrigiæ.

vicesimo tertio Elisabethæ reginæ, did grant the premisses to Robert Tailor esquier and to his heires for euer.

And afterwards, the said Robert Tailor by déed pold dated Duodecimo Iunij, anno vicesimo quinto Elisabethæ reginæ, did grant the premisses to Richard Culuerwell citizen and mercer of London and Laurence Chaderton of Cambridge bachelor of diuinitie, and their heires for euer. And after that, the premisses were conueied to sir Walter Mildmaie, who hath conuerted the same into a seedplot of learning, for the benefit of the church and common-weath: so that the students maie verie trulie saie this, and more too, of so good, so honorable, and vertuous a founder:

——fluuijs dum creuerit æquor,
Dúmque vagas stellas pascet vterque polus,
Dum steriles altis lustrabunt montibus vmbræ,
Virtutis stabit fama decúsque tuæ.

1585 On the nine and twentith daie of March, which was in the yeare of Christ 1585, the parlement was dissolued: at the breaking vp whereof, the quéenes maiestie in the parlement house made an oration, to such effect as followeth.

The parlement dissolued.

THE QUEENES MAIESTIES ORATION IN THE PARLEMENT HOUSE.

The quéenes maiesties oration in the parlement house.

MY Lords and ye of the lower house, my silence must not iniure the owner so much, as to suppose a substitute sufficient to render you the thanks that my heart yéeldeth you: not so much for the safe keeping of my life (for which your care appeareth so manifest) as for the neglecting your priuat future perill, not regarding other waie than my present state. No prince herein (I confesse) can be surer tied or faster bound than I am, with the linke of your good will; and can for that, but yeeld a hart and head to séeke for euer all your best. Yet one matter toucheth me so neere, as I may not ouerskip: religion, the ground on which all other matters ought to take roote, and being corrupted may marre all the trée: and that there be some faultfinders with the order of the cleargie, which so may make a slander to my selfe and the church, whose ouer ruler God hath made me; whose negligence can not be excused, if anie schismes or errors hereticall were suffered.

O the care that hir maiestie hath of true religion, the lord of life lengthen hir graces life.

Thus much I must saie, that some faults and negligences may grow and bee (as in all other great charges it happeneth) and what vocation without? All which if you my lords of the cleargie doo not amend, I meane to depose you: looke you therfore well to your charges; this may be amended without heedlesse or open exclamation. I am supposed to haue manie studies, but most philosophicall: I must yéeld this to be true, that I suppose few (that be no professors) haue read more. And I need not tell you, that I am so simple that I vnderstand not, nor so forgetfull that I remember not; and yet amongst my manie volumes, I hope Gods booke hath not beene my sildomest lectures, in which we find that, which by reson (for my part) we ought to beleeue, that séeing so great wickednes and griefs in the world, in which we liue but as waie-faring pilgrims, we must suppose that God would neuer haue made vs but for a better place, and of more comfort than we find here. I know no creature that breatheth, whose life standeth hourelie in more perill for it than mine owne, who entered not into my state without sight of manifold dangers of life and crowne,

Hir maiesties reuerend estimation of Gods word and sacred scriptures.

crowne, as one that had the mightiest and greatest to wrestle with. Then it followeth, that I regarded it so much as I left my selfe behind my care.

And so you sée that you wrong me too much (if anie such there be) as doubt my coldnesse in that behalfe. For if I were not persuaded that mine were the true waie of Gods will, God forbid I should liue to prescribe it to you. Take héed, lest Ecclesiastes saie not too true; They that feare the horie frost, the snow shall fall vpon them. I sée manie ouer bold with God almightie, making too manie subtill scannings of his blessed will, as lawiers doo with humane testaments: the presumption is so great as I may not suffer it (yet mind I not hereby to animate * Romanists, which what aduersaries they be to mine estate is sufficientlie knowne) nor tolerate new fanglednesse. I meane to guide them both by Gods true rule: in both parts be perils, and of the latter I must pronounce them dangerous to a kinglie rule, to haue euerie man according to his owne censure to make a doome of the validitie and priuitie of his princes gouernement, with a common veile and couer of Gods word, whose followers must not be iudged but by priuat mens exposition, God defend you from such a ruler that so euill will guide you. Now I conclude, that your loue and care neither is nor shall be bestowed vpon a carelesse prince, but such as for your good will passeth as litle for this world as who careth least; with thanks for your frée subsidie: a manifest shew of the aboundance of your good wils, the which I assure you, but to be imploid to your weale, I could be better pleased to returne than receiue.

O most princelie resolution and persuasion!

* The God of vengeance and iustice roote them out, that the Lords annointed maie be frée from all feare of hurt.

What subiect would thinke life and lands too déere to lose (if néed were) for so gratious a quéene?

This is the summe of hir maiesties oration vttered in a solemne assemblie, and well worthie the recording, as testifieng no lesse in sinceritie and truth, than euerie good subiect may séale vnto himselfe, and laie his hand vpon his hart to be faithfullie meant for his securitie. Wherein is speciallie to be noted the religious care which hir maiestie hath vowed to haue of the propagation and supportation of the gospell; according to that which is reported of hir by waie of prophesie in the vision of quéene Anne in a dreame; where (after a repetition of miseries foretold to befall in quéene Maries daies) these words are infererd:

C. O in sua Elisabetha.

Ecce malis tantis tua parua medebitur infans,
Iámque tenella geret post sceptrum patris adulta,
Solamen magnum patriæ, solámen amicis:
Qua regnante diu, cœlis ea fata féruntur,
Britanni populus fœlix, érit Anglia fœlix,
Et longa tali sub principe pace fruetur.
Papa relegatus fallax ad littora Tybris
Ausonij, propria ditione iubebitur esse
Contentus, vænúmque domi protrudere merces.
Hic iuris papalis erit tum terminus Anglis.
Vestra dabit proles papæ immedicabile vulnus,
Non post idolis genua incuruare licebit
Ampliùs aut statuis benè olentia thura cremare:
Hinc papæ incassum furibunda mouebitur ira,
Dentibus infrendens & quæret tollere prolem
Παρθένον insidijs structis, quæ numine cœli
Protectore suo semotis hostibus æuum
Pace colet, seros ornabit honoribus annos,
Pace suos placida ciues: sua regna beabit.
Non tamen in claram bacchari desinet atrox

Reginam,

Reginam, pus ore vomens & virus vt aspis,
Promittet cœlum verbis (quis crederet illud?)
Principis obsequium quicunque reliquerit vltrò,
Cum pacto hoc miseros reuera in Tartara mittat, &c.

Abr. Flem. The death of pope Gregorie the thirteenth: read of this popes practises against England in Parries treasons.

¶ In this yeare of Grace, on the eleuenth of Aprill died pope Gregorie the thirteenth, termed the last and lewd pope of that name; one that wanted not the waies to applie his vsurped supremasie to the common abuse of all christendome, according to the receiued custome of his predecessors; who rather than they would abide anie be it neuer so small an eclipse of their worldlie pompe, all the world shal be set togither by the ears, in so much that heauen and earth shall ring with the noise of the tumults. This is he that (among other acts by him vndertaken and doone) after the old Romane or Iulian kalendar was by popish arguments accused and charged with manifold imperfections, whereinto by continuance of time it fortuned to fall, thrust foorth into the world a reformed kalendar, exhibited to his holinesse by one Antonie Lillie doctor of arts and physicke, wherein (by a certeine new cycle of epacts by one Aloisius the said Antonies brother germane deuised, and to an vndoubted rule of the golden number directed, as also to whatsoeuer magnitude or greatnesse of the yeare of the sunne applied) all things that in the old kalendar were faultie, may by constant reason and for euer to last be so restored; that the kalendar once reformed according to this plot, néed neuer hereafter either to be altered or amended. Howbeit, in commending the perfect reformation of this new kalendar, whereby not onelie all things erronious are abolished; but also such foresight is had of the time to come, that the calculation of this kalendar shall neuer hereafter séeme subiect vnto change: an occasion of some demands may hereof arise, touching christian libertie; namlie; Whether the church be tied to a certeine time according to the reformed calculation astronomicall, in the celebration of yearelie festiuals? Whether it be lawfull for the bishop of Rome to reforme the time and the kalendar? Whether the church of Christ be bound by necessitie of religion to receiue that kalendar, at the first originall beginning proceeding from the pope, though the same afterwards were set foorth vnder another title? Whether it profitetli or be requisit that for the kéeping of peace and concord, in contracts, bargainings, and intercourse of traffike and merchandize; the one partie should submit himselfe to that kalendar, wherevnto the pope hath yoked his popelings; and persuaded manie more to doo the same, &c. Although these and the like interrogatories may be made against the papists; yet bicause to giue an instance is not to answer a doubt, it is to be wished that this kalendar were throughlie sifted by some sound and sober mathematician, and the three heads, whereof this new reformed kalendar of Gregorie dooth consist, disprooued: which three heads, repeated by Gregorie in his bull before the said kalendar, are these.

The pope is verie busie by his owne presumptuous and proud enterprises to impeach christian libertie.

This hath béene doone in such sort by a mathematician stranger, that he is bold to chalenge anie holding the contrarie opinion to a reproofe of his examination.

1 The restoring and coupling of the equinoctiall in the spring to the one and twentith daie of March, with such a caueat giuen, that from thense, as from the proper and fixed seat, it may not possiblie hereafter at anie time remooue. 2 The correction of the golden number by the cycle of epacts, in such sort, that the numbers of epacts may shew not onelie the daie of the new moone in euerie moneth of all years; but also, and that principallie the terme of Easter: that is, the certeine and iust daie of the verie next full moone following after the equinoctiall of the spring; and that euerie yeare without error or deceipt. 3 The verie iust and certeine sundaie of Easter, that ought to be celebrated and kept on the verie next sundaie after the full moone, which dooth follow first after the iust equinoctiall of the spring. These three heads being so anatomized and opened by mathematicians as were méet, it should be found in the end, that this new kalendar, in all and euerie part thereof, euen

Vide M. Michaelem Mæstlinum Gæppingensem in

euen wherin it is best reformed, or so thought to be, is manie waies faultie, and erro- *Tubingensi academia mathematicum, &c.*
nious in the verie grounds: in which qualitie leauing it, as not to be put to the touch in a publike chronicle, but otherwise to be had in triall, Gregorie the preferrer thereof is now to be handled by description, which is no fiction or imagined fable, but deriued out of an oration or funerall sermon in Rome, at the buriall of his holinesse, conteining his maners, life, deeds, and last words at his death: togither with the lamentations of the cardinals and whole Romish clergie: otherwise to be intituled as followeth:

A SERMON FULL OF PAPISTICALL ADULATION,

AND MATTER SUFFICIENT TO PROCURE THE WISE AND VERTUOUS MINDED TO CONTEMNE SUCH GROSSE AND PALPABLE BLINDNESSE, AND ALL PERSONS TO LAUGH AT THE ROMANISTS ABSURD AND ERRONIOUS FOLLIES.

THERE is nothing so certeine as death, either vncerteine as the moment thereof. Wherefore the holie doctor saith: Kéepe thy selfe continuallie in that estate wherin thou desirest to die. And the prouerbe goeth, that manie a one thinketh himselfe in perfect helth, when he beareth death in his bosome. To saie the truth, we doo continuallie carrie death about with vs, it is in vs immediatlie after we take life and moouing in our mothers wombe; and wheresoeuer we walke, it is still at our héeles: if we take horsse, it is with vs: if we be on the water, it is the guide of our ship: so as we can neuer saie death to be absent from vs: for our selues are verie death, and no part of our bodie immortall. Wherefore those that suppose themselues to liue in this world, are far deceiued in their owne opinions, and the pilgrimage of man in this world is but a shadow of life, which vnto vs seemeth life, but in déed is none. The better therefore to describe the said shadow, I will make an abstraction of the dead time of mans age, from the full and greatest age that a creature can liue in the world. *A good and plausible beginning, if the proceeding were agréeable.*

First, the longest age that man can liue is but sixtie years. From sixtie years we must deduct the nights, for man when he sleepeth liueth not. Beside that, sleepe is termed the image of death: so that deducting the nights, which comprehend one halfe of the time, man liueth but thrée score yeares in the world. Whiles man liueth these sixtie yeares, he liueth but the one halfe of them, for if he haue one daie of mirth and quiet, he hath another of sorrow and care, bicause griefe dooth still secretlie créepe into mirth. And anie person troubled with cares and vexed in mind, dooth rather die than liue. We must therfore take from the sixtie yeares aforesaid the one halfe, and so there remaine but thirtie. Now, let vs sée whether in the space of six score yeares a man may not passe awaie ten at the least in sickenesse, mischances, or other infirmities? I may tell you there is no man that liueth six score yeares in the world, but at seuerall times and during the said age he hath aboue ten yeares infirmitie: and therefore we must take from the thirtie yeares which are the remainder of mans life yet ten yeares, and then there are but twentie left, which are now the twentie yeares of his life. We must take them at his infancie and in his oldest age: that is, ten yeares from his verie childhood, and the other ten from his extreame old age. But sith aswell in infancie as in extremitie of age there is no life, but rather a liuing death; I conclude, that man hath not one onelie houre of life in this world, also that whosoeuer séeketh life in this world dooth much deceiue himselfe. In heauen therefore it is that we must assure our selues to liue, and seeke for life; but not vpon earth where death dooth continuallie haunt vs. For we ought to die to the world, *Popish diuines doo rather imitate anie duns than the prophet Dauid, who setteth downe the age of man to consist of 70 yeares.* *A further examination of mans age by popish learning.*

to

to the end to be borne in Iesus Christ; according to the souereigne sentence and decrée, O ye inhabitants of Rome we sée your great bishop and mine is dead: behold our crowne is fallen: our lodestar vanished awaie, and our light extinguished.

Happie newes to the true church, when the members of antichrist decrease.

And for mine owne part, O miserable man, who am depriued of him, of two things I wish for one, that is, either neuer to remember the good that we haue lost; either else calling the same to mind, to find some one that were able to giue me comfort correspondent to the greatnesse of the heauinesse wherinto I am fallen. And indéed my selfe doo now come into the pulpit vpon two seuerall occasions méere contrarie ech to other, to wit, to reherse the gretnes of the good that is taken from vs, and to comfort those that susteine the losse: naie rather, to doo two things which séeme to repugne ech other. For if it be true that nothing dooth more aggrauate the griefe of the losse, than the remembrance of the value of the thing lost; then dooth nothing séeme more contrarie to the comfort of the liuing, than the praises of him that is dead, as in this case, wherein so far doo the merits of the deceased exceed, that the arrowes which pearse his hart that is depriued of him are the more sharpe and grieuous. Howbeit some man would answer, that contrariwise by the commendations of him that is departed, we doo declare that he is not dead, but liueth, and thus we may by little and little asswage the sorrow of our losse and damage in whatsoeuer maner.

This is no adulation to a dead carrion, what did this fellow (thinke you) to the beast when he was aliue?

A comparison abused to the commendation of lewd pope Gregorie.

But as it were hard for a painter in the face of a sorrowfull person to represent a smiling countenance, so dooth it séeme to me a difficult enterprise to vndertake to comfort a man by rehearsing the vertues of him that is taken awaie from vs: and that the more, if we should enter into consideration of him that is spoken of: of your selues that are the hearers: and of me that doo make the discourse: for in each of these three, the same circumstances that séeme to make mine enterprise easie, are those that indeed doo yéeld it most difficult and troublesome. As if a man should in respect of him saie, that if the multitude of his great vertues doo séeme to abridge my labour, in séeking some argument wherevpon to ground his praises: so contrariwise the abundance of so great vertues doo hold me so short, that I can not certeinelie resolue vpon the choice of one onlie wherevpon worthilie to commend him. For you, if a man should saie, in that you all knew him and vsed him to your great profit, it should séeme sufficient for me to decipher matters: so contrariwise your own perfect knowlege, togither with your dealings with him, would sufficientlie open vnto you all my defaults in displaieng of him. And for mine owne part, if infinit courtesies and great fauors, wherewith he hath alwaies gratified me, doo séeme without seeking anie cuning to bréed in me as much affection as is requisit: so by contrarie reason, the great fauours and benefits, wherewith he hath alwaies gratified me, doo not leaue me anie cunning meanes to hinder me from hauing greater affection than is héere to be required of me. And this was the principall reason that mooued me somewhat to refuse this so honorable a commission, and vnto me in manie other respects most welcome, and to request you to appoint and commit to some other the charge to discourse herevpon, and to leaue vnto me teares and lamentations onelie.

Childish reasons and worse diuinitie.

How did this fellow flatter Gregorie aliue, whom he so magnified being dead?

But now vnto thée, Oh my good master and father (for so I alwaies call thee) doo I turne my selfe. Maie it be possible that this my oration, which latelie in thy life thou diddest harken vnto, should now be imploied in praising of thee being dead, either that this my toong, which imploieng me to the seruice of this countrie, thou diddest too greatlie honor, should now be occupied, alas, in lamentations for thy so hurtfull death to all christendome? And what? Hast thou then brought me so ioifullie to Rome, to the end here to celebrate thy funerals? Oh how that commission to read Hieremie might well forshew vnto me (but I perceiued it not) that my lecture thereof should end in lamentations, and now behold that diuination accomplished! See Quomodo sedet sola ciuitas, how the citie sitteth desolat, notwithstanding it be

A fit child and scholer for so bad a father and maister.

Plena

Plena populo, full of people: also how this spouse, the church of Rome, who by great brightnes séemed to be Domina gentium, ladie of nations, now hauing lost thee, Est facta quasi vidua, is made as it were a widow: and as a widow all dipped in teares and lamentations, willeth me to celebrate the praises of hir déere spouse, which she all wholie togither can not celebrate: wherein although I can not (as in truth I am not able) atteine to the least parcell of thy deserts, which are not well to be expressed, yet at all aduentures I assure my selfe, O happie soule, that as in thy life time thou diddest pardon me a number of other imperfections, so now thou wilt likewise forgiue me this: I know that as thou wert accustomed, thou wilt make better accompt of the good will than of the glose and pompe of words, and as discréet shalt well see, that not onelie I, but also that no oratour is able to atteine to the type of thy commendations.

No spouse but a strumpet spotted with spirituall fornication.

Beastlie and blasphemous diuinitie, fit for so lewd a bishop, and so vnlearned a chapleine.

Among the which my lords, and ye my hearers, I doo fréelie confesse, that I haue greatlie doubted whether I were best to begin, as I take the maner to be, at the greatnesse and eminencie of the familie from whense he is extract: and at the first I was purposed so to doo, and that the rather bicause it is not yet scarse two months since that my selfe heard him in this temple, discourse how our sauiour Iesus Christ was content to be borne of a mother though poore, yet noble, and descended of a noble race; also that nobilitie was verie effectuall euen to spirituall life, as it may be said of him that is noble, that whether it be through conformitie or resemblance of mind with his predecessors, either thorough the remembrance of such things as they haue doone, either else through the effect of good bringing vp, or for what other reason he is better disposed to doo well; that nobilitie serueth him as a spur to goodnesse and a bridle to euill: also that as the pretious stone being set in gold maketh a greater shew than in iron, euen so the same vertuous déeds do giue a more effectuall example, when they proceed from noble personages than from men of base estat, with other things which he spake to the same purpose.

Noblie borne (no doubt) was this Gregorie, otherwise called Hugh the good fellow.

A similitude of a pretious stone set in gold, and vertues in personages noblie descended.

Howbeit I will not speake thereof, in that it might be accompted rashnesse in me, euen in Rome to séeke to make his holinesse familie more famous than it is. It may be that some may saie that this familie dooth want glorious titles, preeminence, riches, possessions, iurisdictions, pretensions of rights, patronages, ancient petidegrees of their predecessors, commendations of learning, praise of armes, noble and famous aliances either in Italie or without, and to be briefe, all such things collected into one, as being seuerallie taken are sufficient to set a faire shew vpon a whole progenie. Notwithstanding all these things which are terrestriall and too common with others, and for the causes aforesaid his holinesse perceiuing (as he perceiued all things) that it is not inough for a horsse to be of a good race, except himselfe be also good, and that they are happie and wise, who as the sea, doo not receiue the swéetnesse of this vaine glorie of the riuers of their predecessours, but returning their course and swelling ouer the mouths of the riuers themselues, can yéeld to their forerunners the reward of firme and permanent commendation; so of that great nobilitie which he had brought foorth of his mothers wombe with him, he did therin onelie yéeld thankes to God, for that his actions with their circumstances, thereby, and in respect thereof, were more notable and exemplarie.

Gregorie perceiued all things: but it would be knowen how.

Oh most happie person, who in the middest of so great eminencie of birth, could so well subdue pride, and in himselfe giue example vnto other! Euen like vnto the pearle, which although it lieth in the bottome of the sea, yet kéeping it selfe close in the shell, and neuer opening vntill it ascendeth to receiue the dew of heauen, we find therein no smell, no sauour, or drop that tasteth of hir sea; but being pure, cleare and white, it seemeth to be formed euen in heauen. We must not therfore take commendations of this people at the transitorie things of the sea of this world, and although

A long similitude most fondlie and most ridiculouslie applied.

though he be therein extract of a most noble birth, yet will I not saie anie more thereof as of that which is none of his.

Marke this principalliie, that Gregorie was mortified if the text lie not.

But discoursing and speaking of that which properlie apperteineth to himselfe, I would aske whether his mind commanded not his bodie? Also whether it were possible to find a bodie more withered, afflicted, macerated, dried vp, or pale through the effect of austere and hard penance? Other mens bodies (O christian hearers) are for the most part wished to be of this or that forme, bicause they yéeld such or such inclination to the mind. But in this I will shew you a matter woorth the noting; that is, that here the case was altered, for it was the mind that ministred inclination to the bodie: so that being waxen altogither spirituall, had not extreame néed forced him, he neuer desired meat, drinke, or bodilie rest: and he liued in such sort as it was a miracle (whereof, alas, we haue but too soone séene the issue) how he could liue so manie yéeres, but rather liuing was déad. And for my part I assure you, I neuer, euen in the hart of summer, kissing his holie hands (good God shall I neuer doo so more?) found them other than cold, wherein there was no heat, except the same procéeded of some excesse or immoderate labor, or of some motion of a sudden feuer. O most déere bodie! O most holie members! But looke yet once againe vpon them, O ye Romane people, and saie: Are not these the verie hands which so often haue bin ioined togither, and lifted vp to praie and offer sacrifice for vs? Be not these the feet that haue trauelled so far for our sakes? Is not this the head that neuer imagined anie thing but for our benefit? Is not this the heart that burned in loue of vs? O déere members! O members so déere! What? Shall you then go vnder the earth? And what? Must you be buried? Alas my God! who is that thou hast taken awaie from vs? And wherefore doo ye hide your selues? For my part, none but onlie death shall euer plucke out of my heart the liuelie image of that so well beloued countenance: especiallie in this act, wherein with your eies toward heauen as it were smiling, and with an angelicall countenance I sée you depart and remaine dead.

Iesu! what a woonder is this? and well woorthie to be placed in Legenda aurea.

The head which sought to ouerthrow the true church, to dissuade subiects from their allegiance to their prince, and to mainteine his owne pompe and glorie.

But it is time for vs (O christian hearers) to procéed to matters of greater importance, which are so manie and withall so intangled one within an other, that I could not find anie more fit meane to part and diuide them; neither doo I thinke that we can take anie better course, than the verie course of his holie life: and there to begin. When he was a little child he was verie deuout, and it is well knowne that God, euen in his first youth, wrought in him maruellous signes of singular goodnesse. The like is read of saint Basill, saint Gregorie, saint Dominike, saint Francis, and manie others, as was to be seene in this yoong child (saie they that doo remember it) namelie, that at his returne from the college, all the delite that that age vsed to take in anie other thing, he tooke onelie in framing of little altars, adorning of small chapels, and counterfeiting of holie things. Matters, which although the wisest maie thinke too base for this place, and for the occasion now ministred, yet would I not onelie not disdaine, but also take great and singular pleasure in the same.

For all that is hitherto spoken is verie ridiculous, idle and méere lipla-bour.

Notes that he would in time proone a strong piller of idolatrie.

And although some doo saie, that among such serious affaires such small trifles should haue no place: yet doo I delite to shew how commendable, not onelie graue matters, but euen such small things were in him. Concerning the rest, according to the proportion of his age, or rather beyond the reach of that age (as occasions doo increase so must my stile arise) his holinesse being past the inferiour schooles, and comming to studie the law it is not possible to make an end of writing with what modestie and grauitie he there passed the yeares of his studie: he was apparelled in clerks attire, but which was of greater importance, he obserued clergie maners, much continencie, and (as is supposed) perpetuall virginitie, with modest behauiour, no vanitie, continuall studie: these were his exercises. And to be briefe, although thorough

The continencie and virginitie of the popish clergie dooth consist in keeping of concubines.

thorough our mishaps, the vniuersities wherin he studied were not vsuallie either the quietest or the holiest in the world, yet might the writing of Nazianzen concerning the great Basill and the towne of Athens be applied to him. Like as there is one riuer, which flowing thorough the sea, taketh no bitternesse thereof; also a certeine beast that liueth in the fire and consumeth not: euen so he with great quietnesse passing these troubles, and with souereigne vertues such vices, did first and most worthilie atteine to the doctorall degree, and afterward was called to Rome and made cardinall, onelie thorough desert, for his learned studies, and not by fauour, as the most part doo now vsuallie practise.

Note how Gregorie is extolled by waie of comparison.

A happie departure, a blessed iournie for all the holie church, but especiallie for this great citie of Rome, which haue receiued so great benefits and so much comfort at his hands. Notwithstanding, whatsoeuer affaires he had in hand, yet did he dailie applie his studie at a certeine houre, and so continued his studie euen to his death, with so déepe iudgement and good successe, that although his intellectuall habitudes had not béene verie farre surmounted and darkened thorough the maruellous brightnesse of his morall and theologicall vertues: yet in respect of his learning and studie onelie, he deserued great praise, and in truth he was neuer other than most learned and a great fauourer of learned men. Who did euer shew them more pleasure, or receiue them more courteouslie? Besides the seminaries and colleges, as well at Paule as here, the lectures, the stipends, with such and so manie things doone to the behoofe of learning, and besides the books which he hath of himselfe written: and now that the bridle of his modestie dooth no longer deteine, I hope, as my selfe haue séene them, so comming to light, all the world shall behold them, and in them perceiue as in himselfe whether were more his holie writings or good maners. This loue of learning and holinesse of life he practised so diligentlie in himselfe, that thorough Gods grace, and the inspiration of the holie ghost, he was in respect of his vertues, knowledge, and holie life, elected pope, and his name from Hugh good Companion, was changed and called Gregorie the thirteenth. During his papasie he liued so religiouslie and deuoutlie, that the whole life of a man were little enough to rehearse the same. But herein I repose my selfe vpon that zeale which I perceiue in euerie one to commend him, whereby I maie shortlie sée so manie poesies, verses, and rimes, with such histories, so manie orations, and volumes to his honor, that all these things, as well such as I can not touch, as the rest which I mention and speake of, shall briefflie be deciphered and liuelie set foorth.

A great student was Gregorie, but in no good faculte.

Better had that liberalitie bene exhibited to théeues than to sacrilegious beasts &c.

Gregorie a good companion to traitors, but an ill companion to the godlie.

For to rehearse all the holie works of our good shéepheard, or to indeauour to set foorth that verie patterne of a bishop which he hath expressed in himselfe, to saie truth, I thinke vnpossible, and much lesse to beléeue that the verie summarie of those things that he hath doone maie be drawne into anie annals or chronicle. Neither can I conceiue anie means to atteine thereto, vnlesse some one haue in forme of remembrances béene dailie collecting the course of his déeds and works. For my part in this short discourse that I haue to prosecute, as one not able to restreine the whole sea, I will go sée if I maie gather the water at the riuers and brooks from whense this sea doth arise, that is, from his vertues, which in him haue wrought so manie holie works. Notwithstanding I might at once in generall words saie, that all vertues beséeming a bishop, which saint Paule and others doo speake of, were to be found in him.

It is vnpossible (if you will beléeue this flattering parasite) to rehearse Gregories works &c.

Alas how this holie pastor burning in loue, made himselfe leane for you, O ye poore artificers, ladies, yoong infants, and poore beggers! Alas ye all haue lost your father, the shéepheard is dead, and the sheepe remaine a preie to the wolues. How soeuer it is, hereof maie we plainelie sée O Rome, that he bare thée singular good will: and in déed (for I will not conceale thy commendation) it is euident that thou diddest answer his good will with reciprocall amitie, witnesse this thy assemblie: these sobs and these teares doo testifie thy acknowledging thereof, besides all other things, alas,

The woolfe is dead, and the shéepe want a good shéepheard.

too bitter and too swéet togither; euen the night of his departure was to you and to me infortunate. O great, O great pitie, what could be séene more worthie compassion and teares, than the fearefull stirre of the people? It seemed, when the most horrible sound of the bell called Aue Maria, that gaue notice of his death, to the end to praie to God for him, sent furies to all both men and women.

How could the pope néed the praiers of men, sith himselfe can forgiue sinnes?

One ran here, an other there, some two togither, others without order or reason: all wept, all cried, all howled out, saieng: Ah, good God whereto are we brought? What shall become of vs? If the infection dooth afflict vs, who shall praie for vs? Ah that we had not deserued it! Oh how God is wroth with vs! With manie other exclamations sufficient to haue rent the marble stones, and clouen the wals insunder. He was a man of much praier and reading, as euer was anie, and in priuat behauior had not his like. Two things there were that made him woonderfull wise. The one, he would in all affaires heare counsell. The other, he had still recourse vnto praier. Truelie he was as wise as holie. I confesse that in respect of his example onelie, I learned to vnderstand this place of saint Paule concerning his care of all the churches: Quis infirmatur & ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur & ego non vror? Who is weake and I am not sicke? Or who is offended and I burne not? And that which followeth.

Two things made Gregorie wise if you will beléeue the reporter.

To be briefe, toward the end of his daies, and being hore haired, he conceiued two excellent imaginations. The one, concerning that great and woonderfull college that is now at building in your Rome, for the teaching (a woonderfull matter) of all languages in the world. The other, the same which he propounded and began to be put in execution touching the recouerie of the goods of the catholike apostolike Romish church. The same was it which he did so highlie commend to the clergie, yea to the christian princes, and vnto his successor, to the end that the Romane sée might recouer the full brightnesse of hir glorie, and to depriue the enimie of mankind of that innumerable gaine of soules, that through his subtiltie he dooth dailie make. These were his last words when he left vs with the water in our eies, and sorrow in our harts, for the losse of a thing of so great value. Neuerthelesse, sith it is to no purpose to wéepe, it resteth that we doo two things. The one, that so much as in vs lieth, we indeuour to reteine those notable institutions, and walke in that path which he hath prescribed for vs. The other, that we haue recourse to God with praier, that he will send vs a successor worthie him: and that as Simplician succéeded saint Ambrose, so to this Ambrose an other Simplician in vertue and holinesse maie succéed.

Two imaginations in Gregories head toward his death.

Some traitorous deuise for the persecution of the gospell.

God root out all of that succession, and gine his truth free passage against poperie.

This is that small matter, Oh blessed soule, which my foolish and vnnéete toong is able this day to vtter of thée in middest of these sighs and lamentations. Now shall it cease: howbeit, at time conuenient, both this daie and euer, my heart shall discourse of thée. Oh wretch that I am! O ye Romane people, to whome happeneth still the contrarie of that which happened to the Romane souldior, that was wounded and maimed vpon one of his legs, at a certeine victorie that he obteined. For he said, that at euerie step that he set, and vpon the least paine that he felt of his leg, he called to mind the most honorable blason of his glorie: but I contrariwise, in the least commendations that I may obteine, shall thinke vpon my losses. For when soeuer I shall boast, that I haue béene seruant to such a holinesse, and so great a personage, I must necessarilie withall remember what a good I am depriued of. Let vs therefore praie to our good God, that it may please him of his grace with his holie spirit to inspire the most reuerend cardinals, the electors of the holie apostolike and Romish sée, to the end his holinesse successor, succéeding in the holie sée, may likewise, succéed in those vertues and holinesse, wherewith he was indued and replenished.

Alacke good soule that hast lost thy solace and comfort.

¶ This is the parasiticall and flattering *sermon of a popeling, patched togither like a beggers mantle of sundrie rotten rags diuerslie colored; wherein there is as much

* Faithfullie translated out of the French copie

learning

learning as wit; and as much of both as of truth and goodnesse in this praiser and the praised: of whome (because it is sinne against the holie ghost to speake otherwise than according to the motion of a good and sound conscience) an epitaph imprecatorie (as fit for him as a pudding for a friers mouth) is here placed as a conclusion of this his memoriall, and appliable vnto all and euerie one of that antichristian and diabolicall succession:

printed at Paris for Peter Iabert dwelling in Harpe street, with the kings priuilege 1585.

Albus an ater (lector) cognoscere si vis
Papa, tibi dicam qua ratione licet;
Tu metamorphôsin lepidam spectabis: olorem
Fac papam, coruus protinus ater erit.
Vt quocunque meat sordes testudo relinquit,
Sic immundiciem linquet vbique suam.
Monstrum tale vorax absorbeat ergô barathrum,
Atque Deo pœnas tempus in omne luat.

When this Gregorie was deceased, shortlie after (least the ouerlong vacancie of the sacred and apostolike sée should preiudice the Romish prelasie and cleargie) the succession came to Sixtus Quintus, who according to the disposition of his predecessors, indeuoring to mainteine the title of his supremasie, and to beare rule ouer mens consciences, as though peremptorie authoritie had by priuilege passed vnto the bishops of that sée to controll and giue the checke to all christendome; one iot or minute whereof the beast now residing at Rome not meaning to relinquish, but rather to fortifie and aduance, vndertooke to intermedle with princes of renowme, as proffering to bring them withim the compasse of his iurisdiction: insomuch that falling to the extreame point of his antichristian power, he let flie (but as paper-shot) his excommunications, thinking that if anie thing were able to daunt and appall the courages of mightie men, this were the waie. But herein Sixtus Quintus was foolified, for proofe whereof behold an answer to the excommunication latelie denounced and published by the said Sixtus Quintus, pope of Rome so called, against two christian princes vndernamed, and sent to Rome as followeth.

Sixtus quintus pope of Rome next after Gregorie the good fellow or boun companion.

Excommunication a perilous bolt to shoot at princes.

THE ANSWER OF HENRIE KING OF NAUARRE, AND HENRIE PRINCE OF CONDE, TO THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF SIXTUS QUINTUS, NOW POPE, &c.

HENRIE by the grace of God king of Nauarre, prince of Bearne, chiefe péere and prince of France, opposeth himselfe against the excommunication of Sixtus Quintus, terming himselfe pope of Rome, auouching the same to be false, and appealeth to the court of péeres of France, of whome he hath the reputation to be the first in degrée. And as concerning the crime of heresie, whereof he is falslie accused by the said excommunication, he auoweth and affirmeth, that my lord the pope, sauing his holinesse and reuerence, hath therein most falselie and wickedlie lied: and that the pope himselfe is an heritike, which he offereth to prooue publikelie in a generall or common councell lawfullie assembled. Where if he shall refuse to appeare and submit himselfe, as by his own canons and decrées he is specialle bound, the said king dooth and will hold and repute him a verie antichrist, and in that qualitie of antichrist denounceth perpetuall warre against him: protesting in the meane time, the popes wicked sentence to be vnlawfull and insufficient, and to prosecute against him and his successors (for reparation of honor) reuenge of the iniurie thereby offered to him and all the princes of his bloud, as the lewdnesse of the act

The popes excommunications against forren princes are to be esteemed but as paper shot.

The king of Nauarre giueth the pope the lie.

The king of Nauarre denounceth perpetuall warre against the pope.

act and the present necessitie doo require. For if in times past, the princes and kings his progenitors haue béene able to chastise the insolencie and arrogancie of such companions as the pope is, when they forgat their duties, and excéeded the limits of their vocation and place, confounding and intermixing their spirituall iurisdiction with the temporall: the said king of Nauarre being in state nothing inferior to them, dooth hope, that God will giue him the grace to reuenge the wrong and iniurie hereby doone to his souereigne, his familie and bloud, and to the supreame courts and seats of iustice and parlement in France, vpon the said pope and his successors: and to that end and purpose he imploreth the aid, succour, and assistance of all true christian kings, princes and common-weales, whome this case dooth concerne, together with the alies and confederats of the crowne of France, against the tyrannie and vsurpation of the said pope, and of the associated conspirators aginst the state of their souereigne, enimies to God, France, and the common peace and quiet of christendome. The like protestation is also made by Henrie of Burbon prince of Conde, vnto whome the excommunication likewise reacheth.

This their forgetfulnesse is wilfull, as agréeable to their ambitious humor.

The king of Nauarre imploreth the aid of all christian kings, &c. against the tyrannie and vsurpation of the pope.

¶ Fixed and set vp vpon the Pasquile at Rome to the view of all men.

¶ Thus farre of two popes, who though they be but prophane priests, and méere foreners to England both by birth and beleefe; yet sith they haue beene ouerbold to busie themselues with the affaires not onelie of other christian princes, but also with the state of our nation, wherinto they haue had too far an insight, by the aid of certeine vnnaturall and degenerat people; manie of them being fugitiues, and carieng about them euen in their bosome a conscience bespotted with sinnes of excéeding horror and heinousnesse: in consideration hereof, as also of other practises tending to an vniuersall desolation of truth and louers of truth, as also to the dissolution of ciuill policie and destruction of our most gratious souereigne ladie quéene Elisabeth, the lords annointed and lieutenant, principall within hir owne dominions: what faithfull subiect can but note them; howbeit, none otherwise than the reports of them haue passed vnder manie eies and through manie hands, printed euen in forren speach, before the same were published in English. At which popes, meaning now to make a stop, we will come againe to matters of our owne.

Abr. Fl. ex chirographo D. G. militis.

¶ In this yeare 1585, euen in Aprill, at the pleasant prime, sir Walter Raleigh knight, being incouraged by the reports of his men of the goodnesse of the soile and the fertilitie of the countrie, which they had discouered this yeare last past, and now by hir maiestie called Virginia, with knightlie courage counteruaileable to his double desire of honour, by vndertaking hard aduenturs, furnished to his great charges eight sailes of all sortes, and immediatelie set them to the sea, ordeining sir Richard Gréenfield his kinsman (a gentleman of verie good estimation both for his parentage and sundrie good vertues, who for loue he bare vnto Sir Walter Raleigh, togither with a disposition that he had to attempt honorable actions worthie of honour, was willing to hazard himselfe in this voiage) his lieutenant, inioining him either to tarrie himselfe, or to leaue some gentlemen of good worth with a competent number of soldiers in the countrie of Virginia, to begin an English colonie there. Who with the ships aforesaid, hauing in his companie sir Iohn Arundell, Thomas Candish, Rafe Lane, Edward Gorges, Iohn Stuklie, Edward Stafford, Philip Amadis, Arthur Barlow, Thomas Heriot, and diuerse other gentlemen with a competent number of souldiers, departed from London in Aprill aforesaid. But after they had sailed certeine numbers of leagues at the sea, by force and violence of fowle weather they were separated one from another; so that sir Richard Gréenefield, being singled from his fléet, all alone arriued in the Iland of Hispaniola in the west Indies, about the middest of Iune following, where he determined reso-

Sir Walter Raleighs chargeable voiage to the foresaid land latelie discouered, and by the quéenes maiestie named Virginia.

Sir Richard Gréenefield lieutenant to Sir Walter Raleigh for this voiage.

Gentlemen that associated Sir Richard Gréenefield.

Sir Richard Gréenefield singled from his companie by fowle weather arriueth in Hispaniola.

lutelie

lutelie to remaine vntill he had built a bote (for he had lost his owne bote in the tempests aforesaid.)

Wherevpon immediatlie after his landing, finding a place to his liking, he esconsed himselfe in despite of the Spaniards, who by all possible means did their best indeuour by proffering of sundrie skirmishes, to inforce him to retire to his ship: but he nothing appalled with their brags kept his ground. Twelue daies after his arriuall there, after Thomas Candish arriued at the same place, where sir Richard Gréenefield was ensconsing of himselfe, to the great reioising both of themselues and their companies. The Spaniards finding it too hard for them (notwithstanding their multitudes) to remooue these few resolute Englishmen by violence, came to a parlée, and in the same concluded an amitie, that the one nation might in safetie traffike with the other. Now when sir Richard Gréenefield had taried in that Iland almost a moneth, and had built his bote, reuittled himselfe, and laden his ships with horsses, mares, kine, sheep, swine, &c: to transport with him to Virginia (bicause these sorts of cattell heretofore were not to be found in that countrie) he departed thense; and in his waie he made discouerie of manie Ilands and hauens vpon the continent adioining, and arriued safelie in the new discouered countrie (where he met with the rest of his fléet that attended his comming thither) about the middest of Iulie next insuing, not without great danger of shipwracke. For at the verie entrance into the harborough, his ship strake on the ground, and did beat so manie strokes vpon the sands, that if God had not miraculouslie deliuered him, there had beene no waie to auoid present death. In this danger his ship was so brused, that the saltwater came so aboundantlie into hir, that the most part of his corne, salt, meale, rice, bisket, and other prouisions that he should haue left with them that remained behind him in the countrie was spoiled.

The valiantnesse of sir Richard Gréenefield against the Spaniards.

A parlée tending to the concluding of an amitie betweene the English and Spanish.

What kind of cattell for victelling sir Richard Gréenefield transported to Virginia.

Sir Richard Gréenefield méeteth with the rest of his fléet and is in danger of shipwracke.

After he had remained there certeine daies, according to his commission from sir Walter Raleigh, he began to establish a colonie, appointing maister Rafe Lane (a gentleman of good account) generall of those English which were to remaine there, being in all to the number of an hundred and seauen persons, amongst whom diuerse gentlemen remained; namelie, Philip Amadis, Edward Stafford, Meruin, Kendall, Prideaux, Acton, Heriot, and others. When he had taken sufficient order for the establishing of master Lane and his companie aforesaid, leauing with them as much of all prouisions as his plentie would giue him leaue, he weighed anchor for England. But in his returne, not hauing sailed manie leagues from the coast of Virginia, he descried a tall ship of foure hundred tuns or thereabouts, making the same course that he did, vnto whome he gaue chase, and in few houres by goodnesse of saile ouertooke, and by violence wan, richlie laden with sugar, hides, spices, and some quantitie of gold, siluer, and pearle: she was the viceadmerall of the fleet of Sancto Domingo that yere for Spaine. After this good fortune, hauing a merie gale, not manie daies after he arriued at Plimmouth in October next insuing; where sir Walter Raleigh méeting with him, did presentlie resolue vpon another voiage, to supplie Rafe Lane, and his companie that were left with him in Virginia, the next spring following: which accordinglie was performed with all expedition.

Sir Richard Gréenefield establisheth an English colonie in Virginia by commission.

Sir Richard Gréenefield descrieth a Spanish ship, chaseth and surpriseth hir.

An other voiage resolued vpon by sir Walter Raleigh for the supplie of those that were left in Virginia.

In Aprill about the fourtéenth daie, by commandement of hir maiesties most honorable priuie councell, the citizens of London appointed out of the companies of the same citie to the number of foure thousand men, with armour, ensignes, drums, fifes, and other furniture for the warres, the greater part whereof (or almost all of them) were shot, the other were pikes and halberds in faire corslets: all those to be trained vp vnder expert capteins, with sergeants of the bands, wiflers, and other necessarie officers, mustered and skirmished dailie at the Miles end, and in saint Georges field, and on the eightéenth daie of Maie (hauing ouernight set forward out of saint Georges field) mustered in the parke at Gréenwich, and skirmished before

Foure thousand men trained vp with shot in the citie of London.

Skirmish before the quéens maiestie at Gréenewich.

fore the quéenes maiestie, who gaue to them great thankes for their actiuenesse and paines: sith hir maiestie might perceiue the applicablenesse of those hir people, euen in pastime not void of perill, to delight hir eies and reioise hir hart; estéeming nothing too déere to part withall, so it might anie waies concerne dutie to hir highnesse. In discharge whereof as she hath no forwarder subiects in hir land, so to discouer, inquire, and persecute the disloiall none readier, euen to the hazzard of their liues, for the safetie of hir life, which is the life of the whole land, and the prop of true religion: in respect whereof we saie and praie with the well wishing subiect, that vpon seeing and hearing of hir highnesse, fell into such an admiration of hir excellencie, that he left these verses among manie after his godlie death:

The Londoners commended.

Inclyte da longum dici, Deus, Elisabetha Est,
Elisabetha tua Est, relligióque tua Est:
Da Deus haud vnquam dici, Fuit Elisabetha,
Elisabetha Fuit, relligióque Fuit.

Fr. Thin.

¶ On the ninetéenth of Maie being Ascension eeue, Edward Wootton esquier, descended of a woorthie parentage, was ambassador into Scotland, to establish a league of amitie betwéene the two nations of England and Scotland: whome I will now leaue in that countrie executing his commission, and turne my pen to some persons of that surname, who for their singularitie of wit and lerning, for their honour and gouernement in and of the realme about the prince, and elsewhere at home and abroad, deserue such commendations that they merit Niueo signari lapillo. In treating of whome I will neither make mention of the antiquitie of that worshipfull familie from the first originall, nor yet treat of Richard Wootton, liuing in the time of Edward the first, the father of Iohn Wooton coroner of Dunstable an officer of great account in those daies and father to another Iohn Wooton, &c: nor of Richard Wootton or Woocton, an officer of the excheker in the time of Edward the second, nor of sir Nicholas Wootton knight, liuing about the daies of Richard the second, nor of anie other Woottons wherof this Edward Wootton is descended: but onelie of such Woottons his ancestors, who of late time liued within the compasse of my memorie, and were the sonnes of sir Robert Wootton of Bocton Malherbe in Kent knight, deseruing not to be forgotten, in that he was father to two such worthie sonnes, as I doo not remember that euer England nourished at one time for like honour, disposition of mind, fauour and seruice to their countrie.

A league of amitie betwéene England and Scotland established: Edward Wootton esquier ambassador.

The Woottons an ancient familie and of speciall name in diuerse kings reignes.

Sir Robert Wootton of Bocton Malherbe in Kent, a man of singular note.

The sonnes of this sir Robert Wootton, whereof we intend to intreat, were sir Edward Wootton knight the eldest, and Nicholas Wootton doctor of both lawes the yoonger sonne. Whereof the first being a man of great estimation in the countrie for his orderlie and wise managing of the priuat affaires of his countrie of Kent, was for his fidelitie and good carriage in small things made lord and ruler of great things. For king Heurie the eight, vnderstanding the grauitie of the man, his rare wit, deepe iudgement, great experience, and other parts required in a sound counsellor, did admit this sir Edward into his owne bosome, and made him of his priuie councell: whose modest mind being so farre estranged from desire of honour, as that he would not accept it by great inforcement (a vertue verie rare, and such as declareth a noble mind iudiciallie grounded vpon the truth of diuine philosophie) refused the honorable place of the chancellorship of England, accounting that the vertue of the mind made a man honorable, and not the honorable place. For as saith saint Chrysostome; Honor verus virtus animi est, hic honor nec à Cæsaribus præstatur, neque adulatione conquiritur, neque pecunia præparatur; nihil fucati in se habet, nihil simulati, nihil occulti huius honoris successor est, nullus est accusator: nullus ingratus.

Sir Edward Wooton and Nicholas Wootton doctor of both lawes, the rare sonnes of a rare father.

Sir Edward Wootton one of king Henrie the eights priuie councell.

Sir Edward Wootton refuseth to be lord chancellor of England.

Chrysost. de reparatione lapsi.

Wherefore not being ambitious of honour (after which the best doo often hunt, although such gréedie desire of honour and ambition be, as saith Barnard, Futile malum,

malum, secretum virus, pestis occulta, doli artifex, mater hypocrisis, liuoris parens, vitiorum origo, tinea sanctitatis, excæcatrix cordium, ex remedijs morbos creans, ex medicina languorem generans) did further increase his honour and aduance him to greater credit; as appeareth by this, that king Henrie the eight, whom this man had long and faithfullie serued in his life time, made him one of his executors, and the disposer of his testament at the time of his death; with whom also in the same authoritie he ioined his brother doctor Nicholas Wootton, a man of no lesse merit than the other, and rightlie deseruing to be here ioined in remembrance with his brother after their deaths, since almost equall honor, like loue, the same authoritie in the common-weale, one bloud, and one Christ did ioine them togither in perfect amitie during their liues: of which Nicholas Wootton I will not speake anie more (except that as his brother refused the chancellorship, so he in the beginning of the reigne of this quéene refused the bishoprike of Canturburie) but that which the woorthie gentleman Thomas Wootton of Bocton Malherbe esquier now liuing (sonne to the said sir Edward, and nephew to the said Nicholas, this Thomas being a great and fast fauorer of his countrie, not vnthankefull vnto him therefore) hath set downe in a statelie and rich toome of curious workemanship, formed after the order of a pyramis, and placed in the church of Canturburie, on which is ingraued in a faire stone of marble this epitaph following: wherin his birth, his parents, his honors at home, his ambassages abroad, and other things necessarie the knowledge are faithfullie set downe.

Barnard in ser. quadrages.

Nicholas Wootton doctor of both lawes refuseth to be Archbishop of Canturburie: a rare note in him (as also in his brother) of contentation with their estates.

Thomas Wootton of Bocton Malherbe (sonne to the said sir Edward) a great regarder of his progenitors estimation.

Nicholaus Woottonus Roberti Woottoni equitis aurati ex Anna Belknappa filius, vtriusque iuris doctor, ecclesiæ huius primus itémque metropolitanæ ecclesiæ diui Petri Eboracensis decanus, Henrico 8. Eduardo 6. Mariæ & Elisabethæ Angliæ regibus à secretis concilijs; ad Carolum 5. Cæsarem bis, ad Philippum Hispaniarum regem semel, ad Franciscum primum Francorum regem semel, ad Henricum secundum eius filium ter, ad Mariæ Hungariæ reginam Belgarum præsidem semel, ad Gulielmum Cleuiensem ducem bis, legatione functus. Renouatæ pacis inter Anglos, Francos, & Scotos, inter Guinas & Arderam anno. 1540. similiter, & ad castrum Cameracense anno. 1559. Denique Edinburgi Scotiæ anno 1560. oratorum vnus, hîc tandem ferè septuagenarius requiescit. Hæc ille ante mortem & ante morbum quasi fatalem diem præsentiens, & cygneam cantionem propheticè canens, suâ manu in museo scripta reliquit.

Epitaphium celebre Nicholai Woottoni primi post monasteriorum dissolutionem Cantuar. decani.

Annus ætatis cùm è vita excessisset.

Qui apud tales principes (diuina prouidentia gubernante) laudabiliter, & in tot ac tantis causis (quarum magnitudo grauissima, vtilitas publica fuit) feliciter bonam vitæ suæ partem consumpsit; eum virum sapientem & experientissimum ipsa inuidia iudicare debet. Quàm semper ab omni contentione honorum fuerit alienus, illud declarat, quòd ad hanc ecclesiasticam dignitatem non ambitione vlla sua inflammatus, nec amicorum opera vsus, aspirauit: sed eam vtramque Henricos octauus (hominis merito & virtute prouocatus) vltro detulit. Cùmque idem rex illustrissimus morbum læthalem ingrauescere persentiret, & Eduardi principis sanè excellentissimi, adhuc tandem pueri & reipublicæ administrandæ imparis, imbecillam ætatem senili prudentia secretioris concilij sui, regendam existimaret, ille instituit, hunc Nicholaum (absentem tunc in Francia legatum) & vnum esse voluit. Eduardi regi iam medio regni curriculo propè confecto, vnus è primarijs secretarijs fuit quem locum tenere potuisset, nisi & suis & assiduis amicorum precibus abdicandi veniam impetrasset. Corpus illi erat gracile quidem & paruum sed erectum, habitudo sana, vultus liberalis, victus exquisitus, quem semel tantùm in die capere consueuerat: valitudo adeo firma vt rarò morbum aliquem sentiret: animus verò totus libris ac literis dicatus: artium medicinæ, iurisprudentiæ, & theologiæ studio intentus: linguarum Romanæ, Italicæ, Gallicæ, & Germanicæ inferioris cognitione pulchrè exornatus. Ita vir iste genere clarus, legationibus clarior, domi ac foris clarissimus, honore florens, labore fractus, ætate confectus;

Homo summa laude dignus Woottonus vel ipsa inuidia iudice.

Dignitatis gradus quibus Woottonus iste est insignitus regnantibus diuersis principibus.

Rerum quarundam in isto Woottono memorabilium luculenta descriptio.

Videlicet ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis.

confectus; postquam decanus huius ecclesiæ annis 25. dies 293. præfuisset, Londini Ianuarij 26. anno nostræ salutis 1566. piè & suauiter in Domino obdormiuit. Thomæ Woottono nepote hærede relicto, qui ei hoc mounmentum non honoris ergô quo abundauit viuus & florescit mortuus, sed amoris causa quem memoria colet vt debet sempiterna, consecrauit.

Monumentum in demortui memoriamamoris ergô extructis.

In which epitaph it appeareth what he was, and how greatlie learned and reuerenced for the same. Wherfore néeding not to speake anie more of him, sith I shall not be able with due maiestie of stile to expresse his woorthinesse; I will yet, leauing what otherwise his merit might challenge to be spoken, note one strange and rare thing, which to my remembrance neuer happened to anie one man before the same; being this, that he had not onelie béene councellor to foure kings and quéens of England following in succession of time, but also that he had béen thirtéene seuerall times ambassador and orator to diuerse princes for the affaires of the publike wealth, and the princes honor. Thus leauing this woorthie doctor with his nephue Thomas Wootton, father to Edward Wootton sent ambassador to Scotland, which occasioned me to treat thus much of the Woottons, I conclude, that it is a singular blessing of God, not commonlie giuen to euerie race, to be beautified with such great and succeeding honor in the descents of the familie. Whereof this Edward Wootton now liuing, hath in the life of his father giuen great proofe of continuance to descend to their posteritie, in that he in these his yoong yeares, hath beene (after his trauell ouer the most part of Europe) twise imploied in ambassages for the seruice of his countrie; first to the king of Portingall, and now to the king of Scots: with whome I will at this time set end to this discourse of the Woottons.]

This is touched in the former epitaph among other his preferments.

Commendation of Edward Wootton, in respect of his great trauelling ouer the most part of Europe and his imploiments in ambassages.

On the one and twentith daie of Iune, Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland, prisoner in the Tower of London vpon vehement suspicion of high treason, was there found dead, and also of his owne diuelish intent, and of his malice before pretended to haue murthered himselfe, as more manifestlie and at large may appeare, by an inquisition made by a substantiall iurie, taken before the coroner as followeth verbatim with the record.

Earle of Northumberland found to haue murthered himselfe in the tower of London.

¶ A COPIE OF THE SAID INQUISITION.

AN inquisition taken at the citie of London, that is within the tower of London, in the parish of Alhallowes Barking, in the ward of the Tower of London, on Mondaie being the one and twentith daie of Iune, in the yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie Elisabeth by the grace of God quéene of England, France, and Ireland, defendor of the faith &c, the seuen and twentith: before William Squier gentleman coroner to our said souereigne ladie the quéene within the citie of London and the liberties of the same, vpon the view of the bodie of Henrie Persie knight, late earle of Northumberland, late prisoner there within the Tower of London aforesaid, for suspicion of high treason by him supposed to be doone, there lieng dead, and slaine: by the othes of Nicholas Wheeler, Simon Horssepoole, Thomas Gardener, William Leaueson, Owen Morgan, Henrie Lodge, William Abraham, William Horne, Thomas Russell, Iohn Porter, Robert Dowe, Anthonie Hall, William Curtis, Thomas Wood, Matthew Dolman, Thomas Martin, Richard Sleford, Iohn Trot, Philip Smith, Thomas Tailor, and Henrie Bowdler, of good and lawfull men of the same ward, and of thrée other wards to the same ward next adioining, as the maner and custome is in the citie aforesaid, to inquire how, in what maner, and when the said Henrie Persie late earle of Northumberland came to his death.

A quest of inquirie vpon his violent and voluntarie death.

The verdict of the iurie deliuered vpon their oaths.

Which iurie doo saie vpon their oths, that on the one and twentith daie of this instant moneth of Iune, in the yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie Elisabeth by the grace of God quéene of England, France, and Ireland, defendor of the faith,

&c:

&c: the seuen and twentith aforesaid, and long before the foresaid Henrie late earle of Northumberland prisoner in the Tower of London situat in the parish of Alhallows Barking aforesaid, in the ward of the Tower of London aforesaid, for suspicion of high treason aforesaid, by him against our souerigne ladie the quéene supposed to be committed; and the foresaid earle so remaining prisoner, and being placed in a certeine chamber within the Tower of London aforesaid, there prisoner remaining, imagining and intending himselfe diuelishlie and felonioushe to kill and murther before the foresaid one and twentith daie of Iune: that is to saie, the sixtéenth daie of Iune in the seuen and twentith yeare aforesaid, did prepare a certeine dag of iron and stéele of the value of ten shillings: and also certeine bullets of lead, and a certeine quantitie of gunpowder, conteined in a certeine small box, and caused the foresaid gun, the bullets of lead and the gunpowder to be brought into the foresaid chamber vnto him the same earle of Northumberland, and to be deliuered to the same earle then and there by the hands of Iames a Price yeoman, to execute his diuelish and felonious purpose and intention.

The means that the earle made and prepared to destroie himself

Which dag aforesaid, the foresaid earle caused secretlie to be hidden in a certeine mattris vnder the bolster of his bed in the chamber aforesaid, and then and there, the foresaid one and twentith daie of Iune in the seuen and twentith yeare aforesaid, betwéene the houres of twelue and one in the night of the foresaid one and twentith daie of Iune, thinking and intending to prosecute and follow his diuelish intention and purpose aforesaid, did bolt the doore of the foresaid chamber, and the inner part of his said chamber towards himselfe, least anie man should foresée or withstand his diuelish, felonious and malicious intent: and the said doore of his foresaid chamber, being so bolted; the same earle then and there into his bed himselfe did laie; and vpon this afterward, that is to saie, the foresaid one and twentith daie of Iune, in the seuen and twentith yeare aforesaid, about the houres aforesaid, within the Tower of London aforesaid, situat and being in the parish of Alhallows Barking aforesaid, in the ward of the Tower of London aforesaid, not hauing the almightie God or his feare before his eies, but being mooued and seduced by the instigation of the diuell, of his malice afore pretended; did take vp into his hands the foresaid dag of iron and stéele, then and there made readie, charged with gunpowder, and thrée bullets of lead, and the foresaid dag to the left part of his breast neere vnto the pappe of the same part of his brest, then and there felonioushe and diuelishlie did put, and vpon the same part of his brest the foresaid dag did discharge.

This consenteth with the discourse following, wherin the same matter is more largelie handled.

The order of the action that was the earls destruction.

By reason of the violence of which gunpowder, and of the foresaid thrée bullets of lead, the foresaid earle into his bodie and heart, and through his chinebone, euen into his right shoulder, himselfe then and there with the foresaid bullets of lead feloniouslie and voluntarilie did strike; giuing vnto himselfe then and there one mortall wound, of the depth of twelue inches, and of the bredth of two inches: of which mortall wound aforesaid, the foresaid earle within the Tower of London aforesaid, the daie, yeare, parish and ward aforesaid, instantlie died. And so the iurie dooth saie vpon their oths aforesaid, that the foresaid earle, the daie, yeare, and place aboue written, of his diuelish intent aforesaid, and of his malice before pretended, feloniouslie and voluntarilie himselfe did kill and murther in manner and forme aforesaid, against the peace of our souereigne ladie the quéene, hir crowne and dignitie. But what goods and cattels the foresaid earle in the time of the felonie and murther to himselfe aforesaid committed, had, or as yet hath, the iurie knew not, &c: in witnesse whereof, &c. ¶ This was the verdict of the iurors, wherby the manner how, and the matter whereby the earle dispatched himselfe is trulie declared: which being taken for truth (as deseruing no lesse, the parties welworthie of credit) it remained to prouide for the bestowing of his wretched carcase, which on the thrée and twentith daie of Iune was buried in saint Peters church within the said

The bredth and depth of his wound.

Henrie earle of Northumberland buried in the Tower.

said Tower of London. This was the end of that gracelesse earle, the manner of whose murther, and part of his treasons are here dilated, as the same was publikelie deliuered in the Starchamber, and after published in a booke intituled:

A TRUE AND SUMMARIE REPORT OF THE DECLARATION

Of some part of the earle of Northumberlands treasons, deliuered publikelie in the court at the Starchamber, by the lord Chancellor and others of hir maiesties most honorable priuie councell, and councell learned, by hir maiesties speciall commandement, togither with the examinations and depositions of sundrie persons touching the maner of his most wicked and violent murther committed vpon himselfe with his owne hand, in the Tower of London, the 20 daie of Iune, 1585.

Incredulitie an essentiall propertie of malice.

MALICE, among other essentiall properties perteining to hir ouglie nature, hath this one not inferior to the rest and the woorst, incredulitie, wherewith she commonlie possesseth the minds and affections of all those that are infected with hir, so blinding the eies and iudgement of the best and clearest sighted, that they cannot see or perceiue the bright beames of the truth, although the same be deliuered with neuer so great puritie, proofe, circumstance and probabilitie. It is said that no truth passeth abroad vnaccompanied with hir contrarie; and as they go, truth is euer constreined to yeeld the precedence and preheminence to hir yokefellow falshood, whose lodging is alwaies first made and prepared without a harbenger in the corrupt nature of mankind, by whome she is first receiued, interteined and harbored at all times: wherof in our dailie experience there happen manie and dangerous demonstrations, especiallie in matters of the highest moment, tending to excuse or accuse the actions of the greatest personages.

Truth and falshood commonlie concur and are opposite.

An ingredience into the historie of Northumberland.

There was of late deliuered in publike by persons of honour, credit, and reputation, a large declaration of certeine treasons practised by the late earle of Northumberland, of the maner of his vntimelie death, being with his owne hand murthered in the Tower, and of the causes that wrought him therevnto. The particularities whereof are such and so manie, as for the helpe of my memorie (comming then to the Starchamber by occasion, and not looking for anie such presence of the nobilitie and priuie councell as I found there at that time, and not looking for anie such cause of that nature to haue béene handled there that daie) I tooke notes of the seuerall matters declared by the lord chancellor, maister attourneie, and solicitor generall, the lord chiefe baron, and maister vicechamberlaine: for (as I remember) they spake in order as they are here marshalled, and therefore I place them in this sort, and not according to their precedence in dignitie.

Vpon the hearing of the treasons with their proofs and circumstances, and the desperat maner of the earles destruction deliuered in that place, and by persons of that qualitie, I supposed no man to haue beene so void of iudgement or the vse of common reason, that would haue doubted of anie one point or particle thereof, vntill it was my chance (falling in companie with diuerse persons at sundrie times, as well about the citie of London as abroad) to heare manie men report variablie and corruptlie of the maner and matter of this publike declaration, possessing the minds and opinions of the people with manifest vntruths: as, that the earle had béene vniustlie deteined in prison without proofe or iust cause of suspicion of treason: and that he had beene murthered by deuise and practise of some great enimies, and not destroied by himselfe. These slanderous reports haue ministred vnto me this occasion to set forth

The maner of the earles making awaie of himselfe not generallie beléeued.

forth vnto thy view and consideration (gentle reader) this short collection of the said treasons and murther, as neere vnto the truth as my notes taken may lead and permit me, with the view of some of the examinations them selues concerning this cause for my better satisfaction since obteined. Which I haue vndertaken for two respects: the one, to conuince the false and malicious impressions and constructions receiued and made of these actions, by such as are in heart enimies to the happie estate of hir maiesties present gouernement: the other, because it may be thought necessarie for the preuenting of a further contagion like to grow (by this créeping infection) in the minds of such as are apt (though otherwise indifferent) in these and the like rumors, to receiue the bad as the good, and they the most in number. Wherein if I haue séemed more bold than wise, or intermedled my selfe in matters aboue my reach, and not apperteining vnto me, I craue pardon where it is to be asked, and commit my selfe to thy friendlie interpretation to be made of my simple trauell and dutifull meaning herein.

The cause whie the collection of Northumberlands treasons and selfe-murther was published.

Vpon the three and twentith daie of Iune last, assembled in the court of Star-chamber, sir Thomas Bromleie knight lord chancellor of England, William lord Burleigh lord treasuror of England, George earle of Shrewsburie lord marshall of England, Henrie earle of Derbie, Robert earle of Leicester, Charles lord Howard of Effingham lord chamberlaine, Henrie lord Hunsdon lord gouernor of Berwike, sir Francis Knollis knight treasuror, sir Iames Croft knight comptrollor of hir maiesties houshold, sir Christopher Hatton knight vicechamberlaine to the quéenes maiestie, the lord chiefe iustice of hir maiesties bench, the maister of the rolles, and the lord chiefe baron of the excheker, and others. The audience verie great of knights, esquiers, and men of other qualitie, the lord chancellor began briefelie and summarilie to declare, that whereas Henrie late earle of Northumberland, for diuerse notable treasons and practises by him taken in hand, to the danger not onelie of hir maiesties roiall person, but to the perill of the whole realme, had béene long deteined in prison, and looking into the guilt of his owne conscience, and perceiuing by such meanes of intelligence, as he by corrupting of his keepers and other like deuises had obteined, that his treasons were by sundrie examinations and confessions discouered, grew thereby into such a desperat estate, as that therevpon he had most wickedlie destroied and murthered himselfe. Which being made knowen to the lords of hir maiesties priuie councell, order was therevpon taken, and direction giuen to the lord chiefe iustice of England, the maister of the rolles, and the lord chiefe baron of the excheker, to examine the maner and circumstances of his death, which they with all good indeuor and diligence had accordinglie performed. And least through the sinister meanes of such persons as be euill affected to the present estate of hir maiesties gouernement, some bad and vntrue conceipts might be had as well of the cause of the earles deteinement, as of the maner of his death: it was therefore thought necessarie to haue the truth thereof made knowen in that presence: and then he required hir maiesties learned councell there present to deliuer at large the particularities both of the treasons, and in what sort the earle had murthered himselfe. Then began Iohn Popham esquier, hir maiesties attourneie generall, as followeth.

Persons of honour and worship assembled in the Star-chamber, in whose audience Northumberlands case was canuassed.

Examinants appointed for and about the manner of Northumberlands selfe murder.

The earle of Northumberland about the time of the last rebellion in the north, in the eleuenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne (then called by the title of Henrie Persie knight) had vndertaken the conueieng awaie of the Scotish quéene: for the which (as appeareth by a record of the fourtéenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne) in the court of hir maiesties bench) he was indicted, he confessed, the offense, and put himselfe to hir maiesties mercies. At which time, vpon his said confession, submission, and faithfull promise of his dutie and allegiance to hir highnesse from thenseforth, the quéenes maiestie of hir mercifull nature was pleased, not to looke into his offense

Maister attournie, namelie Iohn Popham, discouereth the earles treasonable practises.

offense with the extremitie of hir lawes; but dealt therein as by waie of contempt onelie, as may appeare by the record: the effect whereof was then shewed in the court, vnder the hand of one of the clerkes of hir maiesties said bench, In hæc verba.

AN EXTRACT OF THE SAID RECORD

CONTEINING THE SAID EARLES INDICTMENT.

Middlesex. MEMORANDUM, that Henrie Persie late of Tinmouth in the countie of Northumberland knight, was indicted in the terme of Easter, in the fourteenth yeere of hir maiesties reigne, for that hee with diuers others did conspire for the deliuering of the queene of Scots out of the custodie of the erle of Shrewsburie. Vpon which indictment the same Henrie Persie did confesse the offense, and did put himselfe to the queenes mercie: and therevpon iudgement was after giuen by the court, that the said Henrie should paie to the queene for a fine for his said offense, fiue thousand marks, as appeareth by the record thereof in court.

The erle confesseth his offense, and is put to 5000 marks fine.

Per Micha. 14. & 15. Elisabethæ reginæ, rotulo quinto inter placista reginæ. Concordat cum recordo.
Per Io. Iue.

By this record it maie appeare that the earle had his hand in that rebellion. But for a further proofe thereof, it is most manifestlie discouered in a certeine tract written by the bishop of Rosse (wherein he sheweth how faithfullie he behaued himselfe in the managing of those treasons, at and about the time of that rebellion) that the said earle was in effect as farre plunged into the same, as the late earle his brother, howsoeuer he woond himselfe out of the danger thereof at that time. Notwithstanding these traitorous practises, the queenes maiestie was contented to remit all within a short time, and then accepted most gratiouslie of him both in honour and fauor, though vnworthilie bestowed vpon him, for that he vtterlie forgetting those graces and fauors receiued at hir maiesties mercifull hands, with a gracelsse resolution was contented to enter into a new plot now latelie contriued, not onelie for the deliuering of the Scotish queene, but for the inuading of the whole realme, the ouerthrow of the gouernement, aswell concerning the state of religion, as otherwise, the danger of hir maiesties sacred person, and aduancing of the said Scotish queene to the regall crowne and scepter of this realme, wherevnto hir maiestie is lineallie and lawfullie borne and descended, and wherein God of his mercie continue hir long in happie state of gouernement, to the increase of hir owne glorie, and the comfort of hir louing and obedient subiects.

The earle a dealer in rebellion as his brother (therfore executed) was.

A summe of the traitorous purposes whereinto the earle was entered with a gracelesse resolution.

Then did maister Atturneie enter into the particularities of the treasons, leauing manie parts thereof vntouched, because the case stood so as it was not then conuenient to reueale them (as he said) in respect that they touched some other persons vndealt withall at that time, shewing that Throckemortons treasons were not old, but fresh in euerie mans memorie, and how far foorth they reached vnto the earle, he declared. And for that the treasons of Throckemorton tended especiallie to the inuading of the realme with forren forces, the purpose of that inuasion long before intended is prooued by sundrie examinations and confessions taken heere within the realme, aswell of hir maiesties owne subiects as others, by letters intercepted, written from and to the conspirators abroad and at home, and by other good aduertisements and intelligences had from forren parts discouering the same.

The treasons of Throckmorten communicable with the earle.

He declared that in a letter written from doctor Sanders to doctor Allen out of Spaine, in the yeare 1577, it is set downe among other things, that the state of Christendome stood vpon the stout assailing of England.

That in a letter sent to the said Allen from Rome, touching audience giuen by the pope to the ambassadors of certeine forren princes, betwéene the pope and whom a league was agréed on against the quéenes maiestie, there were inclosed certeine articles conteining in effect, that the realme should be inuaded with twentie thousand men at the charge of the said pope and princes, that hir maiestie should be deposed, and some English catholike elected king. That it was confessed that the comming ouer of so manie priests into the realme, was to win great numbers to the catholike partie, to ioine (if opportunitie serued) either with forren inuasion, or with tumult at home. That at Narbonne in Prouince, there was met an Englishman, being the head preacher there, who gaue intelligence to one of hir maiesties subiects, that the realme should shortlie be inuaded by a forren king, and the popish religion restored: and said further, that priests came into England and dispersed themselues in countries, to make their partie strong. A message was sent in Nouember 1581, to doctor Allen from a subiect of this realme, by a seminarie priest then returning beyond the seas: that whereas he had receiued word from Allen at Alhallontide before, that men and all things were in a readinesse, if the place of landing might be knowne: that Allen should forthwith send word whether things were in such readinesse or not: and if they were, he would then send him such perfect instructions as he could. One Paine executed for treason, confessed that this realme could not continue in the state wherein it was, for that the pope had a speciall care thereof, and would in short time either by forren princes, or by some other meanes worke change of things here.

An inuasion of this land by twentie thousand men concluded vpon.

Paine with all of his accurssed stampe shall (I hope in God) be found false prophets.

From hense, maister Atturneie fell into the treasons confessed by Francis Throckemorton, shewing that the state of this realme had béene often presented to the consideration of a forren prince, who after long hearkening to the motion, had resolued to yéeld what furtherance he might, and to giue all aids necessarie for the reforming of religion, so they might be backed by such as were well affected within this countrie. That the duke of Guise had solicited for two yeares together the pope and other princes, to supplie him with forces: but being crossed by the death of a great personage, it was now growne to this passe, if there could be a partie found in England to ione in that action, and conuenient places and meanes for landing, and other things necessarie, there should be a supplie for Guise of forren strength. Francis Throckemorton was recommended from beyond the sea to Don Barnardino de Mendoza, ambassador resident for the Spanish king here in England, who acquainted Throckemorton what plot was laid for the enterprise of the duke of Guise, and that he was willed to conferre with Throckemorton in the matter, who therevpon acquainted the said ambassador with the plot of the hauens, and with the noble men and gentlemen that he had set downe as fit to be dealt withall in that cause. Throckemorton said, that the bottome of this enterprise (which was not to be knowne to manie) was, that if a toleration of religion might not be obteined without alteration of the gouernement, that then the gouernment should be altered, and the quéene remooued. That the Scotish quéene was made acquainted from the duke of Guise with the intention to relieue hir by these forces.

Francis Throckemorton recommended to Don Barnardino de Mendoza and made acquainted with that which cost him his life.

It was in debate betweene Throckemorton and the Spanish ambassador, how the Scotish quéene might be deliuered, as by an enterprise to be made with a certeine number of horsses: and it was told Francis Throckemorton by his brother Thomas Throckemorton, that it was a principall matter in debate beyond the seas, how she might be deliuered with safetie: the lacke of resolution wherin, was the principall staie of the execution of the attempt of inuasion. Mendoza told Francis Throckemorton about Bartholomewtide 1583, that one Mope was come into England to sound the earle

Francis Throckemortons owne confessions doe confirme the report of these practises.

of

of Northumberland, and other principall men in Sussex: and about the end of September following, the same Mendoza told him, that Mope was Charles Paget, and that he came not onelie to sound the men, but to view the places, the hauens, the prouisions and meanes, and nèerenesse and commoditie of mens abidings that should ioine with the forren forces. It was deuised, that such noble men and others, as would be contented to assist the forren forces (being iustices of peace and of credit in their countries) might by colour of their authoritie leuie men as for hir maiesties defense, and yet employe them to assist the forren forces. The lord Paget was made acquainted with this deuise, and answered, that it was a good course, and that he had thought vpon it before. Mendoza told Throckemorton, that Charles Paget had bèene in Sussex, and had spoken with those that were there, and that he came to moue the earle of Northumberland and others. The night before Throckemorton was apprehended, he came to the lord Paget, and desired him that he would not acquaint the earle of Northumberland and certeine others (whome he named) with such matters as had passed betwèene them two, touching the practise of this inuasion: and the lord Paget willed him to deale as wiselie for his part as he would doo for himselfe, and all should be well: but (quoth the lord Paget) the earle of Northumberland knoweth you well enough. It was once agreed among the confederats, that the duke of Guise should land in Sussex, being ouer against Dèepe and Normandie: which after was misliked, because those parts laie too nèere to hir maiesties greatest force and store, and that the people thereabout for the most part were protestants.

Francis Throckmorton desireth the lord Paget not to make the earle priuie to the consultations of them two.

Maister attourneie shewed further, that in summer last, there was taken vpon the seas, sailing towards Scotland, a Scotish Iesuit, about whome there was found a discourse written in Italian of a like enterprise to be attempted against England, which should haue beene executed in September or October then last past: wherein assurance is made that the earles of Northumberland and Westmerland, Dacres that is dead, whom they termed lord Dacres, and of all the catholike lords and gentlemen in the north parts (where the inuasion should haue bèene attempted) setting it downe, that it is not said by coniecture that these men are assured, but that it is certeinlie knowne that they will ioine with the forren forces. In the said discourse it is also affirmed that the priests dispersed in the realme, can dispose of the other catholikes of the realme, as they shall be ordered: and that the popes excommunication should be renewed and pronounced against hir maiestie, and all those that shall take hir part: and that all such should be holden traitors that did not ioine with that armie by a daie.

In the north parts should the purposed inuasion of this land haue bèene made.

When maister attourneie had thus prooued the purpose of inuasion, he proceeded to the proofe of Charles Pagets comming ouer about the practise and prosecution of that enterprise. And first, that Paget came to Petworth in September 1583, was secretlie receiued, and brought in the night late to the earle of Northumberland into his gallerie at Petworth, by one of the earles seruants: where the earle and he had secret conference together by the space of a large houre: from thense Paget was likewise conueied backe into the towne by the same seruant, and there lodged all that night, and the next night following was conueied secretlie to a lodge in the earles parke at Petworth, called Conigar lodge, where he was kept with like secrecie by the space of eight daies or thereabouts: and the seruant by whome Paget was thus conueied, was by the said earle inioined and commanded in no wise to discouer Pagets being there. The earle of Northumberland, vpon the arriuall of Charles Paget, sent for the lord Paget, with the priuitie of this seruant, who was made beleeue that Charles came ouer to set things in order, and to passe certeine dèeds and conueiances betwèene the lord Paget and him. The lord Paget came to Petworth, staied there two nights, lodged in the earles house, conferred with Charles Paget, and with the earle togither sundrie times.

Charles Pagets comming ouer about the prosecution and practise of the foresaid enterprise prooued.

The

The earle after his apprehension, being at seuerall times examined what causes or affaires had passed betweene the lord Paget and Charles his brother, when they were together at Petworth, answered one while, that they passed certeine deeds and conueiances; and another while, that there was onelie a will or testament signed and sealed betwéene them: he confessed that he set his hand vnto the will, but knew not what the same conteined. All which appeared to be false, for that it hath fallen out by occasion of seizure of the lands and goods of the lord Paget (after his departure out of the realme) that he had disposed of his lands and goods by an other course of assurance executed at London: and therefore their pretense of the passing of déeds and will at Petworth was but a deuise, to shadow their traitorous conspiracies.

The earle examined and found therein to falter and double.

And for better proofe thereof, it was alleaged by master attorneie, that Charles Paget returning from Petworth to the house of one William Dauies, néere to the place where Paget had landed in Sussex, and tooke shipping againe at his departure beyond the seas, sent to William Shelleie esquire, residing then at his house at Michelgroue, distant about a mile from the house of William Dauies, to come vnto him (who within few daies before had béene at the lodge at Petworth with the said Paget) and now at their méeting in a coppice néere to Dauies house, Paget entred into speech and discourse with him of diuers matters, and at the last among other things, he began to be inquisitiue of the strength and fortification of Portesmouth, and what forces and strength hir maiestie had in the other parts westward.

William Shelleie an actor in this purposed tragedie, and what consultations passed betwéene him and Charles Paget.

Paget brake out and declared vnto him that forraine princes would séeke reuenge against hir maiestie of the wrongs by hir doone vnto them, and would take such time and opportunitie as might best serue them for that purpose, and said that those princes disdeined to see the Scotish queene so kept and vsed here as she was, and would vse all their forces for hir deliuerie: that the duke of Guise would be a dealer therin, and that the earle of Northumberland would be an assistant vnto them, willing Shelleie whatsoeuer should happen, to follow the earle of Northumberland, affirming that there was not a noble man in England of conduct and gouernment like to the said earle; saieng further, that the earle of Northumberland was affected to the Scotish quéene, and would do what he could for hir aduancement: that the duke of Guise had forces in a readinesse to be emploied for the altering of the state of religion here in England, and to set the forenamed Scotish queene at libertie.

God preuented this plot by the fatall end of the earle as he will in time disappoint all the complices.

Shelleie gathered by these and other spéeches which passed betwéene him and Paget, that Paget had dealt with the earle as a chiefe partie, and a man forward in these actions: and Paget confessed that he came ouer to breake and deale in these matters. Paget deliuered further, that the catholikes would all ioine for so good a purpose, for that it would be a meanes to reforme religion. He said, the stir should be in the North parts, because Sussex was not conuenient, as well for that there were no safe landing places, as for that it was so néere London, where the quéenes maiestie would be readie to resist them, and that whensoeuer anie stir should be, the earle of Northumberland would not staie in Sussex, but would into the North parts.

The north parts appointed to be the receptacle of all the intended broile.

When master attorneie generall had in this sort laid downe the particularities of the treasons and traitorous practises of the confederates for this purposed inuasion; then Thomas Edgerton esquire, hir maiesties sollicitor, to prooue the earle guiltie of these treasons by the circumstances of his own procéedings, shewed that the erle knowing how far him selfe was touched with the said treasons, and in what degrée of danger he stood if they should haue bin reueled, found his onelie hope of safetie to consist in the cunning concealing of them, and therfore he indeuored to couer them by all the possible meanes he could deuise. And first by conueieng awaie of

Maister sollicitor, namelie Thomas Edgerton, procueth the earle giltie, &c.

The lord Paget conueied ouer sea by the earles meanes and vpon what occasion.

the lord Paget, a man not onelie priuie to the practises and treasons handled by Francis Throckmorton, but also to the treasons of his brother Charles, wherein the earle and the lord Paget were doubtlesse both confederats with Charles, made acquainted by him with the causes of his comming ouer, as principall men with whome he dealt in those matters at Petworth.

The occasion that prouoked the earle to conueie awaie the lord Paget, grew vpon the apprehension of Throckmorton, who being committed to the Tower, and charged with high matters, was in case to be delt withall by waie of extremitie to be made to confesse the treasons charged vpon him; in reuealing whereof Charles Pagets comming to Petworth, and the cause of his repaire thither could not be conceled. No man at this time within the realme could accuse the earle of these confederacies, but the lord Paget onlie, who stood in danger to be discouered by Francis Throckemorton: the safetie therefore of the earle rested altogither vpon the lord Pagets departing out of the realme. Which was procured by the earle with so great expedition, as that Throckmorton being committed to the Tower about the seuenth daie of Nouember 1583, the earle made meanes the twelfe daie to haue the lord Paget prouided of shipping in all hast by William Shelleie, wherin the earle vsed such importunat intreatie, and sent so often to hasten the preparation of the ship, that the same was prouided, and the lord Paget imbarked by the 14. of the same moneth following, or thereabout.

This was a shift but yet succourlesse, as appeareth by the sequele.

The departure of the lord Paget soone after discouered, and how, and by whom he was conueied awaie: hir maiestie vpon good cause taking offense thereat, the earle being then at London had notice thereof, and of the confessions of Throckmorton (who began to discouer the treasons), came presentlie down to Petworth, sent immediatlie for William Shelleie, who comming to him to Petworth the next morning about dinner time, met the earle in a dining parlour readie to go to his dinner. The earle tooke Shelleie aside into a chamber, and as a man greatlie distracted and troubled in mind, entred into these speeches: Alas I am a man cast awaie! And Shelleie demanding what he ment by those speeches, the earle answered: The actions I haue entred into, I feare will be my vtter vndooing, and thervpon desired Shelleie to keepe his councell, and to discouer no more of him than he must needs. The earle moreouer at this meeting intreated William Shelleie to conueie away all such as he knew to haue beene emploied and were priuie of the lord Pagets going awaie, and of Charles Pagets comming ouer, which was accordinglie performed by Shelleie: and the earle for his part conueied awaie a principall man of his own, whom he had often vsed in messages into France, and had beene of trust appointed by the earle, to attend on Charles Paget, all the time of his staie at Conniger lodge.

The earle and Shelleie conferre, and as men dismaied for the discouerie of their dealings are extreame pensife.

Maister solicitor pursuing the matters that made the earles practises and deuises for the concealing of his treasons manifest, declared further: that after the earle and Shelleie had obtained some libertie in the Tower after their first restreint: the earle found meanes to haue intelligence with Shelleie, and was aduertised from him of all that he had confessed in his first examinations, taken before they were last restreined: since which time, the earle by corrupting of his keeper hath practised to haue continuall aduertisements as before, as well of things doone within the Tower as abroad: in so much as by his said keeper he had sent and conueied twelue seuerall letters out of the Tower within the space of nine or ten weekes, and one of those on sundaie the twentith daie of Iune in the morning, when he murthered himselfe the night following.

What deserued the keeper that would be corrupted by an offendor so malicious?

By the same corruption of his keepers he sent also a message to William Shelleie by a maidseruant in the Tower, by the which he required him to stand to his first confessions, and to go no further; for so it would be best for him, and he should keepe

The earle and Shelleie communicat their minds by message.

keepe himselfe out of danger. Wherevnto Shelleie returned answer by the same messenger, that he could hold out no longer, that he had concealed the matters as long as he could, and willed the earle to consider that there was a great difference betwéene the earles estate and his: for that the earle in respect of his nobilitie was not in danger to be dealt withall in such sort as he the said Shelleie was like to be, being but a priuat gentleman, and therefore to be vsed with all extremitie to be made confesse the truth: wherefore he aduised the earle to deale plainlie, and to remember what spéeches had passed at his house at Petworth, when Charles Paget came last thither.

Iames Price by the same corruption of the earls kéeper came to William Shelleie on the fridaie or saturdaie before Trinitie sundaie last, and told him that the erle was verie desirous to vnderstand how farre he had gone in his confessions: and at Prices instance, Shelleie did set downe in writing the effect of the said confessions, and sent the same to the said earle: who vpon the sight therof, perceiuing the treasons reuealed and discouered, and knowing thereby how heinous his offenses were, fearing the iustice and seueritie of the lawes, and so the ruine and ouerthrow of his house, fell into desperation, and so to the destruction of himselfe. For confirmation whereof, it was confessed by one Iaques Pantins, a groome of the earles chamber, who had attended on the earle in the Tower by the space of ten wéeks before his death, that he had heard the earle often saie, that maister Shelleie was no faithfull fréend vnto him, and that he had confessed such things as were sufficient to ouerthrow them both: that he was vndoone by Shelleies accusations, affirming that the earle began to despaire of himselfe, often with teares lamenting his cause, which the earle said to proceed onlie of the remembrance of his wife and children, saieng further, that such matters were laid vnto his charge, that he expected no fauour, but to be brought to his triall, and then he was but a lost man: repeating often that Shelleie had vndoone him, and still mistrusting his cause, wished for death.

Iames Price a messenger to and fro betwéene the earle and Shelleie.

The earle bewaileth his desperat, and forceth not to destroie himselfe.

Herewith maister solicitor concluded, and then sir Roger Manwood knight, lord chiefe baron of hir maiesties excheker, entered into the description of the earles death, and in what sort he had murthered himselfe: shewing first how the same had beene found by a verie substantiall iurie chosen among the best commoners of the citie, impanelled by the coroner vpon the view of the bodie, and diligent inquirie by all due meanes had according to the law, and declared, that vpon the discouerie of the intelligence conueied betweene the earle and Shelleie, it was thought necessarie for the benefit of hir maiesties seruice, by such of hir highnesse most honourable priuie councell, as were appointed commissioners to examine the course of these treasons, that Iaques Pantins attending vpon the earle, and the earles corrupt kéepers should be remooued.

Sir Roger Manwood describeth the maner how the earle murthered himself.

Wherevpon Thomas Bailiffe gentleman, sent to attend on the earle of Northumberland, vpon the remooving of Palmer and Iaques Pantins from about the said earle (who from the beginning of his last restreint attended on him) for the treasons lastlie before mentioned, was by the lieutenant of the Tower on the sunday about two of the clocke in the after noone (being the twentith of Iune) shut vp with the earle, as appointed to remaine with him, and serue him in the prison for a time, vntill Palmer, Pantins, and *Price, then committed close prisoners, might be examined, how the earle came by such intelligences as were discouered to haue passed betwéene the earle and Shelleie, and betweene the earle and others. Bailiffe serued the earle at his supper, brought him to his bed about nine of the clocke, and after some seruices doone by the earles commandement, departed from the earle to an vtter chamber, where he laie part of that night: and being come into his chamber, the earle rose out of his bed and came to his chamber doore, and bolted the same

Thomas Bailiffe the one and twentith of Iune 1585, deposed.

Palmer, Pantins and Price committed close prisoners.

*This Price is supposed to be mistaken for Edward Brice.

O desperat dissimulation!

vnto him in the inner side, saieng to Bailiffe, he could not sleepe vnlesse his doore were fast.

About twelue of the clocke at midnight, Bailiffe being in a slumber, heard a great noise, seeming vnto him to be the falling of some doore, or rather a péece of the house: the noise was so sudden and so great, that he started out of his bed, and crieng vnto the earle with a lowd voice, said: My lord, know you what this is? The earle not answering, Bailiffe cried and knocked still at the earles doore, saieng, My lord, how doo you? But finding that the earle made no answer, continued his crieng and calling, vntill an old man that laie without, spake vnto him, saieng, Gentleman, shall I call the watch, séeing he will not speake? Yea (quoth Bailiffe) for Gods sake. Then did the old man rise, and called one of the watch, whome Bailiffe intreated with all possible spéed to call maister lieutenant vnto him. In the meane time Bailiffe heard the earle giue a long and most gréeuous grone, and after that, gaue a second grone: and then the lieutenant (being come) called vnto the earle, who not answering, Bailiffe cried vnto the lieutenant to breake open the earles chamber doore bolted vnto him in the inner side, which was doone, and then they found the earle dead in his bed, and by his bed side a dag, wherewith he had killed himselfe.

He could not answer hauing discharged the dag into his bodie.

Sir Owen Hopton knight lieutenant of the Tower, 1585.

Sir Owen Hopton knight, examined vpon his oth, affirmed that on sundaie last at night, lesse than a quarter of an houre before one of the clocke after midnight, he was called vp by the watch to come to the earle of Northumberland, who had béene called vnto by maister Bailiffe his kéeper, and would not speake as the watch told him. Wherevpon the said sir Owen went presentlie to the earles lodging, opened the vtter doores, till he came vnto the chamber where maister Bailiffe laie, which was next to the earles bedchamber. Bailiffe said to this examinat as he came in, that he was wakened with a noise as it were of a doore or some great thing falling, and that he had called on the earle, and could haue no answer. And this examinat going to the earls chamber doore, finding the same bolted fast on the other side within the earles lodging, so as he could not go into the earle, this examinat called on the earle, telling him the lieutenant was there, and praied his lordship to open the doore.

The warders with their halberds wrest and wring at the earles chamber doore.

But this examinat hauing no answer made vnto him, and finding the doore fast bolted in the inner side of the earles chamber with a strong iron bolt, so as they could not enter into the same out of the lodging where the said Bailiffe laie, without breaking vp the chamber doore, caused the warders which were with this examinat, to thrust in their halberds, and to wrest the doore thereby, as much as they could, and withall to run at the doore with their féet, and with violence to thrust it open, which they did accordinglie. And when this examinat came into the chamber, in turning vp the shéets, he perceiued them to be bloudied: and then searching further, found the wound, which was verie néere the pap, not thinking at the first sight, but that it had béene doone with a knife.

The place of the bodie where the earle had wounded

This examinat went therevpon presentlie to write to the court, and tooke the warders into the vtter chamber, and left them there vntill he returned, bolting the doore of the earles bedchamber on the outside. And as soone as this examinat returned from writing of his letter to the court, he searched about the chamber, and found the dag in the floore, about three foot from the bed, néere vnto a table that had a gréene cloth on it, which did somewhat shadow the dag: and after, turning downe the bedcloths, found the box in the which the powder and pellets were, on the bed vnder the couerlet; and saith, that the chamber where the earle laie, hath no other doore but that one doore which was broken open as aforesaid, saue one doore that went into a priuie, which hath no maner of passage out of it; and that the earles lodging chamber, and the entering to the priuie, are both walled round about with a

The dag found in the floore, and the box and pellets in the bed.

stone wall, and a bricke wall, and that there is no doore or passage out of or from the said earles bedchamber or priuie, but that onelie doore which was broken open by the appointment of this examinat. The warders that were with this examinat at the entrie into the prison, and the breaking vp of the earles chamber doore, and the dooing of the other things aforesaid, were Michaell Sibleie, Anthonie Dauies, William Riland, and Iohn Potter, and one Iohn Pinner this examinats seruant was there also.

This is a manifest proofe and full of sufficient credit, that none could come at him to doo him violence.

For the proofe and confirmation of the seuerall parts and points of this deposition, Sibleie, Dauies, Riland, Potter and Pinner were deposed, and they viua voce affirmed so much thereof to be true, as was reported by the examination of the lieutenant, concerning the comming of the lieutenant vnto the earles chamber, the breaking vp of the doore being bolted with a strong bolt on the inner side, the finding of the earle dead vpon his bed, the dag lieng on the ground, the powder and pellets in a box on the bed vnder the couerlet, with the rest of the circumstances therevnto apperteining. They affirmed also, that there was but one doore in the earles chamber, sauing the doore of the priuie, which togither with the chamber was stronglie walled about with stone and bricke: and further (as I remember) the lord chiefe baron confirmed the same, hauing viewed the chamber himselfe where the earle lodged, and was found dead.

Deponents viua voce, confirming the lieutenants deposition vpon his examination.

Iaques Pantins in his examination of the one and twentith of Iune confesseth, that Iames Price deliuered the dag to the earle his maister in this examinats presence: whervpon he presentlie suspected that the earle meant mischiefe to himselfe, and therefore did his indeuour to persuade the earle to send awaie the dag, and told the earle that he knew not how the diuell might tempt his lordship, and that the diuell was great; but could by no meanes preuaile with the earle in that behalfe; and saith moreouer that the earle required him to hide the dag, and he therevpon hanged the same on a naile within the chimneie in the earles bedchamber, where the earle thinking the same not to be sufficientlie safe in that place, it was by the earles appointment taken from thense, and put into a slit in the side of a mattresse that laie vnder the earles bed, neere to the beds head, and that the same sundaie morning that the earle murthered himselfe at night, he saw the dag lieng vnder the earles beds head. The dag was bought not manie daies before of one Adrian Mulan a dagmaker, dwelling in east Smithfield, as by the said Mulan was testified viua voce vpon his oth, in the open court, at the time of the publike declaration made of these matters in the Starchamber.

Of whom the dag was bought.

All these particularities considered, with the depositions and proofs of the witnesse concerning the earles death; first, how he came by the dag; secondlie, how long he had kept the same, and in what secret maner; thirdlie, the earles bolting of his chamber dore in the inside; fourthlie, the blow of the dag; fiftlie, the breaking vp of the earles chamber doore by the lieutenant of the Tower; and lastlie, the finding of the earle dead as aforesaid: what is he so simple that will thinke or imagine, or so impudent and malicious that will auouch and report, that the earle of Northumberland should haue beene murthered of purpose, by practise or deuise of anie person, affecting his destruction in that manner? If men consider the inconuenience happened thereby, as well in matter of state, as commoditie to the queenes maiestie, lost by the preuention of his triall, who can in reason coniecture the earle to haue beene murthered of policie or set purpose, as the euill affected seeme to conceiue?

If the earle had liued to haue receiued the censure of the law for his offenses, all lewd and friuolous obiections had then beene answered, and all his goods cattels and lands by his atteindor had come vnto hir maiestie, and the honour and state of his house and posteritie vtterlie ouerthrowne: the consideration and feare whereof appeareth

The principall cause that made the earle laie hands vpon himselfe.

peareth without all doubt to haue béene the principall and onelie cause that made him laie violent hands vpon himselfe. If obiections be made, that to murther him in that sort might be a satisfaction to his enimies, who could be pacified by no meanes but with his bloud: that séemeth to be as improbable, for that it is commonlie discerned in the corrupt nature of man, that when we are possessed with so profound a hatred, as to seeke the death of our enimie, we imagine and with his destruction to be had with the greatest shame and infamie that can be deuised: thinke you not then, that if the earle of Northumberland had anie such enimie that knew the danger wherein he stood, and that his triall and conuiction by law would draw vpon him the losse of his life, lands and goods, fame, honor, and the vtter subuersion of his house, would be so kindharted vnto him, as to helpe to take awaie his life onelie, and saue him all the rest? I suppose there is no man of iudgement will beléeue it.

The lord of Hunsdon declareth how the dag was more than ordinarilie charged: and how the earle dispatched him selfe.

But to returne to the maner of the earles death. It was declared by the lord Hunsdon, and the lord chiefe baron, that the dag wherewith the earle murthered himselfe, was charged with thrée bullets, and so of necessitie with more than an ordinarie charge of powder, to force that weight of bullets to worke their effect. The earle lieng vpon his backe on the left side of his bed, tooke the dag charged in his left hand (by all likelihood) laid the mouth of the dag vpon his left pap (hauing first put aside his wastecote) and his shirt being onelie betwéene the dag and his bodie (which was burnt awaie the breadth of a large hand) discharged the same, wherewith was made a large wound in his said pap, his heart pearsed and torne in diuerse lobes or péeces, thrée of his ribs broken, the chinebone of his backe cut almost in sunder, and vnder the point of the shoulder blade on the right side within the skin, the thrée bullets were found by the lord Hunsdon, which he caused the surgion in his presence to cut out, lieng all three close togither within the breadth and compasse of an inch or thereabout: the bullets were shewed by his lordship at the time of the publication made in the court at the Starchamber.

Thrée bullets found vnder the point of the earls shoulder blade.

A slanderous report of the quéenes enimies and the earles fauourers answered.

And whereas it hath béene slanderouslie giuen out to the aduantage of the earle, as the reporters suppose, that he was imprisoned and kept in so streict, narrow and close roome, with such penurie of aire and breath, that thereby he grew sickelie and wearie of his life, and that to haue béene the cause chieflie why he murthered himselfe; if it were so that he died by the violence of his owne hand which they hardlie beléeue. To answer that péeuish and senselesse slander, there was much spoken by the lord chiefe baron, who had viewed and caused verie exactlie to be measured the chambers and roomes within the prison where the earle laie, being part of hir maiesties owne lodging in the Tower. The particular length and breadth of the said chambers and rooms, and the qualitie of the lights and windows, expressed by the said lord chiefe baron, I can not repeat: but well I doo remember it was declared, that all the daie time, the earle had the libertie of fiue large chambers, and two long entries within the vtter doore of his prison: thrée of which chambers, and one of the entries laie vpon two faire gardens within the Tower wall, and vpon the Tower wharfe, with a pleasant prospect to the Thames, and to the countrie, more than fiue miles beyond. The windowes were of a verie large proportion yéelding so much aire and light, as more cannot be desired in anie house. Note therefore how maliciouslie those that fauour traitors and treasons, can deliuer out these and the like slanderous spéeches, to the dishonor of hir maiestie, noting hir councellors and ministers with inhumanitie and vncharitable seueritie, contrarie to all truth and honestie.

The earle wanted no prospects for pleasure nor walks of conuenient libertie.

Sir Christopher Hatton reuealeth to the court and auditorie

When the lord chiefe baron had finished this discourse of the manner of the earles death, with the circumstances, and had satisfied the court and auditorie concerning the qualitie of the prison where the earle had remained, sir Christopher Hatton knight

knight hir maiesties vicechamberlaine, who (as it séemed) had béene speciallie imploied by hir maiestie among others of hir priuie councell in the looking into and examining of the treasons aforesaid, aswell in the person of the earle as of others, and at the time of the earles commitment from his house in S. Martins to the Tower of London; sent vnto him from hir maiestie to put the earle in mind of hir maiesties manifold graces and fauors in former times conferred vpon him, procéeding from the spring of hir maiesties princelie and bountifull nature, and not of his deseruings; and to aduise him to deliuer the truth of the matters so cléerelie appearing against him, either by his letters priuatlie to hir maiestie, or by spéech to maister vicechamberlaine, who signified also vnto him, that if he would determine to take that course, he should not onlie not be committed to the Tower, but should find grace and fauor at hir maiesties hands, in the mitigation of such punishment as the law might laie vpon him.

the gratious dealing of hir maiestie with the said earle, no such fauour deseruing.

And here M. vicechamberlaine repeated at length the effect of hir maiesties message at that time sent to the earle, begining first with the remembrance of his practise vndertaken for the conueieng awaie of the Scotish quéene about the time of the last rebellion (as hath béene declared in the beginning of this tract) and that he confessing the offense being capitall, hir maiestie neuerthelesse was pleased to alter the course of his triall by the iustice of hir lawes, and suffered the same to receiue a slight and easie punishment by waie of mulct or fine of fiue thousand marks, whereof before this his imprisonment (as it is crediblie reported) there was not one penie paid, or his land touched with anie extent for the paiment thereof, which offense was by hir maiestie not onelie most gratiouslie forgiuen, but also most christianlie forgotten, receiuing him not long after to the place of honor that his ancestours had inioied for manie yeares before him, and gaue him such entrance into hir princelie fauour and good opinion, that no man of his qualitie receiued greater countenance and comfort at hir maiesties hands than he; insomuch that in all exercises of recreation, vsed by hir maiestie, the earle was alwaies called to be one: and whensoeuer hir maiestie shewed hir selfe abroad in publike, she gaue to him the honor of the best and highest seruices about hir person, more often than to all the noble men of the court.

The quéenes maiestie mitigateth the punishment which the law would haue awarded against the earle.

The quéenes maiesties nature is to loue hir enemies, O that they could change their nature, and loue hir highnesse againe.

But the remembrance of these most gratious and more than extraordinarie fauours and benefits receiued, nor the hope giuen vnto him by maister vicechamberlaine of hir maiesties disposition of mercie towards him, nor the consideration of the depth and weight of his treasons against hir maiestie, hir estate, hir crowne and dignitie, with the danger thereby like to fall vpon him by the course of hir highnes lawes, to the vtter ruine and subuersion of him and his house (standing now at hir maiesties mercie) could once moone his heart to that naturall and dutifull care of hir maiesties safetie that he ought to haue borne towards hir, and she most worthilie had merited at his hands, or anie remorse or compassion of himselfe and his posteritie: but resting vpon termes of his innocencie, hauing (as you maie perceiue) conueied awaie all those that he thought could or would anie waie accuse him, he made choise rather to go to the Tower, abide the hazard of hir maiesties high indignation, and the extremitie of the law for his offenses.

The earle standeth vpon termes of his innocencie, all the world séeing cause to the contrarie.

All which was a notable augur of his fall, and that God by his iust iudgement had for his sinnes and ingratitude taken from him his spirit of grace, and deliuered him ouer to the enimie of his soule, who brought him to that most dreadfull and horrible end, wherevnto he is come: * from the which, God of his mercie defend all christian people, and preserue the quéenes maiestie from the treasons of hir subiects, that she maie liue in all happinesse, to sée the ruine of hir enimies abroad and at home, and that she, and we hir true and louing subiects, maie be alwaies thankfull to

* To this petition let all true harted Englishmen saie, Amen.

God for all his blessings bestowed vpon vs by hir, the onlie mainteiner of his holie gospell among vs.

The arriuall and interteinment of the deputies for the estates of the low countries.

On the six and twentith of Iune arriued at London deputies for the estates of the netherlands, or low countries, who were lodged about the Tower stréet and had their diet for the time of their abode here, verie worshipfullie appointed (all at the charges of hir maiestie) in the Clothworkers hall in Minchenlane, néere to the said Tower stréet. These on the nine and twentith of Iune, being the feast of the apostles Peter and Paule repaired to the court, then at Gréenewich, where by vertue of their commissions from the vnited countries, they presented to hir maiestie the souereingtie of those countries, to wit of Brabant (but the commission for the siege of Antwerpe not full authorised) of Guelder, of Flanders, of Holland, of Zeland, of Vtrecht, and of Friseland. For Brabant, Iaques de Grise great bailie of Bridges councellour of the Franks. For Guelder, Rutger of Barsold, gentleman. For Flanders, Noell de Garsie lord of Schonewalle. For Holland, Iohn Wanderdoest, lord of Nortwicke, Iosse de Menin pensionarie of Dordreght, Iohn of old Barneuelt pensionarie of Rotradame, and D. Francis Maolso. For Zeland, Iacob Dales councellor and pensionarie of Tergoest. For Vtrecht, Paulus Buis doctor of the lawes. For Friseland, I. Fritzma, gentleman: H. Ansona president of Friseland: and Lads Iangema, gentleman. All these falling on their knées before hir maiestie, and so remaining for a long space, one of them, to wit, Iosse de Menin councellor and pensionarie of Dordreght, one of the commissioners for Holland, made to hir maiestie this oration in French as followeth.

The names of the said deputies for the estates.

THE SAID DEPUTIES ORATION IN FRENCH TO HIR MAIESTIE AT GREENWICH.

MADAME, les estats des prouinces vnies des pais bas, remercient treshumblement vostre maiesté de la bonné affection & faueur, qu'il à pleu de monstrer audits pais en leur necessites, & confirmer par tant de tesmoignaiges euidens; & encores derneirement, quand apres l'execrable assasinat commis en la personne de feu monsir le prince d'Orenges, il à pleu a vostre maiesté faire entendre audits estats per son ambassadeur le sire Dauison, le soing qu'icelle auoit a nostre defence & conseruation, & aussy par le sire de Grise, le grand desplaisir que vostre maiesté auoit conceu, de voir lesdits estats frustres de l'esperance quelle auoient fondeé sur le traicte de France. Mais que le soin que vostre maiesté a tousiours eu de nostre bien & conseruation n'estoit pour cela en rien diminué, ains qu'il s'augmentoit, plustost a mesure que la necessité de nos affaires le requiert, dont ledits pais en general, & chacun d'eulx eu particulier demeureront perpetuellement tresobliges a vostre maiesté, pour le recognoistre auec tout fidelité & obeisance.

Et comme ledits estats considerant Madame, que depuis le deces dudit sire prince d'Orenges, ils ont faict perté de plusieurs de leurs places & bonnes villes; & que pour la conseruation desdits pais il leur est besoing d'vng prince & seig. souuerain, qui les puisse garentir & defendre contre la tyrannie & inique opression des Espaignols & leurs adherens, qui s'efforcent de plus en plus par leurs sinistres armes & tous aultres moyens, de destruire & ruiner lesdits pais de fonds en comble, & reduire ce pouure peuple en vne seruitude perpetuellé, pire que des Indiens soubs l'insupportable ioug de la detestable inquisition d'Espaigne. Considerans aussy que les corps des villes & communaultes desdits pais ont vne fermé confience, que vostre maiesté ne les vouldra veoir perir au gre de leurs ennemys, qui leur font ceste

longue

longue & cruelle guerre a toute oultrance, laquelle les estats desdits pais bas (ensuiuant leur deuoir & obligation qu'ils ont a leurs bourgois & concitoyens) ont estes contraincts de soustenir, repoulser, & destourner, pour la tyrannie & seruitude manifeste qu'on taschat d'introduire & imposer au pouure peuple, & pour conseruer leur liberté, droits, priuileges, & franchises, auec l'exercise de la vraye religion chrestienné, dont vostre maiesté porte a bon droit le tiltre de protectrice & defenderesse, contre laquelle lesdits ennemys & leurs associes, ont & faict tant de ligues, dresse tant de cauteleuzes embushes, & trahisons, & ne cessent encore tout les iours de praticquer & machiner contre la personne de vostre maiesté, & au preiudice du repos & tranquillité de ses royaulmes & estats, laquelle le bon Dieu a preserue eiusques a present, pour le bien de la chrestienté, & sustentation de ses eglises.

Sy est ce Madame, que pour ces causes, & raisons, & aultres bonnes considerations, lesdits estats ont prins par ensemble vne bonné & fermé resolution, de prendre leurs recours a vostre maiesté, veu que cest vne chose ordinaire a tous peuples & nations oppressées, de recourir en leurs calamites & oppressions, pour support & faueur contre leurs ennemys, aulx rois & princes voisins, & singulierement a ceulx qui sont douez a magnanimité, pieté, iustice, & aultres vertus royalles, & a cest effect nous ont lesdits estats depute vers vostre maiesté, pour presenter a icelle la principaulté souueraine, & iuste domination desdits prouinces, soubs certaines bonnes & equitables condicions, concernantes principallement la conseruation de l'exercise de la religion reformée, & de leurs anciens priuileges, libertes, franchises & vsances, & l'administration du faict de la guerre, police, & iustice esdits pais.

Et combien que lesdits pais ayent beaucoup souffert par ces longues & continuelles guerres, & que l'ennemy se soit empare de plusieurs villes & places fortes esdits pais, touts fois, oultre ce qu'es pais de Brabant, Gueldre, Flandre, Malins, & Ouerissel, se mainteinent encores maintes bonnes villes & places contre l'effort de l'ennemy, sy est ce que les pais d'Holland, Zeeland, Vtrecht, & Frise sont encores, graces a Dieu, en leur entier, ou il y a beaucoup de grandes & fortes villes, & places belles, riuieres, profondes, ports & haures de mer, desquelles vostre maiesté & ses successeurs pourront tirer plusieurs bons seruices, fruicts, & commodites dont il n'est de faire yci plus long recit. Seulement que ceste cy entre aultres merite bien vne consideration speciale que la conjunction desdits pais d'Holland, Zeeland, Frise, & des villes de l'Escluze, & Osteynd en Flandres auec les royaulmes de vostre maiesté, emporte quant & soy l'empire absolut de la grand mer occeane, & par consequence vne asseurance & felicité perpetuelle pour les subiects de vostre serenissime maiesté. La quelle nous supplions treshumblement que son bon plaisir soit de nous accorder lesdits points ou conditions, & ce en suiuant vouloir accepter pour soy & ses successeurs legittimes en la couronne d'Angleterre protecteurs de la religion reformée, la iustice principaute & seigneurie souueraine desdits pais & consequemment du recepuoir les peuples desdits pais, comme vous treshumbles & tresobeissants subiects soubs la protection & sauuegarde perpetuelle de vostre maiesté, peuples certeinement autant fidelles, aymant leurs princes & seigneurs (a parler & sans iactance) que nul aultre de la chrestienté.

Ce faisant Madame, vous conserueres tant de belles eglises, qu'il a pleu a Dieu en ce dernier temps assembler esdits pais a present en beaucoup de lieux fort affliges, & esbranles & deliureres lesdits pais & peuples (nagueres auant l'inique maison des Espaignols) tant riches & florissans, pour la grande commodité de la mer ports, haures, riuieres, traffiqus, & manifactures dont ils sont doues de nature. Vous les deliureres (dis ie Madame) de ruine & perpetuelle seruitude de corps & ame, qui sera vng œuure vrayement roial & tresexcellent, agreable a Dieu, profitable a

toute chrestienté, digne de louange immortelle, corespondant a la magnanimité & vertus heroicques de vostre maiesté, & conioinct auec l'asseurance & prosperites des royalmes & subiects d'icelle. Et surce presentons a vostre maiesté lesdits articles ou conditions, en reuerence, prians le grand Roy des roys de preseruer vostre maiesté de ses ennemys, l'accroistre en gloire & felicité, & l'auoir en sa seinte garde à perpetuité.

Faict par Iosse de Menin, concelier & pensionaire de Derdreght.
An. 1585. 29 de Iune, A Greenwich.

THE FORESAID ORATION IN ENGLISH.

MADAM, the states of the vnited prouinces of the low countries most humblie thanke your maiestie for the good affection and fauor, which it pleased you to shew to the said countries in their necessitie, and to confirme the same with so manie euident testimonies; and that lastlie, after the execrable assault committed vpon the person of the late prince of Orange, at what time it pleased your maiestie to let the said states vnderstand by your ambassador maister Dauison, what care you had of our defense and preseruation, and also by segneur de Crist, the great displeasure which your maiestie conceiued, to sée the states frustrated of the hope which they had founded vpon the treatie of France. But since the care which your maiestie hath alwaies had ouer our good and conseruation is not thereby anie whit diminished, but hath more plentifullie increased, according as the necessitie of our affaires required; for which the said countrie in generall, and euerie of vs in particular remaine perpetuallie bound to your maiestie, and acknowledge the same with all fidelitie and obeisance.

The queenes maiesties most gratious fauor acknowledged.

The distressed state of the low countries after the death of the prince of Orange.

And as the said states (Madam) doo consider that since the decease of the prince of Orange they haue susteined the losse of diuerse of their holds and good townes; and that for the preseruation of the said countrie it is néedfull for them to haue a prince and souereigne ruler, which may warrant and defend them against the tyrannie and vniust oppression of the Spaniards and their adherents, which dailie more and more inforce themselues by their sinister power and all other meanes to destroie and ouerthrow the said countries, and reduce this poore people in perpetuall seruitude, worse than that of the Indians vnder the importable yoke of the detestable inquisition of Spaine. Considering also that the bodie of the townes and communalties of the aforesaid countries haue a firme hope, that your maiestie will not sée them perish according to the desire of their enimies, which make this long and cruell warre, all which outrages the states of the said low countries (following the diligence and band which they owe to their burgesses and citizens) are to susteine, repell, and to turne from them, by reason of the manifest tyrannie and seruitude which the Spaniards attempt to bring in and to laie vpon the poore people) thereby to preserue their liberties, rights, priuileges, and franchises, with the exercise of the true christian religion, whereof your maiestie by good right carrieth the title of protectrice and defendresse, against which the said enimies and their associats alreadie haue and still doo make manie leagues, deuise manie subtilties, treasons, and ambushes, not ceasing dailie to practise and imagine them against the person of your maiestie, and to the preiudice of the rest of your realme and states, whome the good God hath preserued vntill this present, for the wealth of the christians, and sustentation of their churches.

The hope that the low countrie people had in hir highnes helpe.

Spanish seruitude importable.

Wherefore (Madam) it is so, that for these causes, reasons, and other considerations, the said states haue assembled and concluded vpon a good and firme resolution to haue recourse vnto your maiestie, sith it is an ordinarie matter amongst all people

The cause whie the deputies for the states came.

and oppressed nations, in their calamities and oppressions to craue support and fauour against their enimies, of kings and princes neere vnto them, but especiallie of those who be indued with magnanimitie, pietie, iustice, and other princelie vertues, to which effect the states haue appointed vs to come vnto your maiestie to present vnto the same the principalitie, souereigntie, and iust gouernment of the said prouinces vnder certeine good and equall conditions, chieflie concerning the preseruation of the exercise of the reformed religion, and of the ancient priuileges, liberties, franchises, and customs, and next of the administration of the affaires, policie, and iustice of the warres in the said countrie.

into England, and their suite vnto hir highnesse expressed.

The gouernement and principalitie of the low countries presented to the quéenes maiestie.

And although that these countries haue susteined much hurt by these long and continuall warres, and that the enimie hath taken diuers strong places and forts in the same countries: yet there is besides the same in the countries of Brabant, Gelderland, Flanders, Malmes, and Ouerset, manie good townes and places, which defend themselues against the force of the enimie, and the countries of Holland, Zeland, Vtricht, and Frise be yet (thanks be to God) entire and whole: in which there be manie great and strong townes and places, faire riuers, and déepe ports and hauens of the sea, out of which your maiestie and your successors may receiue diuerse good seruices, fruits, and commodities, whereof it is néedlesse here to make anie long recitall. Onelie this amongst other matters deserueth good and especiall consideration, that the vniting of those countries of Holland, Zeland, Frise, and the townes of Sluze and Ostend in Flanders, vnto the realmes of your maiestie importeth so much as the absolute gouernement of the great ocean sea, and by consequence, an assurance and perpetuall felicitie for the subiects of your woorthie maiestie. Which we most humblie beséech, that it will please the same to condescend vnto vs in the said points and conditions, and in that which followeth, which is, that you will for you and your lawfull successors in the crowne of England be protectors of the reformed religion, as the principall iusticer and souereigne gouernor of the said countries: and consequentlie to receiue the people of the same, as your most humble and most obedient subiects vnder the protection and continuall safegard of your maiestie; they being a people assuredlie so faithfull and louing to their princes and lords (be it spoken without vaunting) as anie other nation is throughout christendome.

Manie good townes and places yet remaining in the low countries defensible against the enimie.

The vniting of the low countries to the realmes of England, &c: how beneficiall.

Protection of the reformed religion, a part of their suite.

The loialtie and faithfulnesse of the low countrie people commended.

In dooing whereof (Madam) you shall preserue manie goodlie churches, which it hath pleased God to assemble in these latter times in the same countries, at this present in manie places greeuouslie afflicted, and you shall deliuer the same countrie and people (of late before the vniust deeds of the house of Spaine) verie rich and florishing, through the great commoditie of the sea, ports, hauens, riuers, traffike, and merchandize whereof they be naturallie indued. You shall I saie (Madam) deliuer them from ruine and perpetuall bondage of bodie and soule, being a worke right roiall and most magnificent, acceptable to God, profitable to all christianitie, woorthie immortall commendation, answerable to the magnanimitie, and heroicall vertues of your maiestie, and ioined with the assurance and prosperitie of your dominions and subiects. Wherevpon we present vnto your maiestie the said articles and conditions, reuerentlie praieng the King of kings to preserue your maiestie from your enimies, to increase your glorie and felicitie, and for euer to keepe you in his holie protection.

Benefits like to insue vpon the said protection vndertaken of hir highnesse.

The said deputies doo present certeine articles and conditions to hir maiestie concerning their suite.

¶ This oration ended and the summe thereof considered, it pleased the quéenes maiestie, by direction of hir wise and politike councell, to incline hir hart (alwaies pitifull and replenished with commiseration) to the ease and relééfe of the said oppressed people. And bicause hir owne subiects should not be vtterlie vnacquainted

quainted with hir highnesse dooings in that case, there was published by authoritie a booke thereof as in due place hereafter followeth.

On sundaie the fourth of Iulie, Charles lord Howard, late lord chamberleine was made lord admerall, and Henrie lord Hunsdon was made lord chamberleine of houshold. On the fift daie of Iulie Thomas Awfeld a seminarie priest, and Thomas Weblie diar, were arreigned at the sessions hall in the Old bailie, found guiltie, condemned, and had iudgement as fellons to be hanged: for publishing of bookes conteining false, seditious, and slanderous matter, to the defamation of our souereigne ladie the quéene, and to the excitation of insurrection and rebellion, as more at large appeareth in their indictments. These were on the next morrow, to wit, the sixt of Iulie, executed at Tiborne accordinglie. On thursdaie the sixteenth of Iulie, by the sudden fall of a bricke wall in Thames stréet of London, neere vnto Downegate, fiue persons were ouerwhelmed and slaine, to wit, a man and his wife (the wife being great with child) and two children, the one their own, the other a nurse child, and a poore man that liued by charitie, hauing no knowne dwelling place. On the same sixteenth of Iulie was sir Francis Russell knight, lord Russell, third sonne to Francis Russell earle of Bedford, slaine with a dag in the borders of Scotland beside Berwike, by a Scot borne in those parts, as they met vpon a true daie, as more at large appeareth in the historie of Scotland. On the next morrow, to wit, the seuentéenth of Iulie, Francis Russell earle of Bedford, knight of the garter, and one of hir maiesties priuie councell, father to the late named sir Francis, lord Russell slaine on the borders of Scotland, deceassed, and was honorablie buried at Cheinies in Bedfordshire on the eight of September next following.

Aufeld and Weblie hanged for publishing of seditious bookes.

Fiue or rather six people slain by the fall of a wall in London néere vnto Downegate.

Earle of Bedford and the lord Russell his sonne deceased.

On the three and twentith of Iulie certeine souldiers were pressed in the seuerall wards of the citie of London, which souldiers being furnished for the warres, and clothed in red cotes, all at the charges of the companies and citizens, set forth toward the seas on the thirtéenth of August, and were transported ouer into Holland, Zeland, &c: as other the like souldiers out of other parts of the realme before had béene, to serue for the defense of the low countries vnder Generall Norris, and other approoued capteins. On the fourth daie of August, betwixt the hours of foure and fiue of the clocke in the morning, at the end of the towne called Motingham in Kent, eight miles from London, in a lane not farre from the houses, the ground began to sinke, three great elmes being swallowed vp, the tops falling downward into a hole with the rootes vpward, turning round in the falling, and driuen into the earth past mans sight, to the woonderfull amazement of manie honest men of the same towne, being beholders of this strange sight: and before ten of the clocke that present day, the ground and trees were soonke so low, that neither the one or other might be discerned, the hole or vaut being sometimes filled with water, and otherwhiles neither bottome, trées, or water maie be perceiued: the compasse of this hole is about fourescore yards, and being sounded with a lead and line of fiftie fadams, cannot therewith find or féele anie bottome. Ten yards distant from this place, there is another péece of ground soonke in like maner, which parcell of ground falleth still into the high waie, to the great feare of that whole towne, but especiallie to the inhabitants of a house not far distant from the aforesaid places.

Souldiers sent to aid the low countries of Holland, Zeland, &c.

Ground and trées soonke and swallowed vp in Kent eight miles from London.

On the fiftéenth daie of September, to the number of two and thirtie seminaries, massing priests and others, late prisoners in the tower of London, Marshalsée, Kings bench, and other places, were imbarked in the Marie Martine of Colchester, on the southside of the Thames right ouer against S. Katharines, to be transported ouer into the coasts of Normandie, to be banished this realme for euer, by vertue of a commission from hir maiestie, before specified.

Seminarie and massing priests banished.

A COPIE

A COPIE OF THE CERTIFICAT WRITTEN AND DIRECTED INTO ENGLAND BY THE SAID BANISHED MEN.

WHEREAS vpon your honors commission, directed vnto Anthonie Hall, and Thomas Stockar, for the transporting of vs whose names are vnder written, into the coasts of Normandie, who accordinglie tooke vs into a barke called the Marie Martine of Colchester, on the south side of the Thames, right ouer that part of saint Katharines next to London bridge, the fiftéenth day of September 1585, according to the computation of England: our will is to testifie vnto your good honors, that they the said Anthonie Hall and Thomas Stockar haue generallie so well vsed vs in all respects, that we can not but acknowledge our selues much beholding (as much as in them laie) to so courteous and louing officers. Neuerthelesse comming along the sea, and meeting with hir maiesties admerall in the downes, who promising that we should not be disturbed in our course into the prouince of Normandie, according to your honors said commission, we had not from him departed two leagues, when as a Flushinger with his people suddenlie entred vpon vs, being peaceablie stowed vnder the hatches, and in our quiet rest, with their swords drawne, their calleiuers and their matches fired in their hands, to our great terror and discomfort, the most of vs being verie sore sea sicke, expecting at that instant nothing but either the rigorous dint of sword or bullet of calleiuer. Howbeit parlee being had by our said commissioners with them, they departed, after which time we considering the generall danger on the seas, besought with one consent your honors commissioners to set vs on land at Calice: but they in no wise yéelding therevnto, at last by reason of our importunitie in such danger and weakenesse, yéelded to set vs on shore at Bullogne, partlie by reason of the feare we were then put in, and partlie for that we feared afterward more vnreasonable measure; but speciallie the greatest number of vs so sore sicke, that verie tedious vnto vs it séemed to beare so long and dangerous a passage. In witnes whereof to this our certificat we haue all subscribed our names the nineteenth of September 1585. W. Gimlets, R. Fen: Io. Nele: Christopher Small, &c.

Note in this certificat an acknowledgment of verie great English courtesie to the seminaries in their transportation.

The seminaries suddenlie assaulted and in danger of death by a Flushinger as they were passing ouer sea.

The seminaries are set on shore at Bullogne through their owne importunitie.

¶ Ye haue heard before that certeine souldiers out of diuers parts of this realme were transported ouer the seas into Holland and Zeland, &c: with such conuenient and seruiceable furniture, as might be presupposed necessarie for defense: whom we will leaue vpon their gard, and more cleerelie to set foorth the reasons of their transportation, we doo meane héere, as we promised before, when we came to due place, to deliuer a booke published by authoritie concerning that argument, the title and substance whereof in all points agréeable with the printed copie first extant, doth orderlie follow.

A DECLARATION OF THE CAUSES MOOUING THE QUEENE OF ENGLAND TO GIUE AID TO THE DEFENSE OF THE PEOPLE AFFLICTED AND OPPRESSED IN THE LOW COUNTRIES.

ALTHOUGH kings and princes souereignes, owing their homage and seruice onelie vnto the almightie God the King of all kings, are in that respect not bound to yéeld account or render the reasons of their actions to anie others but to God their onelie souereigne Lord: yet (though amongst the most ancient and christian monarchs

Kings and princes souereignes, are to yéeld account of their actions.

onelie to almightie God, the king of kings.

monarchs the same Lord God hauing committed to vs the souereignitie of this realme of England and other our dominions, which we hold immediatlie of the same almightie Lord, and so thereby accountable onelie to his diuine maiestie) we are notwithstanding this our prerogatiue at this time speciallie mooued, for diuerse reasons hereafter brieflie remembred, to publish not onelie vnto our owne naturall louing subiects, but also to all others our neighbors, speciallie to such princes and states as are our confederats, or haue for their subiects cause of commerce with our countries and people, what our intention is at this time, and vpon what iust and reasonable grounds we are mooued to giue aid vnto our next neighbours, the naturall people of the low countries, being by long warres and persecutions of strange nations there, lamentablie afflicted, and in present danger to be brought into a perpetuall seruitude.

Naturall causes of the ancient continuall traffike betwixt the people of England and them of the low countries.

First, it is to be vnderstood (which percase is not perfectlie knowne to a great number of persons) that there hath béene, time out of mind, euen by the naturall situation of those low countries and our realme of England, one directlie opposit to the other, and by reason of the readie crossing of the seas, and multitude of large and commodious hauens respectiuelie on both sides, a continuall traffike and commerce betwixt the people of England, and the naturall people of those low countries, and so continued in all ancient times, when the seuerall prouinces thereof, as Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and other countries to them adioining, were ruled and possessed by seuerall lords, and not vnited togither, as of late yeares they haue

Confederatitions both betwixt the kings of England and lords of the low countries, and also the subiects of both countries.

béene by intermarriages, and at length by concurrences of manie and sundrie titles haue also béene reduced to be vnder the gouernement of their lords that succéeded to the dukedome of Burgundie: whereby there hath béene in former ages manie speciall aliances and confederations, not onelie betwixt the kings of England our progenitors and the lords of the said countries of Flanders, Holland, Zeland, and their adherents: but also betwixt the verie naturall subiects of both countries, as the

The people of both the countries bound by speciall obligations interchangeablie, for mutuall fauours and friendlie offices.

prelats, noblemen, citizens, burgesses, and other communalties of the great cities and port townes of either countrie reciprocallie, by speciall obligations and stipulations vnder their seales interchangeablie, for maintenance both of commerce and intercourse of merchants, and also of speciall mutuall amitie to be obserued betwixt the people and inhabitants of both parties as well ecclesiasticall as secular: and verie expresse prouision in such treaties conteined for mutuall fauours, affections, and all other friendlie offices to be vsed and prosecuted by the people of the one nation towards the other. By which mutuall bonds, there hath continued perpetuall vnions of the peoples hearts togither, and so by waie of continuall intercourses, from age to age the same mutuall loue hath béene inuiolablie kept and exercised, as it had beene by the worke of nature, and neuer vtterlie dissolued, nor yet for anie long time discontinued, howsoeuer the kings, and the lords of the countries sometimes (though verie rarelie) haue béene at difference by sinister meanes of some other princes their neighbours, enuieng the felicitie of these two countries.

Treaties extant of ancient time, betwixt the kings of England and the dukes of Burgundie for the commerce betwixt their countries.

And for maintenance and testimonie of these naturall vnions of the peoples of these kingdoms and countries in perpetuall amitie, there are extant sundrie authentike treaties and transactions for mutuall commerce, intercourse and streict amitie of ancient times: as for example, some verie solemnelie accorded in the times of king Henrie the sixt our progenitor, and Philip the second duke of Burgundie, and inheritour to the countie of Flanders by the ladie Margaret his grandmoother, which was aboue one hundred and fortie yeares past, and the same also renewed by the noble duke Charles his son, father to the king of Spaines grandmoother, and husband to the ladie Margaret sister to or great grandfather king Edward the fourth: and after that, of new ofttimes renewed by our most noble and sage grandfather king Henrie the seuenth, and the archduke Philip grandfather to the king of Spaine now

being:

being: and in latter times often renewed betwixt our father of noble memorie king Henrie the eight, and Charles the fift emperor of Almaine, father also to the present king of Spaine.

In all which treaties, transactions, and confederations of amitie and mutuall commerce, it was also at all times speciallie and principallie conteined in expresse words, by conuentions, concords, and conclusions, that the naturall people, and subiects of either side, should shew mutuall fauours and duties one to the other, and should safelie, freelie and securelie commerce togither in euerie their countries; and so hath the same mutuall and naturall concourse and commerce beene without interruption continued in manie ages, farre aboue the like example of anie other countries in christendome, to the honour and strength of the princes, and to the singular great benefit and inriching of their people: vntill of late yeares that the king of Spaine departing out of his low countries into Spaine, hath beene (as it is to be thought) counselled by his councellors of Spaine, to appoint Spaniards, forreners and strangers of strange bloud, men more exercised in warres than in peaceable gouernment, and some of them notablie delighted in bloud, as hath appeared by their actions, to be the chiefest gouernours of all his said low countries, contrarie to the ancient lawes and customes thereof, hauing great plentie of noble, valiant and faithfull persons naturallie borne, and such as the emperour Charles, and the king himselfe had to their great honours vsed in their seruice, able to haue beene imploied in the rule of those countries.

Conuentions for the subiects of either side, to shew mutuall fauours one to the other.

Spaniards and strangers latelie appointed gouernors in the low countries to the violation of the liberties of the countries.

But these Spaniards, being meere strangers, hauing no naturall regard in their gouernement to the maintenance of those countries and people in their ancient and naturall maner of peaceable liuing, as the most noble and wise emperor Charles; yea and as his sonne king Philip himselfe had, whilest he remained in those countries, and vsed the counsels of the states and naturall of the countries, not violating the ancient liberties of the countries: but contrariwise, these Spaniards being exalted to absolute gouernement by ambition, and for priuat lucre haue violentlie broken the ancient lawes and liberties of all the countries, and in a tyrannous sort haue banished, killed and destroied without order of law, within the space of few moneths, manie of the most ancient and principall persons of the naturall nobilitie that were most worthie of gouernement. And howsoeuer in the beginning of these cruell persecutions, the pretense thereof was for maintenance of the Romish religion: yet they spared not to depriue verie manie catholikes and ecclesiasticall persons of their franchises and priuileges: and of the chiefest that were executed of the nobilitie, none was in the whole countrie more affected to that religion than was the noble and valiant countie of Egmond, the verie glorie of that countrie, who neither for his singular victories in the seruice of the king of Spaine can be forgotten in the true histories, nor yet for the crueltie vsed for his destruction, to be but for euer lamented in the harts of the naturall people of that countrie.

The destruction of the nobilitie, and the people of the countries by the Spanish gouernement.

The lamentable violent death of the countie of Egmond, the glorie of those countries.

And furthermore, to bring these whole countries in seruitude to Spaine, these forren gouernours haue by long intestine warre, with multitude of Spaniards, and with some few Italians and Almains, made the greater part of the said countries, (which with their riches by common estimation answered the emperour Charles equallie to his Indies) in a maner desolat, and haue also lamentablie destroied by sword, famine, and other cruell maners of death, a great part of the naturall people, and now the rich townes and strong places being desolate of their naturall inhabitants, are held and kept chieflie with force by the Spaniards. All which pitifull miseries and horrible calamities of these most rich countries and people, are of all their neighbours at this daie, euen of such as in ancient time haue beene at frequent discord with them through naturall compassion verie greatlie pitied, which appeared speciallie this present yeare, when the French king pretended to haue receiued them to his protection, had not (as the states

The rich townes and strengths with the wealth thereof possessed by the Spaniards.

states of the countrie and their deputies were answered) that certeine vntimelie and vnlooked for complots of the house of Guise, stirred and mainteined by monie out of Spanie, disturbed the good and generall peace of France, and thereby vrged the king to forbeare from the resolution he had made, not onlie to aid the oppressed people of the low countries against the Spaniards, but also to haue accepted them as his owne subiects. But in verie truth, howsoeuer they were pitied, and in a sort for a time comforted and kept in hope in France by the French king, who also hath oftentimes earnestlie solicited vs as quéene of England, both by message and writing to be carefull of their defense; yet in respect that they were otherwise more streictlie knit in ancient friendship to this realme than to anie other countrie, we are sure that they could be pitied of none for this long time with more cause and griefe generallie, than of our subiects of this our realme of England, being their most ancient alies and familiar neighbours: and that in such manner, as this our realme of England, and those countries haue béene by common language of long time resembled and termed as man and wife.

The French kings offers to haue aided and receiued to his subiection the oppressed people of the low countries.

And for these vrgent causes and manie others, we haue by manie fréendlie messages and ambassadors, by manie letters and writings to the said king of Spaine our brother and alie, declared our compassion of this so euill and cruell vsage of his naturall and loiall people by sundrie his martiall gouernors and other his men of warre, all strangers to these his countries. And furthermore, as a good louing sister to him, and a naturall good neighbour to his lowe countries and people, we haue often, and often againe most friendlie warned him, that if he did not otherwise by his wisedome and princelie clemencie restreine the tyrannie of his gouernours and crueltie of his men of warre, we feared that the people of his countries should be forced for safetie of their liues, and for continuance of their natiue countrie in the former state of their liberties, to séeke the protection of some other forreine lord, or rather to yeeld themselues wholie to the souereigntie of some mightie prince, as by the ancient lawes of their countries, and by speciall priuileges granted by some of the lords and dukes of the countries to the people, they doo pretend and affirme, that in such cases of generall iniustice, and vpon such violent breaking of their priuileges they are free from their former homages, and at libertie to make choise of anie other prince to be their prince and head.

The quéene of Englands continuall fréendlie aduises to the king of Spaine for restreining of the tyrannie of his gouernors.

The proofe whereof by examples past is to be seene and read in the ancient histories of diuerse alterations, of the lords and ladies of the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and other countries to them vnited by the states and people of the countries; and that by some such alterations, as the stories doo testifie, Philip the duke of Burgundie came to his title, from which the king of Spaines interest is deriued: but the further discussion hereof, we leaue to the view of the monuments and records of the countries. And now, for the purposes to staie them from yéelding themselues in anie like sort to the souereigntie of anie other strange prince, certeine yéeres past, vpon the earnest request of sundrie of the greatest persons of degrée in those countries, and most obedient subiects to the king, such as were the duke of Ascot, and the marquesse of Hauerie yet liuing, and of such others as had principall offices in those countries in the time of the emperour Charles, we yéelded at their importunat requests, to grant them prests of monie, onelie to continue them as his subiects, and to mainteine themselues in their iust defense against the violence and cruelties of the Spaniards their oppressours, thereby staieng them from yeelding their subiection to anie other prince from the said king of Spaine: and during the time of that our aid giuen to them, and their staie in their obedience to the king of Spaine, we did fréelie acquaint the same king with our actions, and did still continue our fréendlie aduises to him, to moone him to command his gouernours and men of warre,

The quéene of Englands means vsed to staie the states of the lowe countries from yéelding their subiection to anie other forreine prince.

not

not to vse such insolent cruelties against his people, as might make them to despaire of his fauours, and séeke some other lord.

And in these kind of persuasions and actions we continued manie yéeres, not onelie for compassion of the miserable state of the countries, but of a naturall disposition to haue the ancient conditions of streict amitie and commerce for our kingdoms and people to contiuue with the states and the people of the said dukedome of Burgundie and the appendents, and namelie with our next neighbours the countries of Flanders, Holland and Zeland. For we did manifestlie sée, if the nation of Spaine should make a conquest of those countries, as was and yet is apparantlie intended, and plant themselues there as they haue doone in Naples and other countries, adding thereto the late examples of the violent hostile enterprise of a power of Spaniards, being sent within these few yeares by the king of Spaine and the pope into our realme of Ireland, with an intent manifestlie confessed by the capteins, that those numbers were sent aforehand to seize vpon some strength there, to the intent with other great forces to pursue a conquest thereof: we did (we saie againe) manifestlie see in what danger our selfe, our countries and people might shortlie be, if in conuenient time we did not speedilie otherwise regard to preuent or staie the same. And yet notwithstanding our said often requests and aduises giuen to the king of Spaine, manifestlie for his owne weale and honor, we found him by his councell of Spaine so vnwilling in anie sort to incline to our fréendlie counsell, that his gouernours and chéefeteins in his low countries increased their cruelties towards his owne afflicted people, and his officers in Spaine offered dailie greater iniuries to ours, resorting thither for traffike: yea, they of his councell in Spaine would not permit our expresse messenger with our letters to come to the king their masters presence: a matter verie strange, and against the law of nations.

The enterprise of the Spaniards in Ireland sent by the king of Spaine and the pope.

The refusall of the queenes messenger, and hir letters to the king of Spaine.

And the cause of this our writing and sending to the king, procéeded of matter that was worthie to be knowne to the king, and not vnméet now also to be declared to the world, to shew both our good disposition towards the king in imparting to him our gréefes, and to let it appeare how euill we haue béene vsed by his ministers, as in some part may appeare by this that followeth. Although we could not haue these manie yeares past anie of our seruants, whom we sent at sundrie times as our ambassadours to the king our good brother (as was meet) suffered to continue there without manie iniuries and indignities offered to their families, and diuerse times to their owne persons by the greatest of his councellours, so as they were constreined to leaue their places, and some expelled and in a sort banished the countrie, without cause giuen by them, or notified to vs: yet we, minding to continue verie good fréendship with the king, as his good sister, did of long time and manie yeares giue fauourable allowance to all that came as his ambassadours to vs, sauing onelie vpon manifest dangerous practises attempted by two of them to trouble our estate, whereof the one was Girald Despes, a verie turbulent spirited person, and altogither vnskilfull and vnapt to deale in princes affaires being in amitie, as at his returne into Spaine he was so there also reputed: the other and last was Barnardin de Mendoza, one whome we did accept and vse with great fauour a long time, as was manifestlie séene in our court, and we thinke cannot be denied by himselfe: but yet of late yeares (we know not by what direction) we found him to be a secret great fauourer to sundrie our euill disposed and seditious subiects, not onelie to such as lurked in our realme, but also to such as fled the same, being notoriouslie condemned as open rebels and traitours, with whome by his letters, messages, and secret counsels he did in the end deuise how with a power of men, partlie to come out of Spaine, partlie out of the low countries, whereof he gaue them great comfort in the kings name, an inuasion might be made into our realme, setting downe in writing the manner how the same should be doone, with that numbers of men and ships, and vpon what coasts, ports, and places of our

The iust causes of dismissing of Barnardin Mendoza out of England.

Two turbulent spirited persons (Spaniards) dooing what they could to set all England in a tumult.

realme by speciall name, and who the persons should be in our realme of no small account, that should fauour this inuasion, and take part with the inuadours, with manie other circumstances declaring his full set purpose and labours taken, to trouble vs and our realme verie dangerouslie, as hath beene most cléerelie prooued and confessed by such as were in that confederacie with him, whereof some are fled and now doo frequent his companie in France, and some were taken, who confessed at great length by writing the whole course herein held by the said ambassadour, as was manifestlie of late time published to the world vpon Francis Throgmortons a principall traitours examination.

See the voluntarie confession of F. Throgmorton.

And when we found manifestlie this ambassadour so dangerous an instrument, or rather a head to a rebellion and inuasion; and that for a yeare or more togither he neuer brought to vs anie letter from the king his master, notwithstanding our often request made to him that he would by some letter from the king to vs, let it appeare that it was the kings will that he should deale with vs in his masters name in sundrie things that he propounded to vs as his ambassadour, which we did iudge to be contrarie to the king his masters will: we did finallie cause him to be charged with these dangerous practises, and made it patent to him how, and by whome, with manie other circumstances we knew it, and therefore caused him in verie gentle sort to be content within some reasonable time to depart out of our realme, the rather for his owne safetie, as one in verie déed mortallie hated of our people: for the which we granted him fauourable conduct, both to the sea and ouer the sea: and therevpon we did spéedilie send a seruant of ours into Spaine with our letters to the king, onelie to certifie him of this accident, and to make the whole matter apparant vnto him: and this was the messenger afore mentioned, that might not be suffered to deliuer our message or our letters to the king.

The courteous dealing of hir maiestie with Mendoza (a man mortallie hated) departing out of England.

And beside these indignities, it is most manifest how his ministers also haue both heretofore manie times, and now latelie practised here in England by meanes of certeine rebels, to haue procured sundrie inuasions of our realme, by their forces out of Spaine and the low countries: verie hard recompenses (we may saie) for so manie our good offices. Heerevpon we hope no reasonable person can blame vs, if we haue disposed ourselues to change this our former course, and more carefullie to looke to the saftie of our selfe and our people: and finding our owne dangers in déed verie great and imminent, we haue béene the more vrgentlie prouoked to attempt and accelerat some good remedie, for that besides manie other aduises giuen vs both at home and from abrode, in due to time to withstand these dangers, we haue found the generall disposition of all our owne faithfull people verie readie in this case, and earnest in offering to vs both in parlements and otherwise, their seruices with their bodies and bloud, and their aids with their lands and goods, to withstand and preuent this present common danger to our realme and themselues, euidentlie séene and feared by the subuerting and rooting vp of the ancient nation of these low countries, and by planting the Spanish nation and men of war, enimies to our countries there so néere vnto vs.

The queene of Englands proceeding for the deliuerie of Scotland from the seruitude wherein the house of Guise meant to haue broght it.

And besides these occasions and considerations, we did also call to our remembrance our former fortunat procéeding by Gods speciall fauor, in the beginning of our reigne, in remedieng of a like mischéefe that was intended against vs in Scotland by certeine Frenchmen, who then were directed onelie by the house of Guise, by colour of the marriage of their néece the quéene of Scots with the Dolphin of France, in like maner as the ofsprings of the said house haue euen now latelie sought to atteine to the like inordinate power in France: a matter of some consequence for our selues to consider; although we hope the king our good brother professing sincere friendship towards vs, as we professe the like to him, will moderate this aspiring greatnesse of that house, that neither himselfe, nor the princes of his bloud be ouer-

ruled,

ruled, nor we (minding to continue perfect friendship with the king and his blood) be by the said house of Guise and their faction disquieted or disturbed in our countries. But now to returne to this like example of Scotland aforesaid. When the French had in like maner (as the Spaniards haue now of long time attempted in the low countries) sought by force to haue subdued the people there, and brought them into a seruitude to the crowne of France, and also by the ambitious desires of the said house of Guise, to haue procéeded to a warre by waie of Scotland, for the conquest of our crowne for their néece the queene of Scots (a matter most manifest to the common knowledge of the world) it pleased almightie God, as it remaineth in good memorie to our honor and comfort, to further our tention and honorable and iust actions at that time in such sort, as by our aiding then of the nation of Scotland being sore oppressed with the French, and vniuersallie requiring our aid, we procured to that realme (though to our great cost) a full deliuerance of the force of strangers and danger of seruitude, and restored peace to the whole countrie, which hath continued there euer since manie yeres, sauing that at some time of parcialities of certeine of the noble men, as hath béene vsuall in that countrie, in the minoritie of the yoong king, there haue risen some inward troubles, which for the most part we haue in fauor of the king and his gouernors vsed meanes to pacifie: so as at this daie such is the quietnesse in Scotland, as the king our deare brother and cousine, by name Iames the sixt, a prince of great hope for manie good princelie respects, reigneth there in honor and loue of his people, and in verie good and perfect amitie with vs and our countrie. And so our actions at that time came to so good successe by the goodnesse of God, as both our owne realme, and that of Scotland, hath euer since remained in better amitie and peace than can be remembred these manie hundred yeares before; and yet nothing hereby doone by vs, nor anie cause iustlie giuen: but that also the French kings that haue since succéeded, which haue béene thrée in number, and all brethren, haue made and concluded diuerse treaties for good peace with vs, which presentlie continue in force on both parties, notwithstanding our foresaid actions attempted, for remouing out of Scotland of the said French forces, so transported by the onelie direction of the house of Guise.

The realme of Scotland restored to the ancient frédome, and so possessed by the present king by the meanes onelie of the quéene of England.

And therefore, to conclude for the declaration of our present intention at this time, we hope it shall of all persons abroad be well interpreted, as we know it will be of such as are not led by parcialitie, that vpon the often and continuall lamentable requests made to vs by the vniuersall states of the countries of Holland, Zeland, Guelders, and other prouinces with them vnited (being desperat of the king of Spaines fauours) for our succours to be yéelded to them, onelie for their defense against the Spaniards and other strangers, and therewith finding manifestlie by our often and importunat requests and aduises giuen to the king of Spaine, no hope of reliefe of these their miseries, but rather an increase thereof by dailie conquests of their townes and slaughter of their people (though in verie truth we cannot impute the increase of anie late cruelties to the person of him that now hath the title of generall gouernor, shewing his naturall disposition more inclinable to mercie and clemencie, than it seemeth he can direct the hearts of the Spaniards vnder him, that haue béene so long trained in shedding of bloud vnder the former Spanish gouernours) and ioining therevnto our owne danger at hand, by the ouerthrow and destruction of our neighbours, and accesse and planting of the great forces of the Spaniards so néere to our countries, with precedent arguments of manie troublesome attempts against our realme: we did therefore by good aduise and after long deliberation determine, to send certeine companies of souldiors to aid the naturall people of those countries, onelie to defend them and their townes from sacking and desolation, and thereby to procure them safetie, to the honor of God, whome they desire to serue sincerelie as christian people according to his holie word, and to inioie their ancient liberties for them and their posteritie,

The conclusion of the causes of sending of certeine companies of English souldiors to the defense of the oppressed people of the low countries, and to withstand the attempts against this realme.

posteritie, and so consequentlie to preserue and continue the lawfull and ancient commerce betwixt our people and those countries and ours.

And so we hope our intention herein, and our subsequent actions will be by Gods fauour both honorable interpreted of all persons (sauing of the oppressors themselues, and their partizans) in that we meane not hereby, either for ambition or malice (the two roots of all iniustice) to make anie particular profit hereof to our selfe or to our people; onelie desiring at this time to obteine by Gods fauour for the countries, a deliuerance of them from warre by the Spaniards and forraines: a restitution of their ancient liberties and gouernement by some christian peace, and thereby a suertie for our selues and our realme to be free from inuading neighbors: and our people to inioie in those countries their lawfull commerce and intercourse of friendship and merchandize, according to the ancient vsage and treaties of intercourse, made betwixt our progenitors and the lords and earles of those countries, and betwixt our people and the people of those countries.

Thrée speciall *things reasonablie desired by the queene of England.
1. The end of warres with restitution of the low countries to their ancient liberties.
2. Suertie from inuasion of hir owne realme.
3. And renewing of the mutual traffike betweene the countries.

And though our further intention also is, or maie be, to take into our gard some few townes vpon the sea side next opposite to our realme, which otherwise might be in danger to be taken by the straugers, enimies of the countrie: yet therein considering we haue no meaning at this time to take and reteine the same to our owne proper vse: we hope that all persons will thinke it agreeable with good reason and princelie policie, that we should haue the gard and vse of some such places for sure accesse and recesse of our people and souldiours in safetie, and for furniture of them with vittels and other things requisit and necessarie, whilest it shall be needfull for them to continue in those countries for the aiding thereof in these their great calamities, miseries, and imminent danger, and vntill the countries may be deliuered of such strange forces as doo now oppresse them, and recouer their ancient lawfull liberties and maner of gouernement, to liue in peace as they haue heretofore doone, and doo now most earnestlie in lamentable manner desire to doo, which are the verie onelie true ends of all our actions now intended: howsoeuer malicious toongs maie vtter their cankred conceits to the contrarie, as at this daie the world aboundeth with such blasphemous reports in writings and infamous libels, as in no age the diuell hath more abounded with notable spirits replenished with all wickednesse to vtter his rage against professors of christian religion. But thereof we leaue the reuenge to God the searcher of hearts, hoping that he beholding the sinceritie of our heart, will grant good successe to our intentions, whereby a christian peace may insue to his diuine honor, and comfort to all them that loue peace trulie, and will seeke it sincerelie.

The causes of taking some townes into hir maiesties custodie.

AN ADDITION TO THE DECLARATION,

TOUCHING THE SLANDERS PUBLISHED OF HIR MAIESTIE.

AFTER we had finished our declaration, there came to our hands a pamphlet written in Italian, printed at Milan, intituled Nuouo áduiso, directed to the archbishop of Milan, conteining a report of the expugnation of Antwerp by the prince of Parma: by the which we found our selfe most maliciouslie charged with two notable crimes, no lesse hatefull to the world, than most repugnant and contrarie to our owne naturall inclination. The one with ingratitude towards the king of Spaine, who (as the author saith) saued our life being iustlie by sentence adiudged to death in our sisters time: the other, that there were some persons procured to be corrupted with great promises, and that with our intelligence, as the reporter addeth in a parenthesis in these words (as it was said) that the life of the prince of Parma should be taken awaie. And for the better prooning and countenancing of this horrible lie, it is

The summe of a slanderous pamphlet published in the Italian toong against the queenes maiestie.

further added in the said pamphlet, that it pleased the Lord God to discouer this, and bring two of the wicked persons to iustice. Now, knowing how men are maliciouslie bent in this declining age of the world, both to iudge, speake, and write maliciouslie, falslie, and vnreuerentlie of princes: and holding nothing so déere vnto vs, as the conseruation of our reputation and honor to be blamelesse: we found it verie expedient, not to suffer two such horrible imputations to passe vnder silence; lest for lacke of answer, it might argue a kind of guiltinesse, and did therefore thinke, that what might be alledged by vs for our iustification in that behalfe, might most aptlie be ioined vnto this former declaration now to be published, to laie open before the world, the maner and ground of our procéeding in the causes of the low countries.

The quéenes maiestie is gelous ouer the conseruation of hir reputation.

And for answer of the first point wherewith we are charged, touching our ingratitude towards the king of Spaine; as we doo most willinglie acknowledge that we were beholding vnto him in the time of our late sister, which we then did acknowledge verie thankefullie, and haue sought manie waies since in like sort to requite, as in our former declaration by our actions maie appeare: so doo we vtterlie denie as a most manifest vntruth, that euer he was the cause of the sauing of our life as a person by course of iustice sentenced vnto death, who euer carried our selfe towards our said sister in dutifull sort, as our loialtie was neuer called in question, much lesse anie sentence of death pronounced against vs: a matter such, as in respect of the ordinarie course of proceeding, as by processe in law, by place of triall, by the iudge that should pronounce such sentence, and other necessarie circumstances in like cases vsuall, especiallie against one of our qualitie, as it could not but haue beene publikelie knowne, if anie such thing had beene put in execution. This then being true, we leaue to the world to iudge how maliciouslie and iniuriouslie the author of the said pamphlet dealeth with vs, in charging vs by so notable an vntruth, with a vice that of all other we doo most hate and abhorre. And therefore by the manifest vntruth of this imputation, men not transported with passion maie easilie discerne what vntruth is conteined in the second, by the which we are charged to haue béene acquainted with an intended attempt against the life of the said prince: a matter, if anie such thing should haue béene by vs intended, must haue procéeded either of a misliking we had of his person, or that the prosecution of the warres in the low countries was so committed vnto him, as no other might prosecute the same but he.

An answer to the first point of the said pamphlet, clearing hir highnes of ingratitude.

The second point of the pamphlet answered to the full satisfaction of anie that is reasonable.

And first for his person, we could neuer learne that he hath at anie time, by act or speach, doone anie thing that might iustlie bréed a mislike in vs towards him, much lesse a hatred against his person in so high a degree, as to be either priuie or assenting to the taking awaie of his life. Besides, he is one of whom we haue euer had an honorable conceit, in respect of those singular rare parts we alwaies haue noted in him, which hath woone vnto him as great reputation, as anie man this daie liuing carrieth of his degree and qualitie: and so haue we alwaies deliuered out by speach vnto the world, when anie occasion hath béene offered to make mention of him. Now touching the prosecution committed vnto him of the warres in the low countries, as all men of iudgement know, that the taking awaie of his life carrieth no likelihood that the same shall woorke anie end of the said prosecution: so is it manifestlie knowne that no man hath dealt more honorablie than the said prince, either in dulie obseruing of his promise, or extending grace and mercie, where merit and desert hath craued the same: and therefore no greater impietie by anie could be wrought, nor nothing more preiudiciall to our selfe (so long as the king shall continue the prosecution of the cause in that forcible sort he now dooth) than to be an instrument to take him awaie from thense by such violent meanes, that hath dealt in

The prosecution of the warres in the low countries is not like to cease, though the prince of Parma were dead.

in a more honorable and gratious sort in the charge committed vnto him, than anie other that hath euer gone before him, or is likelie to succéed after him.

This being dulie pondered, all the world maie sée how vniustlie hir highnesse is slandered.

Now therefore how vnlikelie it is, that we hauing neither cause to mislike of his person, nor that the prosecution of the warres should cease by losse of him, should be either author, or anie waie assenting to so horrible a fact, we referre to the iudgement of such as looke into causes, not with the eies of their affection; but doo measure and weigh things according to honor and reason. Besides, it is likelie if it had béene true that we had bin anie waie chargeable (as the author reporteth) the confessions of the parties executed (importing such matter as by him is alledged) would haue béene both produced and published: for malice leaueth nothing vnsearched, that maie nourish the venem of that humor.

The nature of malice comprised in a sentence of few words.

The best course therefore that both we and all other princes can hold in this unfortunat age that ouerfloweth with numbers of malignant spirits, is through the grace and goodnesse of almightie God, to direct our course in such sort, as they maie rather shew their wils through malice, than with iust cause by desert, to saie ill, or deface princes either by speach or writing: assuring our selues, that besides the punishment that such wicked and infamous libellors shall receiue at the hands of the almightie for deprauing of princes and lawfull magistrats, who are God ministers; they both are and alwaies shall be thought by all good men, unworthie to liue vpon the face of the earth.

The reward that wicked and infamous libellors shall reape at the hands of God and men.

Giuen at Richmount the first of October, 1585, and the 27 yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie the queene, to be published.

The earle of Leicesters passing ouer into the low countries.

In the moneths of Nouember and December, manie horsses and men were shipped at the Tower wharffe to be transported ouer into the low countries. And on the sixt of December the right honorable lord Robert Dudleie earle of Leicester, lord lieutenant generall (after he had taken his leaue af hir maiesty and the court) with his traine entred the towne of Colchester in Essex, where the maior and his brethren, all in scarlet gownes, with multitudes of people met him, and so with great solemnitie entred the towne, where he lodged that night, and on the next morrow set forward to Harwich, into the which towne he was accordinglie receiued and interteined.

A DISCOURSE OF THE EARLES OF LEICESTER

BY SUCCESSION.

The collection of the earles of Leicester by Fr. Thin. 1585.

THIS going of Robert Sutton of Dudleie the sonne of Iohn Dudleie duke of Northumberland into the low countries, hath occasioned my pen to treat somewhat of the earles of Leicester. Wherefore sith there hath beene (some hundred yeares past) some noble persons indued with that honorable title of the erldome of Leicester before and since the conquest; therefore determining to make some mention of them, being a thing not common, and so much the more woorthie of continuance to posteritie: I saie, that if any shall thinke this discourse ouer briefe, and slender mention of such honorable persons, of their woorthie exploits, of their antiquitie, of their descents and succession; let him for the present satisfie himselfe with this whatsoeuer it now be, vntill it shall please God to giue better abilitie and more time to deliuer to the world the whole discourse of their liues, which I haue alreadie roughlie hewen

out

out of the rocke in a booke purposelie intreating thereof in English, as I haue doone of the other earles of this realme.

But here before I come to deliuer the names of these earles, it shall not be amisse to note the opinion of the best antiquaries of our age, and of such other persons, as for their rare knowledge and singular care in deliuering a truth to the world of matters belonging to antiquitie, deseruing singular commendation and aduancement. These antiquaries (I saie) of our time are led by some authoritie (but by more reason) to suppose, that before Edward the Confessors time, there were not anie earles in England of such state and maiestie by creation of a lineall descent, as they now and manie yeares since be, and haue beene; but that they were onelie lords of those places, whereof they were intituled, as members vnder him that was principall king of that prouince, and onelie called Comites, (as in those daies there were Duces and Comites not of anie title of honor of place, but by vertue of their office) by reason that there were Companions appointed to associat the duke, capteine or leader of the men at arms. To which opinion I doo most willingly for this time consent, as well for that it standeth with reason; as for that in all charters before the conquest, such as were witnesses to anie such deed, did onlie subscribe their name of duke and earle, without anie name of place, or title of honor, by reason of that place. As for example appeareth in a charter dated the foureteenth yeare of king Edgar, and in the yeare of our Lord nine hundred three score and nine, in which amongst other things he gaue Howell to Westminster church: whereunto were witnesses besides the clergie, Alfer dux, Marcher dux, Oslac dux, Birnoth dux, Osred dux, Fordwine dux, &c. And if it be obiected, that vpon the diuision of the land into prouinces or shires by Alured, that then there were creations of seuerall noblemen of such seuerall places; I will not much contend therein: but yet I saie that then they were not such as had permanent succession of those titles of honour to their heires, but were remoueable at the princes pleasure, as it is at this daie in the shiriffe of euerie shire, being the deputie of euerie such earle as his name dooth well proue, being Vicecomes. Yet since the time of Edward the Confessor and (as I suppose) somewhat aboue that, in the time of Canutus there were earles and lords of special places and titles of honour; but I as yet not hauing anie certeintie to set downe therein, will onelie deliuer that which I haue seene in an ancient pedegree written about the conquest time touching the earles of Leicester; not deciding what kind of earles they were, either inheritable of that honor, or remoueable at the princes pleasure; but leauing the same to others who either will or can better that which I haue doone: wherefore thus I begin with those earles of Leicester.

Leofricus, the first of that name, was honored with the title of the earledome of Leicester in the daies of Ethelbald king of Mercia, which Ethelbald was slaine about the yeare of our redemption seauen hundred fortie and nine. Leofrike 1. *Anonymus. MS.*

Algarus, the first of that name, sonne of the said Leofrike was earle of Leicester, and liued in the time of Offa the great, Kenulphus, Kenelmus, Ceolwlfus, Bernulfus, Ludicanus, and Witlaffus, kings of Mercia, which last king began his reigne ouer that prouince, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred twentie and six; during whose reigne this Algarus died, and was buried at Crowland. Algarus 1.

Algarus, the second of that name, by some called Alfricus the second, sonne of Algarus the first, liued vnder the gouernement of Burred king of Mercia, which Burred was expelled by the Danes, in the two and twentith yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our Lord eight hundred seauentie and two; which Algarus was killed by the Danes, Henguar and Hubba, in the yeare that the sonne of God was borne of the virgin eight hundred seuentie and three, at Strelingham or Skrekingham in Kessimen, and buried at Crowland. Algarus 2.

Leofrike

Leofrike 2. Leofrike, the second of that name, the sonne of Algarus the second, liued in the time of Alured or Alfred, and of Edward the elder kings of the Westsaxons, which Edward began his reigne about the yeare that the word became flesh nine hundred.

Leofwine. Leofwine the sonne of Leofrike the second, was earle of Leicester, and liued vnder the reigne of Athelstane, Edmund, Eldred, Edwine, and Edgar, kings of England, of which kings the said Edgar began his reigne, in the yere that the sonne of God tooke on him the forme of man nine hundred fiftie and nine, vnder whose reigne this Leofwine departed this life, leauing behind him three sonnes, Leofrike, Edwine, and Norman, whereof Edwine was slaine by the Welchmen, and Norman was killed (with Edricus de Streonia) by Canutus the Dane king of England, Scotland, Denmarke, and Norweie.

Leofrike 3. Leofrike, the third of that name, the sonne of Leofwine, was the most famous man of his time, as well for gouernement, as for building of monasteries; he was earle of Chester, Leicester, and Couentrie, or rather (to speake better) earle of Mercia, which conteined those three prouinces, and manie more; he liued in the daies of Edward the second, Ethelred, Edmund, Canutus, Harold, Harefoot, Hardeknute, and Edward the third, commonlie called Edward the Confessor, being all kings before the conquest. This man was of great yeares, and died at his manor of Broomleie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiftie and six, being ten yeares before the conquest, and was buried in Couentrie, in the alleie which he founded: he maried Godiua, by whome he had Algarus.

Algarus 3. Algarus the third of that name sonne of Leofrike, succeeding his fathers inheritance, had by Edward the Confessor further added vnto it the earldome of Oxford for which becomming verie proud, he often aduanced himselfe against the prince, by occasion whereof he was manie times banished, but restored againe to the earldome of Leicester by Edward the Confessor: he liued in the time of Edward the Confessor, and of Harold the sonne of Goodwine, earle of Kent, and constable of Douer castle. He is appointed by manie authors to haue manie children, as Edwine earle of Mercia: Morkarus earle of Northumberland: Swardus, or rather Siwardus, earle of Southampton at the time of the conquest: Algitha the wife of Harold the sonne of Goodwine, as saith Henrie Knighton, lib. 1. cap. 2. and Lucia first married to Iuon Tailbois, by whom she had no issue: after maried to Roger the sonne of Girald Romare, by whom she had issue William Romare heire to his father, and earle of Lincoln. And thirdlie she was married to Ranulph the second of that name earle of Chester, by whom she had issue Ranulph the third of that name, earle of Chester.

Morkar. Morkar was earle of Leicester and Lincolne at the time of the conquest, as appeareth by a booke carried about in the hands of all men, composed of all the nobilitie since the conquest: which booke within some lines after, dooth also name one Simon Siluester to be earle of Leicester at the time of the conquest, by which of necessitie there must be two earles of Leicester at the time of the conquest, or else there appeareth a great contradiction in that booke; so that which waie so euer it be taken, the booke is imperfect, for it is impossible to haue two earles of one signiorie at one time, which was at the time of the conquest to be liuing, as that booke maketh them both. To which two if you please we will with like error, and with as much authoritie adde the third person, which is earle Edwine, whome some also will needs haue to be earle of Leicester, and that with some shew of reason, for that he was earle of Mercia, which conteined Leicestershire, Lincolneshire, and manie other shires of England. But of all these three to make choise of him which was the truest, I must imbrace Simon Siluester, who I suppose came to that title after the death of Algarus by the gift of Edward the Confessor. And that there was one Simon earle of Leicester in the Conquerors time, it is so manifest as it needeth no proofe.

proofe. For the charter of Robert Mellent the first created earle of Leicester, after the time of the conqueror, in the reigne of Henrie the first, reciting one Simon to be earle of Leicester, and predecessour to the said Robert Beaumont or Mellent, doth sufficientlie aduouch the same: which Simon was earle of Leicester all the time of the Conqueror and William Rufus, as the said booke of the nobilitie saieth. Now this Simon being before the conquest intituled to that honor, the one of the nobilitie amongst others which called in William Conqueror, and tooke his part against Harold (for the duke of Normandie had not beene of power to subdue England but that he was mostlie aided by the nobilitie of this Ile, and partlie by the Flemings and other nations) was after permitted by the Conqueror and by his sonne William Rufus quietlie to enjoy all such lands and honors as he possesed at anie time before the inuasion of the Normane bastard, vntill the death of the said Simon, which happened about one hundred and ten, or neere there vnto. After the death of which Simon the earledome of Leicester was bestowed upon Robert Mellent, as hereafter followeth.

Robert Beaumont or Mellent.

Robert Beaumout or Mellent, so called because he was earle of Mellent in Normandie; in the right of his mother Adelina sister and heire to Hugh earle of Mellent, was sonne to Roger of Beaumont lord of Ponte Odonar in Normandie, to the which Robert Henrie the first gaue the earldome of Leicester, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and three, as appeareth by his charter of the foundation of the abbeie of Leicester, of whom thus writeth Knighton: Iste (meaning Robert earle of Mellent) venit in Angliam cum Williamo Conquestore, cui datus est comitatus Leicestriæ. This Robert built the church of Saint Maries in the castle of Leicester, which was destroied in the time of the former war, wherein he placed secular canons, and gaue vnto them lands, rents, and possessions. In which charter and gift of those lands, he maketh mention of Henrie earle of Warwike his brother, and of Margaret wife of the said Henrie. He died in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred and eighteene, being about the eighteenth of Henrie the first; he married Isabell the daughter of Hugh the great earle of Vermondois by whom he had issue Gualeran earle of Mellent, and Robert le Bosue earle of Leicester, which Isabell the wife of this Robert the first earle of Leicester, was sister to Ralfe Perona earle of Vermondois, of whom writeth Robertus Montensis these words: Porro Robertus consul de Mellent sapientissimus in rebus secularibus vsque in Ierusalem degentium, & regis Henrici familiaris consiliarius luce, mundana carnit: cui successerunt filij sui Gualeranus in Normania factus comes Mellent, & Robertus in Anglia factus comes Leicestriæ. Beside which it appeareth that Robert earle of Mellent had a daughter married to Hugh Montfort, for thus writeth the same Robert Montensis: Eodem anno (which was the yeare of Christ, one thousand one hundred twentie and three, and the three and twentith of king Henrie the first) Hugo de Monteforti perfecerat quoddam castellum validissimum in eodem loco, quod cum rex interrogaret, noluit dare monitú vxoris suæ sororis Gualerani comitis Mellis, qui iam discordia propalata a rege decessit: quod castrum rex obsidione cepit. And in the yeare following, the said Gualerane, Hugh Montfort, and Hugh Fitzgeruase were taken by William Tankeruille the kings chamberleine, and the seuenth kalends of Aprill, touching which Gualerane earle of Mellent this also writeth the same Montensis, in the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the second, being the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred three score and six: Gualeranus comes Mallenti factus monachus pratelli obijt, & successit ei filius eius Robertus, natus, ex sorore Ebroicensis, duxit autem idem Robertus filiam Reynaldi comitis Cornubiæ.

Robert de Bosue.

Robert de Bossue, or rather Bosue, so surnamed because of his crookebacke, was earle of Leicester after the death of his Father, he built the monasterie of Luffeld in

Northamptonshire, within the forrest of Wichwood, otherwise called Whithelwood, as appeareth by this charter.

THE CHARTER OF ROBERT EARLE OF LEICESTER,

ABOUT THE BUILDING OF THE MONASTERIE OF LUFFELD.

ROBERTOS comes Legecestriæ, Radulpho pincernæ & omnibus baronibus suis salutem. Sciatis me dedisse seruo meo Malgerio monacho in eleemosynam paruam landam, quæ est inter Lunbreodam & Cepeteiam, ad mansiones & oratorium ibidem faciendum, & de alia terra de Cernelia tantum ad ædificandum, quantum ego conuenienter considerabo per consilium amicorum meorum. Et hoc feci pro anima regis Anglorum Willielmi, & Matildæ reginæ, & Rogeri de Bellomonte & Adelinæ yxoris suæ; & pro anima patris mei Roberti & fratris mei Gualerani. Testibus Willielmo de Diua, Galfrido de Turuill, &c. Et hoc feci per concilium & laudem comitis de Guarenna & Nigelli de Albineto, & Gualerani fratris mei comitis de Mellent.

This monasterie was of the order of Benedictines vnder the gouernment of a prior, whereof one Iohn was appointed by king Henrie, as maie appeare by this writ. Henricus, &c. Vicecomitibus, &c. Præcipio quòd manuteneatis Iohannem priorem meum de Luffeld, quem ibi priorem feci & instituti, &c. Teste Iohanne decano de Sarum apud Vdestoc. By which appereth, that though the foundation were sometime of the earles of Leicester; that yet the presentation was at that time in the king: which earle about the second of K. Stephan, hired the erle Theobald to take his part. For thus writeth Robertus Montensis; Comes Theobaldus Nepos Henrici (which was king Henrie the first) conductus à Roberto comite Leicestriæ obsedit pontem sancti Petri & cepit eum super Rogerum de Toneio. After which this Robert de Bossue, by the consent of Alexander bishop of Lincolne, did in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand one hundred fortie and three, being the eight yeare of the reigne of king Stephan, build the monasterie called Sancta Maria de pratis, in the honor of the assumption of the virgine Marie, and of the lands, possessions, rents and churches of the said secular chanons in the castle of Leicester. With manie other lands of his owne gift, he did richlie endow that church, which he remooued out of the castle, and placed in the medowes without the castle wals, changing them into regular chanons. In which monasterie by the consent of his wife, he tooke on him the habit of religious, and at his first entrance into that house gaue to the moonks the manor of Stratton, in which religious monasterie he continued by the space of fifteene yeares, where he ended his life in the yeare of Christ (as saith Henrie Knighton) one thousand one hundred three score and seuen, being the thirteenth of Henrie the second: but (as others saie) in the yeare one thousand one hundred three score and nine, being the fifteenth of the same king, and was buried on the right side of the queere of the same church. Besides which this Robert founded the abbeie of Gerondine which he replenished with moonkes: and at the request of his wife, and with hir helpe, he erected the monasterie of Eaton furnished with nuns. He maried Amicia the daughter of Rafe Montfort, by whom he had issue Robert de Blanchmaines, besides which sonne (as it seemeth by Robert Montens.) he had a daughter maried to Rafe Toneio. For thus writeth that author in the eight yeare of Henrie the second; Radulphus de Toneo moritur, relicto parvulo filio ex filia Roberti comitis Leicestriæ. This Amicia, wife to this earle Robert, did by the consent of hir husband become a nun in the foresaid monasterie of Eaton.

Eaton. Moreouer this earle was right heire to the honor of Britall in Normandie, as appeareth by the same Montensis, who in the eighteenth yeare of king Henrie the first, as farre as my memorie serueth (as I am now driuen to trust therevnto) writeth in this sort: Mortuo Willielmo de Paceo absque, liberis, redditum est castrum Pacei Roberto filio Roberti comitis Leicestriæ, quia pertinebat ad honorem Britollij, vnde ipse erat legitimus hæres ex parte matris suæ.

Robert oue le Blanchmains, or Robert with the white and faire hand, succeeding his father, was the third earle of Leicester of that line and name after the conquest, he founded the hospitall of Brackeleie, and indowed the same with possessions, where the hart of the said Robert de Mellent did in the time of Richard the second (in whose reigne Henrie Knighton that affirmeth this did liue) remaine sound and whole, preserued in a vessel of lead with salt. This man going to Ierusalem died in his returne homeward at Durace in Greece, where he was buried in the yere of our redemption one thousand one hundred foure score and ten, being about the second yeare of king Richard the first. For the hautinesse of this Robert kicking against king Henrie the second, the walles of the citie of Leicester were rased to the ground: sith the said Robert leauing the father, and taking part with king Henrie the sonne, was in armes against the king: touching which thus writeth Geruasius Dorobern. in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred three score and fourteene. Circa festum sanctæ Luciæ missus est in Angliam iunior Robertus comes Leicestriæ, & cum eo nonnulla Flandrensium milia, & a comite Hugone sunt recepti. Capto autem de facile castello de Haganeth in Leicestriam tenderent in territorio sancti Edmundi mense Octobri, occurrerunt eis milites regni Reginaldum Cornubiæ comitem, & comitem de Arundel sequentes à quibus peterritus cum Flandrensib. suis, comes Robertus fugaminijt, sed captus est ipse & vxor sua, & Flandrensium tria milia vel amplius trucidati perierunt. Thus much this author liuing in that time, wherevnto Robertus Montensi adeth, that he with his wife was committed to prison. Moreouer, this Robert earle of Leicester animated the moonks of Canturburie to stand stiflie to the mainteinance of their priuilege against Baldwine archbishop of Canturburie, and said vnto them (when they came from the presence of Richard the first, greatlie offended with them for their contumacie) By the faith I ow to God I giue you this councell, laie all your care vpon the Lord, and he will nourish you, and all things are to be lost and spent for God and the libertie of the church. This earle married Petronella or Parnel the daughter of Hugh Grantmill; with whom he receiued the honor of Hinkleie, together with the stewardship of England, by the gift of the said Hugh, which woman did build the bodie of the great church of Leicester, and is buried in the queere of the said church before the high altar. This woman wreathed a cord of the haire of hir head, which she tied to an other longer rope, which did draw vp and let downe a lampe tied to the cord made of hir haire, which was extant and kept in the daies of king Richard the second (as saith the said author) for a monument and remembrance of hir. He had issue Robert Fitzpernell, William the leprous which built the hospitall of saint Leonards in Leicester, Robert bishop of S. Andrews in Scotland; Amicia married to Simon Montfort, and Margaret married to Saier de Quincio earle of Winchester.

Robert Blanchemains.

Robert Fitzpernell, so surnamed after his mother, was the fourth and last earle of Leicester of that line and name. He went into the holie land with king Richard the first, where after that he had ouerthrowne, and (as saith Henrie of Leicester) valiantlie slaine the Souldan at the tilt, he returned home into England, where he died issulesse, in the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred and foure, and was buried in the abbeie of Leicester: after whose death the whole inheritance (because his brother William was a leper and his brother Robert a bishop, and both dieng without issue) was diuided betweene his two sisters Amicia and Margaret, the eldest

Robert Fitzpernell.

being married to Simon Montfort, and the second to Saier de Quincie, as is before touched.

Simon Montfort. Simon de Montfort, who came into England in the twelfe yeare of king Iohn being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred and ten, was in the right of his wife earle of Leicester: for hauing the moitie of the countie of Leicester, and of the honor of Hinkeleie, he was made earle of Leicester, and by right of inheritance to him and to his heires, the high steward of England. And Saier de Quincie with the other moitie of the countie of Leicester, was created earle of Winchester. After which the said Simon for disobedience towards the king, was disherited, and banished the realme with his children; and the earldome of Leicester, with the honor of Hinkeleie, was giuen to Rafe or Randulph earle of Chester. This Simon had issue, Almaricus, and Simon. Amicia (by Tilius called Arnée) wife to this banished Simon was after hir husbands death (as saith the same Tilius) maried to the lord of Barres, by whome she had issue William de Barres. He died suddenlie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and nineteene.

Randulph Bohune. Randulph Bohune, alias Blondeuille the sixt earle of Chester, after the conquest was earle of Leicester, who inioied the same by all probabilitie during his life: though some seeme not to consent therevnto, for that they find him not so called by anie other historiographer, who onelie terme him earle of Chester, Lincolne, and Huntington: he died without issue in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand two hundred thirtie and two, being the seuenteenth yeare of king Henrie the third.

Simon de Montfort. Simon de Montfort second sonne to the foresaid Simon banished into France, found meanes to purchase all the right that his brother Almaricus being the elder, had to the earldome of Leicester: who being in right, and so intituled, earle of Leicester, but neuer in possession thereof, procured the king to grant the same to his brother Simon. In witnesse whereof, the said Almaricus writeth to Henrie the third on this sort.

THE LETTER OF ALMARICUS TO KING HENRIE THE THIRD,

REQUESTING TO INUEST SIMON HIS BROTHER IN THE EARLDOME OF LEICESTER.

EXCELLENTISSIMO domino suo Henrico, Dei gratia illustri Anglorum regi, Almaricus comes Montisfortis & Leicestriæ, salutem, &c. Vestræ regiæ maiestati multotiens supplicaui, &c: vt mihi terram meam & ius meum in Anglia, quod bonæ memoriæ pater meus de vestro tenuit, & tenebat, dum decessit, pacificè ac quietè mihi vestro militi reddatis. Quod quia dominatio vestra non placuit huc vsque facere, adhuc vestræ M. supplico humilitate qua possum, quatenus hac vice mihi vobis seruire parato, reddere dignemini terram. Et si hoc vobis non placuerit, ego ad pedes vestræ dominationis transmitto Simonem fratrem meum, qui de domino rege Franciæ nihil tenet, cui si eam reddideritis, me pro bene pagato tenerem. Datum Parissijs mense Februario.

Vpon which letters, as after shall appeare, king Henrie gaue the earldome of Leicester to the said Simon, second brother of the said Almaricus, to whome by right of inheritance the same did belong by the law of England. But here before I talke anie further of this man, I thinke it not amisse, to note what other authors haue set downe touching the pedegree of this Simon. Wherein Nicholas Gill the Frenchman, and Tilius, with Polydor the Italian haue erred, as I proue by our

histories, and especiallie by Henrie Knighton that liued some hundred yeares before anie of them all three, and so best able to know a truth; both in respect that he liued neerer to the age of this Simon, and for that the moonks of his house wrote the storie of those persons which were patrons of that monasterie, whereof he was a member. For all religious persons did, with great care, keepe in memorie by record the succession of their patrons: for which cause I doo most willinglie follow Knighton, and leaue all the other; not forbearing yet to set downe what the Frenchmen write.

Nicholas Gill nameth this Simon to be the son of Almaricus, thus speaking in his annals of France, vnder the title of Lewis the ninth, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and eight: fol. 110. En celle annee messire Simon de Montfort, qui fitz estoit de Amaulry conte de Montfort, qui estoit mort a Rome au retourne de oulter mere, per la crainte de la royne de saint Louys, qui lauoit prins en hayne senfuit en Angliterre deuers le roy Henrye, & le receut honorablement, & luy dona sa soir in mariage. Thus he maketh this Simon the son of Almaricus. Then commeth Tilius to amend vp the matter, and he maketh this Simon the sonne of an other Simon; the sonne of that Simon that maried Amicia the heire of Robert Fitzpernell, in whose right he was earle of Leicester, and so maketh three Simons in descent earles of Leicester. Which possiblie cannot be in my iudgement. For it is not possible betweene the death of that Simon and of this Simon, to haue one other Simon meane betweene them: for there could not be anie time therefore, from the death of that Simon first earle of Leicester, sith the first Simon came not manie yeares into England before that this last Simon was made earle of Leicester, about the seuenteenth yeare of Henrie the seuenth; by mine account. But this matter shall be more plentifullie examined by me hereafter, in the liues of the earles of Leicester more largelie written, sith my meaning is onelie now by the waie, to giue a note of the contrarities of histories of the English to the French, and of the French among themselues: and so to the matter.

This Simon, after the death of his father, and agreement with his elder brother, came into England (as some saie) if that booke be trulie copied which is caried about of the nobilitie created since the conquest, in the thirteenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, which was the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred twentie and eight: shortlie after which, he maried Elenor the sister of Henrie the third, and daughter to king Iohn. Then the booke going further saith, that in the fourteenth yeare of Henrie the third, which was the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred twentie and nine, he was made earle of Leicester and high steward of England. But trulie, sauing correction, I cannot see how that can be so. For first I cannot agree with Nicholas Gill, who saith that he came into England in the yeare one thousand two hundred thirtie and eight: nor with the said booke of noble men which saith, that it was in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred twentie and eight, nor that he maried the kings sister in the yeare one thousand two hundred twentie and nine. For as Nicholas Triuet and most authors in written hand consent, William Marshall the yoonger (which had before maried the said Elenor; for being his widow, she was maried to Simon Montfort) died in the yeare 1231, so that before this time, Simon Montfort could not marie this Elenor, and hir mariage to Marshall was in the yeare 1234, as saith the anonymall author that wrote the historie of England in English rime, setting downe the same mariage in this sort:

The yoonger William Marshall
That earle marshall was,
Wedded this kings sister,
As God gaue the case;

As

As in the yeare of grace twelue hundred
And twentie foure thereto:
Sith sir Simon de Montfort,
Espoused hir also.

Next after this, he could not in the fourteenth yeare of Henrie the third be made earle of Leicester: for Randulph de Bohune earle of Chester was then liuing. And therefore I gather out of an old written chronicle belonging to the house of Euesham, that this Simon hauing maried Elenor the kings sister, about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and eight, as hath Matthew Paris, being the twentith yeare of Henrie the third, after the death of earle Marshall, was also after the death of Randulph Bohune (which died in the said yeare one thousand two hundred thirtie and two, being the seuenteenth yeare of king Henrie the third) and somewhat before this mariage created earle of Leicester, about the one and twentith yeare of king Henrie the third, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and seuen: so that there is seuen yeares full ods betweene this account, and the booke of the nobilitie. But perhaps some will saie, to be thus curious is but to contend for mooneshine in the water: for what auaileth such exact calculations of time, so that they agree in substance of matter? Wherefore of this enough at this time, if truth maie not be suffered which for the most part purchaseth hatred; and so againe to that which must follow of this Simon Montfort. Touching the marieng of this Simon, thus writeth Ioannes Londoniensis, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and eight: *Eodem anno rex Ailionoram filiam suam comitissam de Penbroke nuptui dedit Simon de Monteforti, propter quod omnes comites & barones plurimùm indignabantur: vnde totum regnum fuit commotum. Eodem anno Simon de Monteforti iuit Roman impetrare vt matrimonium confirmaretur inter ipsum & sororem regis H. quod sine læsione conscienciæ contraxerat, votum cum fecerat solenne coram Eadmundo archiepiscopo Cantuariensi de continentia seruanda.* Besides which aduancement by this mariage of the kings sister, this Simon Montfort was also by the said Henrie the third made high Steward of England and earle of Leicester, whereby he recouered his mothers inheritance in England, all which the king fullie granted vnto him, except the patronage of the abbeie of Leicester and the priorie of Kenelworth. This Simon being called the yoonger, or Simon the second (who should not haue beene so named if there had beene three Simons in descent earles of Leicester) maried (as before is touched) Elenor the sister of Henrie the third, which had vowed chastitie, or (as the order then was) had taken vpon hir the mantle and the ring by the hands of Edmund archbishop of Canturburie. Afterwards in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fortie and eight, as hath the same Iohn of London, he was sent into Gascoine with a great armie against Gastine the sonne of the countesse of Biard, being then a capitall enimie vnto the king of England. And shortlie following in the yeare of Christ 1252, being greeuouslie accused for his misgouernement of that countrie, he was for his tyrannie remooued from the same. Whervpon some few yeares after, this Simon being so (as before is said) by the king thus aduanced, did like an vnthankful Frenchman mooue warre and rebellion against the same Henrie the third, which was called The barons war, whereof there is liberall discourse in all our chronicles, set downe in the reigne of the same king. During which warres at the battell of Evesham, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred sixtie and fiue, being the nine and fortith yeare of the long reigne of this king Henrie the third, this Simon was iustlie slaine for his wicked insurrection, in taking vpon him to correct and rule the king and kingdome. He had issue Henrie his eldest sonne, slaine with his father at the foresaid battell of Euesham; Guido Montfort, who forsaking England and going into France, was stipendarie to the French king; Simon de Montfort, who

fled

fled likewise into France, and renounced all his title to the earledome of Leicester, being content with a yeerlie stipend; Henrie Montfort, who being treasuror of Yorke, did after the death of his father (accompanieng his brethren) depart out of England into France, and continued a student at Paris: which foure brethren had one sister named Elenor (after hir mother) maried to Lewline prince of Wales, in the time of Edward the first as our chronicles doo speake. But Tilius the Frenchman, purposelie writing the pedegree of the Montforts, saith that she was first maried to Peter de Courtneie lord of Cowche, and after to Henrie lord of Sallie, speaking nothing at all of the prince of Wales. After the death of this Simon de Montfort slaine at Euesham, king Henrie the third gaue the earledome of Leicester, with the honour of Hinkeleie and the stewardship of England to Edmund his sonne, falselie surnamed Crookebacke, as most authors do agree.

Edmund Plantagenet, second son to Henrie the third, was made earle of Leicester by the gift of his father, with the castell of Kenelworth in the fiftith yeare of the said Henrie, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and six, hauing also besides the same earledome of Leicester the earledome of Lancaster: which Edmund, Triuet further calleth the earle of Holdernesse. He about the three and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and nine, on the eight daie of Aprill, maried Auelina the daughter of the earle of Albemerle, who was heire to hir fathers and mothers inheritance, in whose right the said Edmund should haue had the earledome of Deuonshire, and the ile of Wight: but she preuenting the death of hir husband, and dieng in his life time, had neuer possession of those places. After the death of which Auelina, this Edmund maried Blanch queene of Nauarra, and widow to Henrie king of that prouince, by whome he had issue three sonnes, Thomas earle of Lancaster, Henrie lord of Monmouth, and Iohn. This Edmund founded the nunrie of the minories without Aldgate of London, in the one and twentith yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and three, in which yeare the said Edmund and his wife were banished out of the French kings dominions. He died at Baion in Gascoine and was buried at Westminster, on the north side of the high altar (whose toome is yet extant) in the fiue and twentith of Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption a thousand two hundred ninetie seauen with this epitaph: Edmund Plantagenet.

Icy gist Emond fitz le roy Henrie le tierce
d'Angleter, a qui aime Deieux fait mercye.

Thomas Plantagenet, earle of Lancaster, Leicester, Derbie, Lincolne and Sarum, the greatest earle of England, as well for birth as dignitie, rebelling against Edward the second, was beheaded in the fourteenth of the said king Edward the second, being about the yere of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and one, at Pomfret, and was there buried by the religious men in his owne church toward the south, neere to the high altar. He maried Alice the daughter and heire of Henrie Lacie earle of Lincolne and Sarisburie, lord of Pomfret and of Halton, but had no issue by hir. Thomas Plantagenet.

Henrie Plantagenet, lord of Monmouth, brother to Thomas last before slaine, in the foureteenth of Edward the second, was after the death of his brother receiued into title and honour of the earldome of Leicester, he maried Mawd the daughter and heire of sir Patrike Chaworth knight, by whome he had issue Henrie, after made duke of Lancaster, surnamed Tortcoll. He died in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and fiue, and was buried in the monasterie of the chanons at Leicester. Henrie Plantagenet, commonlie called Henrie of Monmouth.

Henrie Plantagenet, surnamed Tortcoll or Crookenecke, sonne to Henrie of Monmouth, Henrie Plantagenet.

Monmouth, sonne to Edmund commonlie (as before) but falselie surnamed Crookebacke, was earle of Derbie, Leicester, and duke of Lancaster. He died the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred sixtie and one, at London, and was buried at Leicester in the collegiat church which he had builded, with a deane, twelue chanons, prebendaries, manie vicars and other ministers accordinglie answerable to the offices of that house. This man was glorious in fortune, and in his youth full of honour, in matter of chiualrie a valiant souldior and a wise councellor, a liberall prince, and a courteous supporter of iustice. He married Isabell the daughter of Henrie lord Beaumont, and had issue two daughters, Mawd married to William duke of Bauaria, earle of Henalt, Zeland and Holland, who after became mad, and Blanch maried to Iohn of Gaunt.

Iohn of Gaunt. Iohn of Gaunt, fourth sonne to Edward the third, was by his wife Blanch, earle of Leicester, as heire to hir father, so that he was in his owne right, and in the right of his wife, duke of Acquitaine and Lancaster, earle of Leicester, Derbie, Sarisburie, and Lincolne, of whome is more spoken in my discourse of the dukes of England, and of the protectors of England set downe before in the time of Edward the sixt.

Henrie Bolingbrooke, Henrie Bolingbroke, sonne of Iohn of Gaunt, by his first wife Blanch, was duke of Lancaster and Hereford, earle of Derbie, Leicester and Lincolne, being after king of England, by the name of king Henrie the fourth. From whose atteining to the crowne, vntill this Robert Sutton or Dudleie earle of Leicester (by whome I haue beene occasioned to make this discourse of these earles of Leicester in this place) I doo not remember of anie that hath beene indued with that title of honor to himselfe or to his heires.

Robert Sutton alias Dudleie created earle of Leicester, &c. Robert Sutton alias Dudleie, knight of the most honourable order of the garter, baron of Denbigh, was created earle of Leicester in the sixt yeare of queene Elisabeth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and foure, whose manner of creation I will omit, bicause it is alreadie set downe in the said yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and foure. And thus much touching the earles of Leicesters in generall, and touching Robert Sutton in especiall, whose honourable interteinment in the lowe countries (whereinto he entered in this yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred eightie and fiue) deseruing not to be forgotten, dooth follow in this sort.

Iohn Stow. Robert earle of Leicester transported ouer sea to Flushing. On the eight daie of December, the said earle accompanied with the earle of Essex, the lord North, the lord Awdeleie, sir William Russell, sir Thomas Sherleie, sir Arthur Basset, sir Walter Waller, sir Garuise Clifton, and other knights, capteins and souldiours, with his traine, to the number of fiftie sailes of ships and hoies, set forward towards Flushing, with sound of trumpets and drums, showts, and praiers of the people, to happie and fortunate successe.

The earles arriuall at Flushing and his interteinment. On the tenth daie he arriued at Flushing, wherewith his whole traine (garded in his owne person by fiftie archers with bowes and arrowes, fiftie halberds, and fiftie gunners) he was with the interteinment of souldiours, and shot of the towne, and his noble companie before him, interteined by sir Philip Sidneie, gouernour vnder hir maiestie of the same towne, by Graue Morris second sonne to the deceased prince of Orange, by hir maiesties ambassador ligier there, and by the states of the towne passing honourablie interteined with ringing of bells, and making of bonfiers after their manner, which is to fix great pitcht barrels on the tops of high poles, and then to fire them. He was there feasted and lodged in the ambassadors house, where, according to his accustomed disposition, he demeaned himselfe so humblie (as he likewise did in all places where he

he came) that he purchased to himselfe no lesse loue and good liking than among the English:

Quippe loco positus sublimi, pectore miti,
Mansueto ac humili cunctis fit amabilis ille.

On the next daie after a sermon had in the publike church, and dinner ended, he tooke shipping and sailed toward Midleborough. Halfe waie betwixt Midleborough and Flushing standeth the strong skonce of Ramekens, garnished with Englishmen, at the which he with some of his especiall traine landed and viewed the same, who returning againe to their ships, were presented on the top of the wals, in the front of the sea with fiftie pikemen verie brauelie furnished, hauing their English ancient displaied with triumph of shot, sound of trumpets and drums neere two houres togither. In the which honorable triumphs, the whole fleet hauing good wind and faire wether, sailed along to Midleborough, where on the shore side at the landing place were, vnder nine ancients displaied with great store of shot, the best states of the countrie attending my lords landing.

He saileth towards Midleborough.

The skons at Ramekens garnished with English.

His interteinment at Midleborough.

Ouer the gates by the port was painted the red crosse of England, hir maiesties armes, and the states, through which gates the earle and his train entering, he was thus from his landing to his lodging garded through a lane of musket shot, with the ancients borne before him, with trumpets and drums verie roiallie, almost a quarter of a mile. In the middle of the market place was the English ancient aduanced, and deliuered vnto him, with the which and the rest borne before him he came to his lodging, where at the intreatie of the states, he staid more than two houres at the gate, to see the soldiors marching and their strengths; after which, bicause it was neere vnto night, he entered, and made his dinner and supper all one. Three of those nine ancients were new. In the first were hir maiesties and the emperors armes quartered. In the second the earle of Leicesters and the Prince of Oranges arms togither. In the third were the seuen prouinces yeelded vnto hir maiestie, all verie excellentlie emblasoned.

Three ancients excellentlie emblasoned.

In a large table hanged ouer the gate of the English house in Midleborough, were emblasoned the armes of hir maiestie alone aboue the rest, next vnder that the lord lieutenant his armes on the one side at large; hard by the which was set out the armes of the states and their houses: all which artificiallie by a chaine were linked togither, and fastened to the English armes, vnder which was written at the feet of this frame, Quos Deus coniunxit, homo non separet. Thus with great ioie and contnuall triumph was he interteined on their Christmas eeues eue, after the Romish computation, which they in Zeland and Holland obserue in that order.

The armes of the queenes maiestie, the lord lieutenants and the states.

On Christmas eeue, the states of the towne in the states house, which standeth in the middest of the towne or market place, feasted him sumptuouslie. In the first course of which feast thorough out the table was nothing but boiled meats, most excellent and deintie. In the second course was all roast meats that could be thought, pigs serued in on their feet, and wild fowle part in the fethers. In the third course was all kind of baked meats, as fowles in pies with their heads and tailes vnpluckt, all beset with pendants of hir maiesties, the lord lieutenants, the countries, and diuerse English mens armes on the same. The fourth and last course was a rare banket of incredible workmanship, as a castell of christall, founded vpon a rocke of peale, about the which flowed siluer streames, in which laie fowles, fishes, and beasts of all kinds, some hurt, some slaine, and some gasping for breath; on the top of which was a faire virgin ladie leaning, and giuing hir hands ouer the castell to succour them, verie woonderfullie wrought. There was wine in abundance, musike of all sorts, varietie of all things, and woonderfull welcomes. This feast began at eleuen of the clocke before noone, and continued till fiue in the afternoon.

The lord lieutenant verie honourablie feasted in Christmasse time, with the maner of the seruice.

A proper and delightsome deuise at a banket.

The lord lieutenant inuiteth all the states, and feasteth them after the English maner.

The next daie being their Christmas daie, the earle to requite the states cost, inuited them all, whome he feasted verie roiallie after the English fashion. On saint Stephans daie he feasted the widow princesse of Orange, with hir second sonne countie Morris, and their traines, so sumptuouslie as beseemed his and their honors. Here dispatching his weightie affaires he continued seauen daies, after which he determined to sail towards Dort, which by iudgement of the countrie is not past ten houres sailing at the most. On the seuenteenth of December (after the account of England) with faire wind and weather, the whole fleet of Dutch hoies hoised vp sail towards Dort; but on the sudden, being onward on their iournie, the aire was so ouercast with mists, that they knew not how to saile for succour, neither backewards nor forwards. The reason was this. The riuer they had to saile thorough, was none other but an ouerflowne countrie, full of old foundations of houses, churches, and castels, so that the cleerest aire did no more than safegard the hoies from danger.

The lord lieutenant landeth at Williamstat, and there dineth.

On the twentith daie my lord with some other landed at Williamstat, or Ragonhill, where he dined, and after dinner went abrode againe. On the one and twentith of December, diuerse ships of men of warre, and others, with the states of Dort in them met our fleet on the water, where betwixt their ships and ours was at the meeting of the earle great triumphs with shot, in which came manie small scouts of succour, to hasten the traines to shore, where in good time they entered Dort, verie roiallie and triumphantlie. On the port, to gard his person was set his owne gard of archers, shot, and halberds: and ouer the gate of enterance was hir maiesties, the earles, and the states armes emblasoned. When he was landed, and conducted by the states, he passed from the port thorough a lane of musket shot, all Dutch, braue and well appointed, with eight ancients displaied before him; in the middest whereof was the English ancient aduanced, whense with eight hundred shot he was brought to his lodging. After whose enterance they and the great shot continued triumphing an houre and more. Here he continued a daie and two nights, with singular interteinement, and reioising of the people. Ouer the court gate were on the wall at the entering written certeine Latine verses, signifieng the state of the low countries, to this effect in English:

He entreth into Dort, how magnificallie he was receiued, and what time he abode there.

Verses written ouer the court gate.

The widow countrie wailing in hir losse,
Subiect to soldiors and a strangers crosse,
By weeping hir misfortune, sits here alone,
To thinke of hir pleasures past and gone,
But after France and Spaine haue doone their woorst,
Hir helplesse yoong ones are by England nurst:
Blest be that virgine queene, that sent this good,
And blest be he that comes to saue our blood,
Whome to our soules a buckler we maie call,
And to our countrie, we crie welcome all.

On the three and twentith of December, the earle tooke scouts to passe to Rotherodame, by a pleasant riuer of fresh water, verie narow, where the botes or scouts are some by men, some by horsses dragged along the riuer, verie pleasant, speedie, and easie. But yet in this passage the night being cleere, suddenlie there arose so great a tempest, that it put the small vessels in verie great danger; but after one houre the weather waxed calme, and the night cleere, onelie a Dutch capteine and three or foure of his men were drowned. Toward night he drew neere to the towne of Rotherodame, where on the water he was met with three barges of pleasure, in euerie of which was twelue sailers, the first all in blew ierkins and venicians with red caps, and whole cypres white Satyre like. In the second, twelue all in buffe. In the third twelue

A Dutch capteine with three or foure of his men drowned in a fresh riuer.

all

all in shag thrummed silke verie braue, with their oares red and white: in these boats were great store of fire works, and rockets, to cast into the citie: and at the sterne of euerie one were cressets which towards night were lighted, and on the water made an excellent shew.

Thus with trumpets sounding all the waie, was he brought to Rotherodame by water to his lodging in the midle of the towne. On the other side of them, on the banks stood ranks of soldiors, all with musket shot, betwixt euerie foure of them was placed a torch, or cressets burning: and thus triumphantlie he entered his lodging, where the states accompanied him to supper that night. Here the inhabitants were ioifull of the Englishmens comming, praising God therefore, and making much of the traine, insomuch that euerie man dined in his hostes house of free cost. The townesmen had made verie memorablie in the middle of the market place the whole proportion of Erasmus in a pulpit, as though he were preaching, holding a booke of the paraphrasis on the gospels in his hand, vnder whome was written Erasmus Rotherodame.

The lord lieutenant commeth to Rotherodame by water, and the maner of his triumphant enterance therinto.

Diet of free cost

A counterfeit of Erasmus.

On the three and twentith of December, the earle made hast towards Delph, being from thense accompanied with the states, his barges of pleasure, and whatsoeuer was thought honorable. They came late to Delph, somewhat darke, but lighted by cressets along the narrow riuer, on the which manie rockets and fire works were vsed. On the landing port stood great store of musket shot (with manie new ancients) like a lane, for him to passe thorough as is commonlie vsed in the countrie, all which brought him to his lodging, which was the house where the prince of Orange was slaine. Ouer the gate of which house were certeine Latine verses written, conteining a gratulation and welcomming of the earle thither, testified with a consent of all degrees and professions: the same verses being thus:

The maner of the lord lieutenants entering into Delph.

He lodgeth in the house where the prince of Orange was slaine.

Salue perpetuùm comes illustrissime salue,
O bene quàm diuûm nomine gratus ades!
Te nihil est gratum magis, optatúmque tuendæ
Auspicium fidei, quàm patriæque venis!
Hinc tibi gratantur læti (sacer ordo) senatus,
Et memor officij cætera turba sui,
Spe meliore animi recreantur, gaudia toto
Pectore concipiunt pressa dolore diu,
Irrita quæ superi nolunt fore cassáque facta,
At magis inque dies accumulata volunt,
Reginam incolumem téque illustrissime seruent,
Sospite qua tecum patria sospes erit.
Dedecus infandum, probra turpia multa sequuntur,
Est mala cui nequam mens animusque malus.

On the fiue and twentith daie the earle was feasted of the states verie roiallie, and on the next morrow the earle feasted them, amongst whome was (besides the states and countie Morris) the princesse of Des, with a companie of honorable ladies and gentlewomen: at the table was Dutch musike of all kinds, orations in Dutch and Latine, with infinit welcoms. And it is to be noted, that the further the earle went vp into Holland, the brauer the countrie was, and the better his lordship was beloued, as appeared by his more excellent interteinement. Heere he staied the fiue and twentith and six and twentith daies, and then on the seuen and twentith he remooued to Donhage, where he determined to keepe his standing court. In the euening the earle by cresset light, torches, and deuises of fire worke verie strange, entred into the towne of Donhage, with a verie princelie traine of our Englishmen, with an hundred and fiftie of his gard, besides all or most of the states of Rotherodam and Delph, with those of Donhage that met him on the water with musket shot

The lord lieutenant feasteth and is feasted.

The countrie of Holland commended.

The lord lieutenant remooueth to Donhage, and his entrance therinto.

The first shew at Donhage of fishermen.

verie manie, and great triumphing. At the entrance of my lord by water on the riuer met him certeine fishermen, which represented Peter, Iames, and Iohn at their herbour: by them Christ walking on the water, who commanded them to cast out their nets the second time (according to that of saint Matthew) they drew in abundance, wherewith they made shew of presentment to the erle, for the which with thanks he passed by. Further on the riuer sat the representation of Mars and Bellona, who vttered speeches vnto him as he passed, at that present.

The second shew of poeticall gods.

The third shew of horsses antikelie trapt and furnished.

At his landing met him a troope of horssemen furnished and trapped antikelie in colours, before whome hauing fetcht manie courses, because the street waxed narrow, they rode awaie. At the entrance of the fairest street, being also somewhat narrow, there was on ech side of the same gallorie, raised a mans height, ech against other, all hoong with blacke baies, on both which gallories on each side stood fifteene virgins all clad in white, with branches of palme or box wreathed about wax candels light in their hands, euerie of which did reuerence vnto the earle; these stood a speares length distant ech from other. Betwixt euerie one hoong a looking glasse, and betwixt euerie glasse vpon a pretie antike pearch stood a wax candle burning, and at ech end of the gallorie stood a champion and a blacke Moore, the one supporting the armes of England, and the other the armes of Holland. This shew was verie proper, but these had no speeches. All the waie as the earle passed through, were artificiallie made gates raised of ragged staues, and vpon euerie snag stood a small wax candle burning, by which hoong the armes of diuerse craftsmen of the towne. The street all the waie was hoong with broad clothes, vpon the which were placed store of red roses on sheetes of paper painted. At the next turning he was interteined with this shew. Ouer a gate vpon a verie high scaffold was a conceiued battell fought betweene the English soldiors and the Spaniards, the English men still preuailing, vnder the which was written thus much in effect: furthermore, these lines in the Latine toong, alluding to England, anciently called Britaine, were written in open sight as followeth:

The fourth shew of virgins in white araie.

The fift shew of ragged staues with other deuises.

The sixt shew of conceiued battell between the English and the Spanish.

Such be our fortune, as this dooth foreshoo,
To vs freedome, to England fame also.

BRITANIA.

Maris terrarumque sidus,
Aequa Romanorum olim imperio,
Luxit salus, affulsit Constantinus,
Qui adsertor libertatis, instaurator
Christianæ pietatis:
Da & nobis fidam vicinámque dextram.
Faxit Deus optimus maximus,
Vt reginæ auspicijs, Dudlæi ductibus,
Militis tui viribus,
Iugo seruitutis excusso, belli nimbis discussis,
Ex infælicissimis fælicissimi Belgæ simus,
Sacro tecum arctóque vinclo iuncti!

The seuenth shew of seuen virgins representing the seuen prouinces.

Passing still forward, was a loftie scaffold verie faire builded, with hir maiesties armes at large placed, on the top stood seauen virgins, representing the seauen prouinces, euerie virgin holding a speare, and the armes at large emblasoned, which prouince she did signifie; in the middest of whom stood Minerua armed, incompassed about the bodie with the armes of England, vpon whome all the rest seemed to relie, as most euidentlie appeared by their verse:

Adsis ô nostrumque leues regina laborem.

All

All which were represented vnto hir maiestie by Necessitie an old champion. The next was on the like scaffold, seuen persons presented the seauen liberall sciences in their kinds, yeelded to the earle by desert: out of euerie window hoong lanthorns and candles, and euerie street was furnished with cressets, torches, and links light: one deuise that hoong in the middest of the street conteined eight and thirtie lanthorns, and seuerall lights comelie burning: a verie pretie sight. Besides this, against my lords gate, a barbar had on a wall placed three score or more basons of bright copper, and in the middest of euerie one a wax candle burning was placed, in the middest of all was painted a rose and crowne: this made a faire shew, and was a pretie deuise. Vnder the red rose was written these verses following:

The eight shew of seauen personages representing the seuen liberall sciences.

Floreat hæc semper rosa, cuius odore reuixit
Belgia languescens, regina dite potita.

Ouer the entrance of the court gate, was placed aloft vpon a scaffold, as if it had beene in a cloud or skie, Arthur of Britaine, whome they compared to the earle; within were hoboies, cornets, and diuers kinds of musike. And thus they brought him to his lodging triumphantlie, and after he was entred in a great hall of that house, they discharged such volees of shot as was woonderfull to heare. In the night they vsed fireworks of rockets, squibs, wheeles, and balles of fire, with a dragon that continued casting out of fire an houre, woonderfull artificiallie made.

The ninth shew of Arthur of Britaine, with sweet musike therewithall.

The next daie, on the riuer adioining to my lords lodging, they deuised a running as it were at the tilt in botes, which was thus. From ech end of the riuer came a bote running with six ores, in the sterne of which on the top stood a man armed in a red wastcote, with a staffe in his rest, hauing a but end of corke; now ech meeting other with their staues, both fell into the water, where spare botes were readie to succour them, for awaie went their horsses. This sport with fresh men they continued till the earle was wearie of it, in pitieng the poore case of the men.

The last shew of running at tilt in botes vpon the water.

On the third daie of Ianuarie the earle with three hundred horses in their furniture, verie brauely with his retinue entred Leidon, where by the waie he was met by the best of the towne, first by twelue burgomasters, clad in long black gownes, and on their shoulders was the townes name, written in verie large letters of siluer: next them followed other twelue of the cheefest burgesses, and then manie on horsse backe, all in black veluet. At his entrance into the towne, all ouer his head, and downe to the ground on ech side, was hanged with saie of diuerse colours to his lodging, which was a great waie; himselfe with a canopie carried ouer his head was brought to his seat, against the which was a stage, on the which stood two men like poets, who presented these seuerall shews that follow. It is to be noted, that eight yeares before this, they were beseeged, and therefore now presented their extremities, which at that time they were driuen into. They brought therefore a faire woman on the stage verie brauelie apparelled, and she represented the towne, hir they assalted by Spaniards, with false fiers of great and small shot a long time in order of battell, and then retiring continued their siege; heere they laie so long that vittels waxed scarse, and then they presented after the poets of what this shew had passed. Famine attired accordinglie then breathed into the woman; after which they presented men rending dogges and cats aliue in sunder, and fed on them, and souldiors robbing women of their children.

The lord lieutenant entreth Leidon, and of his intertainment there.

The first shew of a woman representing Leidon.

The second shew of famine.

Sicknesse now possesseth hir and pestilence, and this they presented in abrupt burials of townesmen on heapes; and lastlie with a braue buriall of a capteine, who was borne ouer the stage with dead matches, howling trumpets, wrapt up ancients, trailed pikes, drawne peeces; and after he was put into the ground, and bid farewell with a volee of great and small shot. The Spaniards pitieng hir, writ and sent letters by diuerse messengers, all which she read and refused, without returne of answer: now hope possesseth hir, and therefore they tooke another waie. Now she commanded

The third shew of sickenesse.

The fourth shew of Spanish seruitude.

The fift shew of hope to be succored.

manded a light to be set on the highest steeple in the towne, to signifie vnto the prince of Orange that laie in Delph, how they hoped for succor; who againe, by deuise of a doue, sent them promise of aid, by which doue they promised to attend the good houre, and so the shew ended.

The sixt shew of aid promised.

Now came Gods prouidence, vpon whome the towne relied, and she leaned: Gods prouidence in the dead of the night ouerthrew a peece of the wall and vawmure of six and twentie poles. Which the enimie hearing; and fearing the prince and his power to be entred for their aid, they fled, whome when the towne had in pursute, they put all they ouertooke to the sword, the rest escaped by flight, and so with the woman, as it were now at libertie that presented the towne, they marched awaie merilie with great triumph. At the last they brought in a woman verie braue, armed as the other was, hir they besieged with a Spaniard, intised with a Frenchman, and flattered with an Italian twise, the Spaniard put by, she fled the stage, and leaping off hastilie hid hir selfe vnder the earls cloke, whom he shadowed, and the Spaniard threatning marched awaie. The earle led hir to his lodging, whereinto he entred with shot. On the scaffold were written these verses, in effect as followeth in English;

The last shew of libertie, victorie, and triumph.

These verses seeme to be made by no metrician: perhaps they were deuised by some of Leidon.

We Flemings being banished, now wailing here,
We are as they in Babilon, by the water clere
Bicause we would not worship idols, but Gods word,
And might not sing our praise vnto the Lord,
Are we driuen out as now dooth appeare,
But our deliuerance is now verie neare,
For God hath looked vpon our miserablenesse,
And sent vs a prince whom he will blesse,
Which praised be God as it dooth beseeme,
Who hath deliuered vs from dangerous case,
And humbled the hart of such a noble queene,
As hath sent vs a gouernor now in this space,
Laieng his hand to the warres through his grace
And his arme mightilie, the which vs defend,
Thus praised may he be world without end,
Which sendeth such a prince aboue all that liueth,
And one that gouerns to gods honor he now giueth.

Verses written vpon the doore of the lord lieuetenants lodging.

So passing on to my lords lodging, on the doore of the entring were written these verses following:

Pro auspicijs illustrissimi & generosissimi comitis Roberti Dudlæi, regiæ maiestati apud Anglos à consilijs, & gubernatoris Belgiæ, &c; ad Holandos consolatio.

Inter Iberiadum furias & tigridis iras,
Oppressi fletum comprimitote viri,
Nos licèt innumeris hostilia bella periclis
Assiduè infestent, mille necésque trahant,
Nostra tamen Domini rebus fiducia si sit
In Domino, miseris expediet facilè.
Nicanor Lestrij generis viribus malè nostras
Ceruices pulsat, barbara verba vomens:
Viribus at Leicestranis iugulabitur ille,
En Machabæus adest, qui Nicanora premat,
Auspicio Christi, qui in vitam funera vertit,
Qui fidei vindex, qui mala nostra leuat.

En

En generose comes, Dauidis pia facta sequutus,
Iusticiæ exerce iura seuera tuæ:
Et tibi sit præsens magnum qui temperat orbem,
Vt pede victrici colla teras Goliæ.

On the daie after his comming to the towne, he was banketted, at which banket were orations and deuises manie. On the fift of Ianuarie hee came backe from Leidon vnto Donhage. The tenth he mustred part of his horssemen, to the number of fiue hundred or more, and then pointed them into seuerall garisons, and to seuerall gouernors, the earle of Essex was that daie made generall of the horsses. The eleuenth daie hee came from Donhage to Leidon. The twelfe daie a generall fast was proclamed through Holland, Gelderland, and Friseland, which was kept with great zeale. The lord lieutenant spent that daie till night with preaching, reading, and singing of psalmes; neither he or anie of his eating anie thing. The nineteenth of Ianuarie he came from Leidon to Donhage, where in his time of abode, he rode to a little fisher towne two miles from the Hage, named Skeueling, which towne dooth bound on the maine seas. In this towne he was presented with these verses:

The lord lieutenant returneth backe from Leidon to Donhage.

A generall fast proclamed and deuoutlie obserued.

The lord lieutenant rideth to Skeueling and is presented with a few English verses.

Like as the sea goddesse Thetis had ingendred,
The valiant Achilles to the Greeks defence,
So hath now this English Thetis, who all praise deserued
Sent vs this Achilles to our Assistence,
Wherefore we yeeld him all due reuerence.

These words were written in the great hall at Donhage, conteining terms of honor and welwishing: Beatus qui facit opus Domini fideliter. ¶ Inclyto principi Roberto Dudlæo comiti Leicestriæ, inter magnates maximè pio, prudenti, forti, Dei permissu a regina misso, præfecto ac gubernatori Belgarum, prosperum hunc optatúmque aduentum toto lætitiæ sinu gratulamur, ecclesiæ & reipublicæ salutem optamus, fœderati ordinis Belgij, addicti celsitudini eius. ¶ Deus cæpit, Deus dirigat.

Titles of honor ascribed to the lord lieutenant, with a reioising at his comming.

The foure and twentith of Ianuarie, the prince of Portugall came to Donhage. The fiue and twentith my lord was installed and sworne, and likewise all the states sworne to the queene. The maner of the installing was thus. At Donhage is a marueilous faire hall, at the vpper end whereof are fiue or six large steppes ascending, which do reach to a faire chamber, at the vpper end whereof on high was placed a cloth of estate, in the midst of which were the armes of England, and against them my lord was seated, on ech side of him two steps descending sat twelue of the principall states, and below them sat the residue, to the number of twentie right before my lord, but foure or fiue steps descending. On the right hand of my lord did stand the prince of Portugall, next him the lord Morleie, next master Noris gouernor of Munster, next sir William Russell, and sir Robert Germin, with diuers men of great account. On the left hand of my lord did stand the Graue Morris, next the earle of Essex, sir William Stanleie, sir Robert Stapleton, and sir Thomas Parrat, with diuers other of great account. Thus being placed, a Dutch man made a large oration in Dutch, declaring the causes of the matter in hand, with thanks to the queenes maiestie and the lord lieutenant.

The estates sworne to the queene of England.

The earle of Leicester installed at Donhage, with the maner and order thereof.

Persons of honor and worship.

Then was read in Latine the couenants betweene the states, the queene and my lord: this doone the couenants were deliuered to my lord, which he deliuered to the states, and the states deliuered an other to him: then was my lord demanded to vow the same by oth, who holding his hand to heauen did swear to the couenants. The like did the states, holding vp their hands, vow to performe. Then againe were the states sworne to the queene and my lord hir lieutenant in those affaires. This doone my lord gaue to them seuerall thanks, and they seuerallie did giue to him the like, which being doone, my lord passed through to his chamber, the trumpets all sounding before him. This day

The couenants betweene the queenes maiestie and the estates, read in Latine and deliuered to and fro.

The souldiers of the towne shew themselues in martiall maner.

day my lord feasted all the states most sumptuouslie, so that they had their fill both in their bellies and heads. This daie after dinner the souldiers of the towne, which were three ancients, came into the court furnished, and did there shew them themselues with drum and fiffe, at night were aboue an hundred fiers burnt about my lords house.

Capteines with their companies that mustered.

On the foure and twentith of Ianuarie, the countie Morris came to my lord lieutenant, and was receiued in good sort. The same eight and twentith and last of Ianuarie companies mustered by Thomas Digs, muster-master generall in Guelder, Friseland and Holland, were as followeth. Master Noris coronell gentleman, two hundred thirtie and six: coronell Morgan, two hundred foure score and ten: capteine Wootton, one hundred thirtie and six: capteine Powle, one hundred and seuenteene: capteine Baskerfield, foure score: capteine Yorke, foure score and six: capteine Hunings, one hundred and eleuen: capteine Vdall, three score and seuenteene: capteine Powell, foure score and fourteene: capteine Hart, three score and eight: capteine Price, one hundred twentie and three: capteine Wilson, one hundred fourtie and fiue: capteine Blunt, one hundred twentie and seuen: capteine Burros, one hundred and ten: capteine Harston, one hundred twentie and foure: capteine Shaw, fourescore and foure: capteine Enge, three score and nine; capteine sir Walter Waller, one hundred thirtie and seuen. The second of Februarie capteine Willoughbie died at Hage, and was there honorablie buried. On the third of Februarie all the yeomen of the gard tooke their oth, whom remitting to the conscience of their charge, we purpose now to touch the peremptorie authoritie committed to the said lord lieutenant, by common consent of the states; and so by degrees to descend to other occurrents concerning these netherlands.

The death of capteine Willoughbie.

A PLACARD CONTEINING THE AUTHORITIE GIUEN BY THE STATES OF THE LOW COUNTRIES, VNTO THE MIGHTIE PRINCE, ROBERT EARLE OF LEICESTER, BARON OF DENBIGH, &c: FOR THE GOUERNMENT OF THE SAID LOW COUNTRIES: TRANSLATED OUT OF DUTCH INTO ENGLISH, AS FOLLOWETH.

THE generall states of the vnited prouinces of the low countries, to all those which shall see or heare these present writings, health and dilection. Euen as it hath pleased hir maiestie of England mercifullie to send ouer into these countries the high and mightie prince and lord, lord Robert earle of Leicester, baron of Denbigh, and one of the priuie councell, knight of the noble order of the garter, and not onlie to admit and institute his excellencie as cheefe head aboue all militarie souldiers on horse or foote, which hir maiestie hath sent or shall send ouer hereafter into these countries; and to the end to assist vs with counsell, aid and aduise, according to his great experience, policie and wisedome in the direction of publike affaires of the land, as well touching the feates of warre, as other waies, in conseruation of all that which most tendeth to the profit of the aforesaid land, to bring backe and reduce the same into such good order and rule as it hath bene in times past, to the end that so much the better and orderlie he maie resist the force and tyrannie of our enimies, and to frustrate all his practises: but also besides this to honor and inrich his foresaid excellencie with greater authoritie, might and commandement, aboue all hir maiesties admerals and

Note what a title and stile of excellencie the states giue to the earle their gouernor, and the honorable seruice to him appointed.

and viceadmerals, and ships of war, to command them all, and to emploie them to the seruice of these countries, and in such order as his excellencie shall find needfull for the same countrie; and that his excellencie following hir maiesties commandement, desirous to shew the effect of the good will and affection which he beareth to these affairs, and to the preseruation of the same, and also of the true christian religion, and hath imploied himselfe so willinglie in the foresaid matters, that his excellencie for that onlie cause hath left and abandoned his natiue countrie and goods, and transported himselfe hitherward amongst us: so that hir maiestie and his excellencie could neuer haue doone or shewed vnto vs a greater benefit than this.

The good will and affection of the lord lieutenant to performe the premisses signified and by good proofe testified.

Therefore are we resolued, with good and ripe deliberation, to certifie all men by these presents, that we haue desired, accepted, and authorised the foresaid mightie and honorable prince, lord Robert earle of Leicester, &c: to be our gouernor and generall capteine ouer all the vnited prouinces, and associat cities and members of the same. And we giue vnto his excellencie, besides the authoritie of hir maiestie giuen vnto him, the highest and supreame commandement, and absolute authoritie aboue, and in all matters of warfare by sea and by land, to execute and administrat the same to the resistance of the enimie, euen as his excellencie shall thinke most commodious to the preseruation of those countries: and so further, to doo all such things as apperteine to the office of a generall capteine. And furthermore, we commit the administration and vse of policie and iustice ouer the foresaid vnited prouinces, and associat cities and members of the same into his hands, to execute and administrat the same with such power and authoritie, as haue had in times past all the other gouernors of these low countries before him; and especiallie, as haue been exercised, and lawfullie administred in the time of Charles the fift; reserued onelie the lawes and priuileges of the foresaid countries: also with especiall power to collect profits, and receiue, and administrat all the contributions which are agreed and condescended, or shall hereafter be consented or agreed, to the maintenance of the warres: and also, that which is or shall be deliuered hereafter into his excellencies hands: and this all according to the vertue of other letters and missiues written more at large touching the same agreement. All which former charge and commission, his excellencie through our earnest desire hath accepted, and hath deliuered solemne oth and assurance into our hands, first of all, for the preseruation of the true christian religion, and maintenance of the priuileges and rights of these lands and prouinces, members, and cities of the same.

The states agnise the peremptorie authoritie put into the lord lieutenants hands in respect of his gouernement.

Like authoritie giuen to the lord lieutenant, as other gouernors his predecessors haue had in the low countries.

We therefore ordeine and command all gouernors of prouinces and cities, all admerals and viceadmerals, all officers, coroners, capteins, their officers and souldiors by sea and land, and furthermore all other councellors, officers, treasurors, receiuers, bailiffs, burgomaisters, marshals, magistrats, gentlemen, burgers, and other inhabitants and subiects of these lands, of what qualitie or condition soeuer; that they and euerie of them doo acknowledge his foresaid excellencie in the qualitie of gouernement, and capteine generall ouer the foresaid vnited prouinces, to honor respect, and obeie him as they ought to doo, without making anie difficultie in dooing the same, vpon paine of falling in the displeasure and anger of his excellencie, and to be punished according to the heuines of the fault, and as reason shall require. And to the end that no bodie should pretend ignorance, we command expresselie to make knowne these ordinances, to proclaime and publish them, where as men are accustomed to proclame all publications, proceeding, and commanding to proceed with rigor against all disdainors and neglectors of the same, according to the order of punishment before mentioned, without anie fauour or dissimulation to the contrarie, because we haue thought the same to be expedient for the preseruation of the countrie.

An acknowledgement and performance of dutie and alegiance inioined to all persons of the low countries (vnder paine of punishment) to the lord lieutenant.

All pretense of ignorance cut off, least the course of obedience might be hindered.

Giuen in our congregation and assemblie in the Hage, the sixt daie of Februarie, 1586, by ordinance of the foresaid generall states.

Councellors for matters of state elected by the lord lieutenant.

This placard thus passed, the lord lieutenant bending his mind to his charge vndertaken, did ordeine certeine speciall men, natiues borne, of the councell, to the intent that such affaires as chanced to occur, might by them be conueniently managed: the names of the said councellors, with the places they were to superintend, orderlie following. For Guelderland Heldebertus Leoninus, for Flanders Doelfloud Tomedicurke, for Holland lord Valraven Brederough, Sebastian Loron, William Birdese; for Zeland Iames Walke, Geoise Toiling; for Vtricke Paulus Bace, for Friseland Asmaugh president of Friseland, Charles Rodee. ¶ Hauing thus far discoursed of the lord lieutenants passing from place to place, with the manner of his interteinement agreeable to his person, as also the seuerall shews full and significant, togither with the conditions interchangeable betweene him and the states, and lastlie hauing touched the names of such as by his election were dignified with the ordering of the countrie affaires, depending vpon their grave and experimented counsell: the obseruation of time dooth vrge vs yer we proceed anie further, to deliuer a peece of seruice doone by coronell Skinke, and then to proceed in the continued commemoration of the lord lieutenants interteinement in other places where he came.

Coronell Skinke taketh the towne of Warle and castell thereto belonging.

Note therefore, that on the one and twentith daie of Februarie, Skinke not lieng still from indamaging the enimie, did take the towne of Warle and the castell thereto belonging: the maner whereof was this. Himselfe lieng in Vendelo, a towne in part besieged, left his men with the Graue Morris charging them not to depart, till such time as they heard from him, which they fulfilled. The twentith daie of Februarie he came with two or three men from Vendelo to his men, no man knowing his enterprise, caused them in the morning to be readie, and so passed on till middaie, at which time they were not far from Warle. Skinke espieng a thirtie wagons going with vittels to the towne, he tooke the wagons, clad certeine of his men in the bours apparell, sent them into the towne to sell the vittels, which they followed, and one of them broke his wagon in the gate; so that the gate could not be closed. One of them shooting off a dag gaue Skinke warning, and he suddenlie entered the towne without resistance, and tooke both it and the castell This towne is thought not so strong as profitable, yet verie strong. In it are diuerse saltpits which doo make great store of salt, which salt dooth serue a great part of the countrie to Cullen, and further altogither serued the enimie of salt, which now he wanteth. About the first of March he left the towne, burning it and spoiling the countrie; the cause was this. There was an armie comming to staie his passage, which he hauing three hundred horsses did assaie, slue a thousand souldiors, tooke fiue ensignes and sent to the lord lieutenant. This did valiant Skinke, whom wishing no lesse fortunat in his attempts hereafter, then prosperous hitherto, we will leaue, and looke backe to matters of delight another while, as the date of time dooth offer.

The cause why Skinke burnt the said towne.

The lord lieutenant commeth from the Hage to Harlem, and how he was receiued.

When the state of the countrie was prouided for in such sort as before ye haue heard, the lord lieutenant proceeded to other actions, insomuch that on the first of March he came from Hage to Leidon, and the third of March from Leidon to Harlem, whose interteinement there was in this maner. A little from the gate of the towne, he was met with the burgers or principals of the towne. One of the which being an old man with a long white beard, made a long oration in Latine to him: after the which he passed to the entrie gate of the towne, on the which was placed a maiden apparelled all in white, holding a scutchion in hir hand, wherein were painted the armes of England, and all about were painted red roses, vnder the which were these verses:

These verses are supposed to be spoken by the town of Harlem.

Euge Calidonias princeps celebrate per vrbes,
Ingredere Harlemi mœnia fida tui,
Me licèt Hispanus plusquam ciuilibus armis,
Presset, ac horrifico Mulciber igne deus:

Haud

Haud tamen extremo mihi eris decorandus honore,
Nam tua corde pio sceptra fidéque colam,
Ipse rosæ afflictos clypeo si texeris omnes,
Donabis Batauos pace Roberte lares.

Diuerse shews, and first, the * counterfet of a woman represented.

Passing further into the towne was a scaffold, where on was placed diuerse personages, amongst the which was a woman hauing a scutchion, conteining the armes of England in the one hand, and a sword in the other hand, and diuerse persons lieng dead before hir, with these Latine verses written vnderneath, and a posie to the same also annexed:

Vana fugat verum veluti mendacia purum,
Sic viciorum abigat tua dux præsentia Lernam.
Veritas, verbum Dei.

A representation of the queene of England.

Passing yet further, there was an high scaffold, wheron was a representation of the queene of England with hir sword in hir hand, vnder whome laie enuie, tyrannie, and diuerse other the like, all whom she had brought vnder, and vnder this was written these verses in legible Latine letters or characters:

Iusticia infestos frænat pietate tyrannos,
Sic tuus aduentus cuncta Roberte mala.

A crowne, the foote whereof was adorned with roses.

Passing further into a faire market place, there was a piller of great height, on the top whereof was a crowne, and about the foote of the crowne roses set, and these eight verses were written about the piller:

Elisabeth regina atauis quæ regibus orta est,
Hunc dedit atroci qui nos tueatur ab hoste,
Ergo ducem inuenis meritò venerare senéxque,
Munere quando Dei Geticum nympha ista fugabit,
Pyramidum Pharia sileant miracula gentes,
Quámque, vetus molem duxit ad astra Rhodos,
Iam tibi dux vilem pro tempore ponimus, at hâc
Aurea si possem concelibrandus eris.

The beare and ragged staffe, with certeine verses concerning peace.

Ouer the entrance of the palace or lodging for the earle, there was set a beare with a ragged staffe, and these verses written vnder concerning the peace:

Venisti ô auibus tandem fœlicibus heros,
Regia quem nobis munere nympha dedit:
Virgo Calidonias ad sidera nota per oras,
Vltima spes fessis præsidiúmque viris:
Reddere te sine quis patriæ Saturnia regna
Posset, & armisoni pellere tela dei?
Vera etenim de te si dux oracula fantur,
Hæc Dudlæe teget nos sine Marte rosa:
Pacificè rege, regnis lætantibus, heros,
Pacifico quis non principe lætus erit?

A shew made by the souldiours according to military skill.

In all the streetes of this towne, where through the earle passed, were planted souldiours in most braue furniture, and he being placed in a window right against the market place; the same souldiours there ranged themselues first in a ring, then marching into a square; and after passing in verie good forme, the night for the most part being spent with fire workes and shewes most braue. In one of the shewes a picture of a woman signifieng enuie, was burnt. On the fourth of March, the L. lieutenant saw the earle of Essex coronell, and sir William Russell coronell, muster, and traine by Harlem to the number of two hundred horsse. And on the second daie after, he was feasted and banketed. The tenth of March he came from Harlem to Amsterdam, and by the waie was met with diuerse men of warre well shipped, which brought him by a long riuer that went into the towne, ouer the which riuer

The L. lieutenants going to Amsterdam, with the maner of his receiuing.

were three strong bridges placed full of armed souldiours, and on the first bridge was planted ten or twelue peeces of ordinance, which all after his honor was passed shot off, the souldiors off euerie bridge discharging by volees in most braue maner.

Two pageants and what they represented.

Being past the bridge, he was met with two great pageants or shews, in this manner. Two boats were made in monstrous greatnesse; on the one the shape or likenesse of a horsse swimming, on the other the likenesse of a fish, on each of them a man riding, signifieng the god Neptune: both these, one on the one side, and the other on the other side, did accompanie him to his landing, which was at the market place, where were planted gret numbers of armed men with shot. Right before him where he landed was a faire scaffold, whereon were placed armed men fighting, the one companie ouercomming and the other flieng. Ouer them, on the same scaffold kneeled an old man, holding vp his hands towards heauen, and on each side of him, one other supporting or staieng vp his hands. Which signified that Iosua and the Israelits preuailed, aud ouerthrew the Philistines, so long as Moses did praie for them with his hands erected towards heauen; but when his hands were downe, the children of Israell had the woorst: and so now through the praier of good men, God had at length sent them succour and releefe.

The state of the people represented in a shew of comparison.

Vnder this were written these coupled verses:

Ad Dominum qui confugiunt cum fœdere pansis
Innocuis palmis, manet hos victoria læta.

Spanish tyrannie represented, with posies significant.

Passing further, there was an other scaffold, wheron was placed one seeming to be in great distresse, a tyrant being readie to kill him; but by the aid of Elisabeth queene of England, he was sheelded, defended and deliuered, and the enimie repelled and driuen awaie; aboue the which were these verses:

Eia age magne, veni ô Anglorum ductor, & altos
Ingredere & celebres cape quos spondemus honores.

On the one side was written this that followeth:

Institutia & æquitas maximè
Reddunt diuturnum imperium.

On the other side was written this that followeth:

Fides sacra beatissimum humani
generis bonum est.

Ouer all was written this that followeth:

Maximè vbi ancipiti filo pia causa tremiscit,
Ex insperato sæpè redemptor adest.

The queenes aid to the low countries represented.

Passing further, on an other scaffold was placed the likenesse of a queene most sumptuouslie apparelled, and on both sides of hir was hanged all sorts of armour and munition for the wars, and ouer hir head these verses concerning aid and succour were written:

Vt sacra Iosiæ dextra olim restituisti,
Sic ope reginæ Belgas Deus optime serva.

In the afternoone of that daie, all the souldiours of the towne with fiue ancients mustered before his lodging most brauelie, and all the night following was passed in fire works, and bonfiers, with other triumphs. The thirteenth of March he was sumptuouslie banketed by the burgesses of the towne. This towne of Amsterdam is a towne greatlie frequented with merchants of all sorts and countries, which causeth the same to haue such store of shipping as is woonderfull: for they lie as groues before the towne. In this towne haue beene manie Anabaptists, which within this twentie yeares did great mischeef, not onelie with their lewd sects but also by their wicked acts: as first by burning their houses, then running naked about the towne, after by rising in armes against the other inhabitants: but they were ouercome,

1586

Amsterdam a towne of great concourse and commerce.

Anabaptists a sect hereticall and hurtfull: note.

come, taken, condemned, and hanged. This towne is of a woonderfull strength, the wall whereof is so passing faire, that it is great pleasure to behold it, and to walke on it. Without the wall is a ditch of great breadth. This last yeare to wit, one thousand fiue hundred eightie and fiue, the burgesses augmented the towne, in making a mud wall ten or twelue score yards round about the citie, with such a ditch, bulworke, &c: as is not to be wished to haue a towne better fortified, lacking nothing that may set it out for strength: the countrie round about this towne being of such kind of moisture, that it is past reason to haue a place to batter it, or to plant anie ordinance against it. There is a great arme of the sea two miles ouer, on the one side of the towne the wals be strong, the ditches great, the vittels innumerable, plentie of people, ordinance sufficient, water good store, and all other things that might make the towne strong. ¶ Heere leauing the lord lieutenant for a while, we will giue a little leape to actions of manhood against the enimie, and then returne to the matter whense we haue made digression. Wherfore touching the valor of captein Skinke, a man of singular seruice, this report dooth flie of him, agreeing with a note sent to the lord lieutenant, then residing at Amsterdam.

Amsterdam a towne inexpugnable.

The said coronell went of late with his horssemen to Nuce, and thense tooke both footmen and horssemen to the enterprise by him intended against the towne of Warle, which they tooke by sallie, in the morning earlie, meaning to haue taken the castle, but failed. The duke of Bauiers men with those of the countrie, gathred togither to the number of three thousand, but coronell Skinke salied foorth and charging them, ouerthrew their force, slaieng about one thousand. Within three daies after they assembled againe to the number of six thousand bours well armed with ensignes displaied, and with them eight hundred of the said dukes soldiers, and two hundred horsses of the knights and gentlemen of that countrie, with intent to rescue the castell. Skinke sailed againe foorth of the towne with two hundred and fiftie horsse, leauing the rest therein, bicause of the citizens and those in the castell, and if he had not made this salie he had beene in danger to haue beene taken or slaine, but he issued and ouerthrew the said forces, and slue about three thousand, amongst the which were thirtie of the chiefest gentlemen of the countrie, and he with his men went backe to the towne, himselfe was shot in this conflict, and lost diuerse of his best men. The castell and countrie was in maner neere ouercome, had not the Spanish forces hastned that waies, vpon the comming of which, Skinke was forced to giue place being void of hope to be rescued, and in his retract spoiled and burnt the countrie.

A note from coronell Skinke at Vendelo.

A note concerning the magnanimitie and valor of capteine (otherwise called coronell) Skinke.

The Spaniards make against coronell Skinke in three parts.

The Spaniards made to him in three parts, the one passing ouer by the Keisers weart with eight companies of horsse, and fortie ensignes of footmen, towards Ketwich, Dortmont and Onnar. The second led countie Charles of Mansfeld, consisting of six companies of horssemen, and fifteene companies of footmen, which came from Graue toward the Rhene, at the becke to passe ouer, and so to hinder our comming forth of the towne. The third was led by Verding out of Friseland with six companies of horssemen, and pessants of that countrie about Recklinghonson, and to the third of those were againe gathered the third time the gentlemen and pessants of that countrie: and ioined to the duke of Bauiers men by Arnberch. If the said aids had not come, the cantred had been subdued, so by Gods prouidence, he and his people are returned, not without some small losse, to Vendelo againe. The first part being the Spaniards lie yet in the land of Marke and Westualia. Verding lieth still in the stitch of Mounster about the towne of Haltern on the riuer Lipo. Countie Charles Mansfield abideth in the land of Cleue about Santenburch and Seusberke. The speech was they meant to besiege Nuce, but Skinke feareth more Bertike, he hath procured those within Nuce one moneths paie in monie and cloth, and they were well prouided of powder and munition, so as there

In what places the Spaniards lie diuided.

is

is least feare of that place, in it are one thousand good footman and two hundred horse.

Thus much touching coronell Skinke, and his enimies, whom I will leaue to their successes allotted by the Lord of hosts, and come backe againe to the lord lieutenant, who on the one and twentith of March came from Amsterdam to a castle called Mullen, foure miles from Norden, and there did dine, and from thense he came to Norden to supper and to bed. On the two and twentith of March he came from Norden to Vtricht, where as his receiuing was nothing inferior to most of the rest before written. Three or foure thousand souldiors on foot marching a mile out of the towne met him, and then marched before him to the towne; at the entrance whereof, the burgesses of the towne met him, one of them making vnto him a long oration in their language. Comming into the towne, the ordinance was discharged, and at the entrance of the market place, there was a woman placed on a high scaffold, which held in hir hand a gold ring, offering it vnto him, with certeine posies therein written. Passing further, there was placed on a scaffold seuen yoong men, holding in their hands seuen cotes or armes of the seuen vnited prouinces, and vnder them were written verses of conuenient deuises. Passing further, there was placed on a scaffold, sitting in a chaire, a woman representing the queenes maiestie of England, before was the picture or likenesse of a yellow lion, hauing a sore foot, who looking on hir seemed to complaine, and she caused hir handmaiden to dresse the lions foot, and vnder hir were written verses agreeable to the spectacle. From thense he passed to his lodging, and all the night following (as also manie other nights) was spent in fier works, bonfiers, and shewes of maruellous ioie.

The lord lieutenants comming to Vtricht and his receiuing there.

A gold ring presented to the lord lieutenant.

Diuers shews and representations to the purpose.

Out of Vtricht and other places thereabout, there met the earle foure miles from Vtricht on a plaine, or heath, twelue hundred horse, most part of which were Englishmen, so well mounted as might be, at which time they trained themselues in good order before him in maner of skirmish, and so brought him to Vtricht. On the six and twentith of March the earle of Essex went to Leger with his horsemen, where he began a new worke. The eight and twentith of March the earle was feasted by Graue Moris, on the which daie in the morning there was charge giuen to all the English souldiors in the towne, that they should march from thense to Liege, which for that they wanted their paie they refused and raised a mutinie, for the which one of capteine Polles men was taken and put in ward; wherevpon the rest of his followers seeing this, came to the gaole, burst the locks of the doores, and tooke out the prisoner, for the which there were fiue apprehended, and three of them were hanged on the nine and twentith of March, the more to terrifie the rest. On the eight and twentith of March was also hanged the secretarie to the countie Hollocke, which secretarie was a counsellor principall to the betraieng of the towne of Graue. The thirtith of March the earle feasted the nobilitie and burgesses of Vtricht, where there wanted nothing that might fill their bellies or heads.

Twelue hundred horse met the lord lieutenant vpon a beach.

The earle of Essex goeth to Leger.

A mutinie among the souldiors with other outragious disorder procuring execution by death.

Countie Hollocks secretarie hanged.

The people of this towne haue shewed themselues greatlie to fauor our Englishmen, for there came to the towne from the Leger 300 or 400 souldiors so sicke and poore, that it was woonder to see their miserie, and the townesmen not onelie receiued them, but also relieued them with meat, drinke, and cloths, giuing them for the most part new shirts and other necessarie apparell, looking so vnto them for their health, that whereas for the most part they were in great danger of death, few or none of them at that time perished. In this towne was builded by the duke of Alua one castle inuincible, which by the Spaniards was long kept, till at length, either werie of their abode, or desiring souereigntie, they set their forces against the towne, and the towne also bent against them; so that after much hurt was doone to the towne by the beating downe of their houses and churches, and killing the townesmen, the castle vpon composition was yielded to the towne, the Spaniards issuing of it: which being

Vtricht people commended for their great kindnes shewed to the Englishmen.

A castle of defence builded by the duke of Alua ruinated and beaten downe.

being doone the townesmen did beat downe the castle to the ground, reseruing the wall of the towne on which part the castle had beene planted: in which place where this castle stood is now a horse faier or market kept, and execution is there doone.

On the first or second of Aprill generall Norris tooke the sconse called Lite. On the fourth of Aprill was a sore conflict betweene the malecontents and the English, the enimies being foure thousand, were vanquished by generall Norris with one thousand men, whereof he lost a great number, and slue twelue hundred Spaniards. This gentleman no lesse fortunat than victorious, deserueth a far better remembrance than my barren wit can frame: and requisit it were that he should be mentioned in storie, considering that he hath obiected himselfe against manie deadlie dangers, which it hath pleased God, by directing his policie, to driue to prosperous euents: as appeareth by a letter sent to the lord lieutenant, the tenor wherof insueth.

The sconse of Lite taken by generall Norris.

A COPIE OF A LETTER SENT BY GENERALL NORRIS FROM HIS ROAD BY RAWSTON, NEERE GRAUE, ON THE SIXT OF APRILL.

MAIE it plese your excellencie to be aduertised, that finding the wind to be contrarie, we being to intrench our selues this last night within one houres march to Graue, the which the enimie finding, came with a resolute mind before we had ended our worke, and put vs from the place, where we had not aboue three hundred Englishmen, and hauing sent for the rest being eight hundred or thereabout, to come with all speed to vs: but in the meane time the enimie did so ouercharge vs, and with fresh men hauing then in place aboue three thousand that were fastened on vs, after that we had bidden and driuen a braue charge, to leaue the place, and meeting with the rest of our Englishmen, in one halfe mile retract we turned and forced them to quite the place, and had the killing of them aboue one English mile; and then by meanes of a sudden raine that fell, and the wearinesse of our souldiors, we made a retract, in the which I dare assure your excellencie we lost not aboue ten men: but the souldiors vpon the retract threw awaie much of their armor. In this companie, there is my selfe hurt, capteine Burrowes, and capteine Price, and diuerse other gentlemen that did serue most trulie. I dare assure their lordship that there was not seene a better daies seruice in this countrie than this, and your honor shall doo well to signify by your honors letters partlie to all the townes of Holland, that the enimie hath lost a great companie of braue men, and most of their leaders, that which your excellencie shall find most true. I find, that your excellencie is not to make account of anie other nation than your owne: for after the first retract, there would verie few Dutchmen turne backe with vs: but your excellencie should doo well to take no knowledge of it. And if the raw souldiors would haue beene commanded, we might haue kept the place that we came to intrench our selues in, but for want thereof, we did retract to Marbnanble. Assure your honor that I will to the vttermost of my power doo your honor what I maie, to the hazzarding of my life to doo your excellencie honor and seruice, as knoweth the almightie, to whose tuition I commit your excellencie. From the rode in my bed before Rawston, the sixt of Aprill.

Exploits of colonell Norris reported out of a letter directed to the L. lieutenant.

¶ I must signifie to your honor that countie Hollocke, countie Philip, my brother Henrie, and diuers other gentlemen did serue this daie most brauelie. Hauing taken counsell, we fullie mind to retire to Maseumble, where if it please your excellencie

This seemed to be a postcript.

lencie to send vs three hundred horses, and putting the rest of the horses in garisons in the townes thereabout, and send vs the rest of the footmen, we shall haue a daie with them againe, within these ten daies, doubt not.

Your excellencies most humble to command,
Generall Norris.

Thus you see a great discomfiture giuen to the enimie, and the same with little losse on the English partie: wherby we are to gather, considering the inequalitie of the number, as appeareth by the clause of the said letter, that the ouerthrow giuen to the enimie, did speciallie proceed from God, who as he is called the Lord of hosts, so is it his good pleasure to prosper the attempts of those that fight in his feare, and put not their trust in an arme of flesh, neither in bands of footmen, nor troops of horsemen. And now seeing we haue made so good an entrance into the name of Norris, enobled by famous feats of armes, we count it an eclipsing of his renowme, to neglect the declaration of other enterprises and atchieuements, no lesse tending to the inlargement of his honor, than to the reproofe of the reporter if they should be concealed.

The winning of the sconce called Bolt.

Touching the maner therefore of the winning of the sconse called Bolt by generall Norris the second of Aprill, thus it was. Marching thither, he summoned it with a trumpet, but they within with most reuiling words denied to yeeld, which the generall perceiuing, sent fiftie or threescore souldiors in little skips with muskits to view the sconse, for that it stood so as none could come to it but by water. These men did so plie the loope holes with shot, that they made the enimie keepe in his head: which these men perceiuing, did go neere, still shooting so till they came to the fort, which with speed they scaled, and put straw in the loope holes, setting fire on it, which they within perceiuing, did not resist, and so this strong fort was sup pressed without anie shot of cannon, or slaieng anie one man, and hurting but foure And so they marched toward Graue, leauing sufficient to keepe it. Now concerning the maner of the conflict doone by generall Norris against the Spaniards neere Graue, thus it was.

A conflict betweene generall Norris and the Spaniards.

The whole companie of English and Dutch, marching within six miles of Graue, staied, sauing three hundred English, which marched within one English mile of Graue, or thereabout, there meaning to insconse themselues, which they put in practise. But the enimie well knowing their strength and intent, set out three companies: the first being a thousand Spaniards naturall, all for the most part old souldiors, and a great sort leaders. These thousand thinking to haue cut the English in peeces, set foorth first, which the Englishmen perceiuing, sent for the other forces which marched appase; but the enimie pursuing his enterprise, charged our men, and at length draue them from the trench alreadie in part made, and caused a retire on our side halfe an English mile, where they met the rest of our force, which turned them backe. So they marched togither and incountered with a great sort of fresh Spaniards, which were come to the skirmish, and by the great power of God by force of armes they draue the enimie from them, and pursued them to their owne sconse, and by the waie they atteined a peece of ordinance of the enimie prepared for to destroie our men, but yet they could doo nothing, they were so ioined togither in fight. So the English had the killing of them the halfe mile that they retired, and an English mile more, where a fresh supplie of the enimie was made; so our men were forced to retire againe in some disorder, with small losse of anie men. But the enimie was so wearie, and so danted with these conflicts that they followed but a little way, and left their pursuing, so that the spoile, honor, and gaine on our side obteined, there were of the enimies (as was thought) three thousand braue souldiors, of our side onelie eight hundred English, and three hundred

The enimie pursued to their owne sconse.

The huge number of the aduerse part, and the small of our side.

Dutch, countie Hollocke and countie Philip in person serued most valiantlie, but their men did small good. Generall Norris was hurt in the face with a pike, as thrust through the cheeke, and further into the side, there was hurt capteine Burrows and capteine Price, who with the generall fought most brauelie, this was doone the fift of Aprill. This conflict being doone, our men cut the great riuer of Mase in diuers places, and in despite of the enimies shot, sent six and thirtie ships or small vessels into Graue, although they passed one of their sconses, and a little from Graue, by a dort or village that shot most vehementlie to them, yet they passed through to the towne, and returned without anie great losse. Vnderstand that these ships did not go by the riuer but by the land, for the water ouerfloweth the land in some places twelue foot at least.

Since about the sixteenth of this moneth there passed to the towne two and twentie more of those ships, and in their passage had but foure or fiue men slaine, and twentie hurt, although the enimie shot most vehementlie vpon them, and sent out to take them three ships well appointed, which in fight our men soonke one of them, and tooke the other two, bringing them to our companie. There was slaine of the enimies, and drowned of naturall Spaniards fortie or fiftie. Now doo our men meane to pursue them no more neither by land which they determined, hauing made a sconse within two arrowes shot of their great sconse, and determined to go neere and assaile their sconse: yet now they purpose to staie a good wind, that their ships of war maie come downe to the riuer, and beat at their sconse: at which time I iudge our men at land will not be idle, for the piles that the enimie made ouer the riuer, are by violence of water driuen awaie, and the water greatlie soonke on the land, so that the little vessels can not well flote as they did on the land.

The enimies bite their fingers for anger, note why.

It is reported, that when they in the sconse saw they could not command their ships, they bit their fingers, with signe of woonderfull anger. Now Graue is sufficientlie victualled for ten moneths at least, that the strength of the towne, the courage of the souldiors, and the store of victuals doo make them of the towne to assure the erle in spite of the enimies violence, though they be let alone without helpe this yeare, they will almost warrant the towne, vpon the battell by Rawston against the Spaniards. They that lie before Graue, I meane our enimies, sent a letter to the prince of Parma, that of our side were slaine six or seuen hundred of braue gentlemen that came now with the earle out of England: but saie they, we haue lost a great manie braue men, and sent to the prince the number. The prince writ againe, that he could not but be sorie for the death of so manie braue men, but he was glad our men had tasted of the same cup, and this letter was also taken of our men presentlie. The prince let it be knowne that our men for the most part were slaine, wherevpon in all places there were bonfires made for ioie.

Furthermore, one thing woorthie the noting dooth yet remaine, that is, that soone after the fight doone against the Spaniards by Rawston, our men went to Battenburrow a most braue house for beautie, quantitie, and strength, for the Fase runneth by it and a great riuer on the other side it; but our men laieng the cannon to the gates of it, made a breach, which being perceiued by the enimie they yeelded. There were thirtie or more Italians, the rest boures and pessants of the countrie; the Italians went awaie, their liues and ransoms spared, but the boures are kept to be ransomed: in it were thirtie women which also were kept. Thus woonderfullie hath God blessed vs, that without slaughter, on our part to be accounted, these victories are atteined with so small a companie as was looked for of vs, but God hath preserued vs. Thus now will we conclude and shut vp these exploits with the names of the great men of account that were slaine at the battell by Rawston, as was noted in a letter sent to the prince of Parma, by Francisco de Ceresota alxer the eight of Aprill, the letter being intercepted, don Iohn de Pauilla coronell generall, don Iohn

Persons of name on the enimies part slaine, with other soudiors, some taken, hurt, and disarmed.

de Castilo, don Pedro Ramares de Albano, capteine Flolis, capteine Cedran, don Iohn Calagiron, Nignell de Cardona. There were slaine in all by that note six hundred. Slaine, hurt, and (in the retire) disarmed, of our companie as followeth, 161 slaine or taken, thirtie three hurt, fiue hundred fourscore and nineteene disarmed.

The eightenth of Aprill the earle went from Vtricht to Ammerford, where through his sudden comming the towne was not so fullie provided for his interteinment as other places had beene: but there wanted no good will in the townsmen as appeared, for he and all his traine did find the people to their power ready to fauor them, and to doo them all the good and pleasure they could. This towne is double walled, first with stone, and then with mud, and also double ditched. The nineteenth of Aprill the earle went to Newchirch four English miles from Ammerford to see the Leger of our horse and foot there. The twentith of Aprill he came from Ammerfoord to Vtricht againe.

S. Georges feast solemnlie obserued at Vtricht.

The three and twentith of Aprill, the earle of Leicester being lieutenant, and gouernour generall of hir maiesties forces in the low countries of the vnited prouinces (as is aforesaid) and making his residence at that time in Vtricht (a great and goodlie towne vpon the frontiers of Holland) kept most honourablie the feast of S. George therein, the proceedings whereof being so princelie performed to the honor of our nation, in the view of so manie thousand strangers, I could not choose (hauing gotten the true and faithful description, by one William Seager alias Portcullis an officer of armes in that seruice) to make some breefe remembrance of the maner thereof in this booke, to wit. The streets of Vtricht being large and faire, were rankt and set with eight ensignes of burgers richlie appointed, wearing scarffes knit like roses white and red vpon their armes, betweene whom from the court of my lord vnto the cathedrall church called the Dome, the proceeding was on horssebacke. First rid the trumpetors apparelled in scarlet, laid with siluer lace, sounding their trumpets most roiallie, their bannerols being displaied and richlie limmed with my lords armes. Then followed the gentlemen, capteins, colonels, and hir maiesties sworne men, to the number of a fortie horsse, richlie adorned in cloth of gold, siluer, and silkes, of all colours. After came six knights, foure barons, with the councell of estates, the right honourable earle of Essex accompanied the bishop of Cullen prince elector; and the prince of Portingall rid by himselfe: next proceeded the capteine of the gard, the tresuror and controllor of the houshold, bearing their white staues. After whom followed two gentlemen vshers, and Portcullis herald in a rich cote of armes of England.

L. lieutenant inuested in the robes of order.

Then came my lord most princelike, inuested in his robes of the order, garded by the principall burgers of the towne, which offered themselues to that seruice, besides his owne gard, which were a fiftie halberds in scarlet clokes, garded with purple and white veluet. He being thus honourablie brought vnto the church, after due reuerence doone vnto the queenes maiesties state, which was there erected on the right hand, he took his owne stall on the left, by certeine degrees lower. Then began praiers, and a sermon made by master Knewstubs my lords chapleine, after which my lord proceeded to the offering; first, for hir maiestie, and then for himselfe, the which he performed with such decorum and princelie behauiour, that all generallie spake most honourablie of him.

These solemnities being doone, his lordship returned as he came, leauing behind him the earle of Essex and certeine gentlemen to accompanie the princes and the ladies of the court. His court was a faire and large house, belonging in times past to the knights of the Rhodes, in which was a verie great hall richlie hoong with tapistrie: at the vpper end whereof was a most sumptuous cloth and chaire of estate for the queenes maiestie, with hir armes and stile thereon, and before it a table couered with all things so requisit as if in person she had beene there; on the left hand almost at the tables end was my lords trencher and stoole, for he would haue no chaire.

The

The tables being couered, and all degrees assembled, my lord before the state of hir maiestie knighted a Dutch gentleman, called sir Martin Skinke, for his manifold seruices doone to his countrie, the which doone, the vshers marshalled the feast. At the table on the right side of the hall sat the yoong prince of Portingall, the prince Elector and his wife, the princesse Semeie, the earle of Essex, and Graue Morris and his ladie, and betweene euerie ladie was an English lord or knight placed. On the left hand sat the states and chefe burgers of the towne, and the grand prior of Amerford (who came to see the feast) was by my lords appointment placed vppermost at that table. Then began the trumpets to sound in the seruice which was most princelike and abundant, serued on the knee, carued and tasted to her maiesties trencher.

Martin Skinke knighted, who promised Portcullis to shew him seauentie ensignes that he had now in the field.

The side tables being furnished all in siluer plate, and attended on by gentlemen, sundrie sorts of musikes continued the interim of the first course, which doone and auoided, the trumpets sounded in for the second, which was all baked meats of beasts, and foules; the beasts as lions, dragons, leopards, and such like, bearing veins of arms, and the foules, as pecocks, swans, phesants, turkie cocks and others in their naturall fethers, spred as in their greatest pride, which sight was both rare and magnificent. This seruice being placed on hir maiesties boord, the beasts on one side, and foules on the other, the lion lieng couchant at hir highnesse trencher; the vshers cried, A hall, which being made with much a doo (by reason of the multitude) they brought vp betweene them, with three reuerences to the state, Portcullis herald, inuested with the armes of England, who in Latine, French and English pronounced the queenes maiesties vsuall stile of England, France, and Ireland, defendresse of the faith, &c: crieng three times, Largesse.

A sumptuous feast and full of deuises.

Then began the trumpets to sound, and the Dutchmen to carouse, to the health of hir maiestie, the welfare of my lord, and to the prosperities of the vnited prouinces, and nothing wanted wherein either state, magnificence, or ioy might be expressed. To be breefe, the feast ended, and tables voided, there was dansing, vawting, and tumbling, with the forces of Hercules, which gaue great delight to the strangers, for they had not seene it before, and thus they passed the time till euensong, and then departed. At supper being all assembled againe, great was the feast, and plentifull the cheere; and after supper began the bariers betweene chalengers and defendants men of armes, wherein the earle of Essex behaued himselfe so towardlie, that he gaue all men great hope of his noble forwardnesse in armes. The bariers doone, and either part retired with equall praise (though not with equall blowes) there was a most sumptuous banket prepared of sugar meats for the men of armes, and the ladies: which being finished my lord wishing them all good rest tooke his leaue, and so this honourable feast broke vp about twelue of the clocke at midnight.

The earle of Essex commended for chiualrie.

About this time our men woone Knowles sconse, a strong thing, and presentlie after they woone Ample sconse: and Skinks pursuing a companie of Spaniards, slue a thirtie, and tooke a fourescore and ten. The fourth of Maie all the horssemen at Newarke were viewed, and the gard perteining to the L. lieutenant were sent to keepe the towne from spoile, where they tooke prisoners to the number of threescore and ten boures, which had slaine diuerse of our gentlemen. The same fourth of Maie countie Hollocke put (in despite of the enimie) three hundred men into Pame, and about that time capteine Skinke builded a sconse in Cleueland and manned it. About this time they of Graue shot fire bals out of the towne, which lighted in the great sconse of the enimie, and set all the powder on fire, where through not onelie the said sconse was laid flat, but also all the men therein were blowne vp: also the enimie about the same time, making a breach in the base towne of Graue, entred the same, but was repelled, and three hundred of his men slaine.

Seruice against the enimie by Skinks.

The tenth of Maie, our English capteins and soldiors tooke eleuen barkes and hoies, and drowned seauen that issued out to skirmish with them. The twelfe of

Diuerse exploits doone to and fro.

Maie Skinks tooke in an Iland of inuincible strength in the Roine, and there hath made a mightie sconse. The foureteenth of Maie, our men lieng at Nemingam sconse, there reuolted to vs out of the towne two hoies. The fifteenth the enimie issued out of the sconse, but was retired, and lost their Lope sconse. The sixteenth, the lord lieutenant passed from Armew to the campe at Nemingam, this daie the castell of Lenon was yeelded to vs, he being there in person; this daie came fiue hoies more to our men from Nemingham. The eighteenth of Maie came news to our campe, that the enimie entring Graue lost fiue hundred men. The same day at night the enimie issued foorth of the sconse to keepe our men a worke, but our men retired them streight, and there came a bote from the towne to the sconse, in despite of our men, in repelling of which, the canon from the towne shot at our men, and slue two lieutenants, and fiue or six souldiors, the capteine of the sconse was sore hurt, so was the lieutenant with an arrow, and two or three other souldiors.

The twentith of Maie earlie in the morning was the sconse yeelded to our men, the souldiors passing awaie as souldiors. There was in the same sconse seauen score and seauenteene braue men, especiallie well furnished; there was in the same found a most braue peece of ordinance and two lesser peeces, there was two canons comming to the sconse, which were turned to Barriks hoose. ¶ Thus far hauing noted out of a booke penned by Henrie Archer, one of the gard to the right honourable the earle of Leicester, lieutenant generall in those parts, I leaue with heartie praier his honors happie and prosperous successe, and returne to other accidents such as in the meane time happened.

Seminarie priests executed at Tiburne.

On the one and twentith daie of Ianuarie, two Seminarie preests (before arreigned and condemned) were drawne to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered.

A wench burnt in Smithfield.

Also on the same daie, a wench was burnt in Smithfield, for poisoning of hir aunt and mistresse, and also attempting to haue doon the like to hir vncle.

Archbishop of Canturburie, lord Cobham, and lord Buckhurst of the priuie councell.

On the second daie of February, or feast of the purification of our blessed ladie, doctor Iohn Whitegift archbishop of Canturburie, William lord Cobham lord warden of the fiue ports and Thomas lord Buckhurst, were chosen and taken to be of hir maiesties priuie councell: the two first to wit, the archbishop and the lord Cobham, were sworne the same daie, and the third on the next morrow; who being persons worthie that place, both in respect of their deserts for their former good cariage in the commonwealth, and for the gifts of nature and learning wherewith they are richlie adorned, haue occasioned Francis Thin to make the like discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie and the lord Cobhams, with the lord wardens of the fiue ports, as he hath before doone in this chronicle of most of the other principall officers of the realme.

THE LIUES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTURBURIE,

WRITTEN BY FRANCIS THIN, IN THE YERE OF OUR REDEMPTION 1568.

POSTHUMUS Labienus (good reader) when he wrot the Roman histories in Greeke, craued pardon of the reader. Wherevpon Cato the elder did scoffinglie saie; Trulie he had beene to be pardoned, if he had written in Greeke as one compelled therevnto by the decree of the Amphictiones; the which like matter also found in Aulus Gellius lib. 9. cap. 8. and spoken of Aulus Labienus, is the same historie vnder other names. For Gellius receiteth that Albinus, who was consull with Lucius Lucullus, did write the deeds of the Romans in the Greeke toong; in the beginning of whose historie he hath set downe, that none ought to be angrie with him, although that he hath not written eloquentlie in those books. For being a Roman

a Roman borne in Latium a Part of Italie, the Greeke toong was but a stranger vnto him. Which worke when Marcus Cato had read, and happened on this excuse of Aulus Labienus, he reprehendinglie said; Art not thou Aulus a great trifler, which haddest rather craue pardon for a fault committed, than to be without the committing of a fault, sith we are accustomed onelie to craue pardon when we erre vnwittinglie, or offend by compulsion of others: Whereunto Cato further added: Te quis perpulit vt id committeres, quod priusquam faceres, peteres vt ignosceretur? Thus much out of Gellius. Whereby it appeareth, that in Plutarch reciting this saieng of Cato, the name of Posthumus Albinus is there to be placed; for these two Aulus Posthmus Albinus, and L. Lucinus Lucullus were consuls at the time when Cato persuaded that warre should be denounced vnto the rebelling Carthaginians: so that the same storie recited vnder the name of Posthumus, Aulus, and Albinus is all but one thing, doone to and by one man, hauing diuerse names. Which historie I haue not vouched, to the end that I would craue fauor for writing the doings of other persons in a toong wherein I am skillesse; because it deserueth not anie pardon, that one should heedlesse and headlong both wittinglie and wilfullie run into that for which he must after craue pardon. But I haue set downe the same, to the intent that the wise sentence of Cato may not be forgotten, saieng that where we offend by ignorance or by compulsion, that there we may lawfullie craue pardon therefore. Which words of so graue, so wise, and so reuerend a person incorageth me to craue pardon, if I haue offended in the discourse of these liues of the bishops of Canturburie (consecrated to thy fauourable acceptance) because I haue been mooued and induced to the writing of them in a short space, by the intreatie of such of my friends, which vpon the inserting of this now archbishop of Canturburie, with the lords Cobham and Buckhurst (woorthilie sworne of hir maiesties priuie councell) in the new augmented chronicle of Holinshed, haue with manie good speeches animated me vnder the bands and duties of amitie (than which a greater law or burthen can not be laid vpon anie man) to enter into this discourse of the archbishops, being a thing neuer written before in our vulgar toong. Wherevnto although I am most vnapt amongest great numbers in this land, as well for the matter and stile, as for the shortnesse of time which I had therefore (all which might feare a better man than my selfe, to withdraw his pen from laieng abroad his imperfections) yet I hope that courtesie accompanied with a mild disposition of nature will fauorablie imbrace my good meaning, and beare with all other imperfections in the penning thereof, both because nothing is so exactlie handled, but that some Zoilus will some waie or other repine at it, and also because the reason which I haue before alleaged, and Cato hath warranted, is a sufficient defense for me, without offense, to craue pardon for the vnaduised entring into anie such vndertaken action, and a iust cause to mooue thee not to mislike of this or anie thing which we doo at the entreatie of our neere and deere friends, vnworthie of anie deniall. In discoursing of which archbishops, I determine not to dispute of the antiquitie of the christianitie of this realme, neither of the state of christianitie infected with the Pelagian heresie (being streictened within the borders of Wales) nor yet of the hatefull paganisme, with which all the rest of the parts of this Ile now called England was ouerspred, which Augustine the moonke of Rome not the doctor of the church and bishop of Hippo in Africa found here when he came first into this Iland, but onelie nakedlie to shew the time, the order, the succession, the deeds and names, with the honor and offices of the archbishops and metropolitans of the same see of Canturburie. Wherefore, for this time I doo in this homelie sort enter into the matter, taken (in some part) out of Matthew Parker, who learnedlie in Latine wrote the liues of seuentie bishops of that place, as here dooth presentlie follow.

Augustine.

Augustine the moonke, in the foureteenth yeare of Maurice the emperor, being the yeare of our redemption fiue hundred ninetie and six, as hath William Thorne moonke of Canturburie (though some attribute his comming to the yeare fiue hundred ninetie and nine, but not so rightlie as I suppose) being about one hundred and fiftie yeares after the landing of the Saxons in this Iland, was sent by Gregorie the first of that name bishop of Rome into England, which Augustine first arriued in Kent at a place called Retesburgh, and after christened Ethelbert King of Kent, who gaue to him a house at Stablegate, as hath Thomas Spot, deliuering that matter in these words: Et concessit (which was Ethelbert king of Kent) eis locum habitationis in ciuitate. Doroberniæ situatum, videlicet in parochia sancti Alphegi ex opposito regiæ stratæ versus aquilonem, per quam murus palatij archiepiscopalis in longitudine se extendit. In quo loco sanctus August. cum suis domesticis vsque ad conuersionem regum hospitatus est. Illa tamen quæ per viam extiterant sarcinis onusta loco prædicto longo post tempore stabulata sunt, ob quam causam vsque hodiernum diem situs ille Stablegate vocatus est. Fuerat enim tunc quasi oratorium pro familia regis vt ibi adorarent & dijs suis libamina immolarent, &c. And a little after that also he thus saith; Anno Domini 597 Augustinus cum suis socijs illo in loco conversans vitam cæpit imitari apostolicam, and that king Ethelbert with his people was christened on Whitsundaie.

Thomas Spot.

Thomas Spot.

This doone, Augustine was the sixteenth kalends of December made archbishop of the Englishmen by Etherius bishop of Arras in France, to whome Gregorie the first of that name bishop of Rome did send the archbishops pall. Wherevpon Augustine placed his archbishops see at Canturburie, and was the first archbishop that sat there: for in the yeere of Christ fiue hundred ninetie and eight, king Ethelbert remooving his palace from Canturburie vnto Reculuer, gaue his palace which he had in Canturburie to the said Augustine and his successors, that the metropolitan see might remaine there, which palace he turned into the palace in which the said Augustine dwelt, being the palace which after remained to his successors archbishops of Canturburie; besides which this Augustine ordeined for the metropolitan chaire, a certeine old church built by the Romans, consecrated to our Sauior; which church is at this daie called Christs church in Canturburie, for difference of the other Christs church beside Aldgate in London. Moreouer, this Augustine, as saith William Thorne, did dedicat a church in Canturburie called saint Pancrace. Touching which, because that Matthew Parker hath not fullie made mention therof, by the name of saint Pancrace, although he speake therof as of the abbeie of saint Augustines and monasterie dedicated to Peter and Paule; I shall not spare to set downe the words of the said William Spot, which were written after this manner: Erat autem non longe ab ipsa ciuitate ad orientum quasi medio itinere inter ecclesiam sancti Martini & muros ciuitatis phanum siue idolum situm, vbe rex Ethelbertus secundùm ritum suæ gentis solebat orare, & cum nobilibus suis domonijs & non Deo sacrificare. Quod phanu ab inquinamentis & sordidis gentilium purgauit (which was Augustine) & simulachro quod in eo erat confracto, synogogam mutauit in ecclesiam, & eam in nomine sancti Pancracij martyris dedicauit, & hæc est prima ecclesia ab Augustino dedicata.

A little after the which he furthermore saith thus: Hijs namque gestis, Augustinus prædicti sancti Pancracij ecclesiam à rege obtinuit vna cum terra adiacente: in cuius fundo prædictus rex suggestione sancti patris Augustini ecclesiam in honore apostolorum Petri & Pauli à fundamentis construxit: & in eadem ecclesia rex sibi & successoribus suis Cantuariæ regibus sepulturum elegit. In hac & ecclesia Augustinus se & successores suos Cantuariæ archiepis. statuit sepeliri: hæc igitur ecclesia vsque ad hodiernum diem monasterium Petri & Pauli, sanctique Augustini ab omnibus terræ incolis appellatur. Thus much that old booke written, as some haue noted

noted (for the title thereof) by William Thorne, or William de Spina; although for mine owne part (grounding my selfe vpon Matthew Parker, who verbatim hath inserted much of this matter into his booke) I suppose that it was rather written by Thomas Spot or Sprot, than by William Thorne, being both of them moonks of Canturburie; and therefore sith the one continued the historie of the other, I haue vouched it sometime by the one name, and sometime by the other.

This Augustine (as saith that booke) died the seuenth kalends of Iune, in the yeere of our redemption six hundred and fiue, being about two moneths, two weekes, and two daies after the death of pope Gregorie, after that he had beene bishop eight yeers, six weekes, and three daies, as saith an ancient and goodlie booke of saint Augustines: but as saith Matthew Parker, he died in the yeare of our Lord God six hundred and eleuen, after that he had remained fifteene yeares in that see; or but ten yeares, as the said Thorne will haue it, whose bodie was buried and laid without the doores in the porch of the said monasterie of saint Peter and saint Paule, the same church being not yet perfect nor dedicated. But as soone as the same church had receiued his dedication, his bodie was translated into the north porch thereof, and there was honorablie buried; which porch (saith the said booke of Thorne) was in that part of the old church, where in his time did stand the chapell of the virgine Marie; and in the same also were all the other succeeding bishops of Canturburie accustomed to be buried, vntill the time of Theodorus the archbishop, who with the other bishops were inforced to be buried in the church, because the said porch could not hold any more dead bodies. Vpon the toome of which Augustine was this epitaph ingrauen. ¶ Hic requiescit diuus Augustinus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus, qui olim huc à beato Gregorio Romanæ vrbis pontifice directus, & à Deo operatione miraculorum suffultus, & Ethelbertum regem, & gentem illius ab idolorum cultu ad fidem, Christi perduxit.

Laurence borne at Rome, and of great learning, was chosen successor to Augustine by the said Augustine whilest he yet liued. He laboured by his letters to reduce the Britons, Scots and Irish to true christianitie and obseruation of Easter. He (as saith Matthew Parker) built a church to the virgine Marie (whereof more shall follow) in the monasterie of saint Peter and Paule, which yet he did not consecrate, but left the same to be performed by his successor Melitus. There hath beene an opinion amongst the moonks, that all the archbishops of Canturburie, *from the time of Augustine the first bishop vntill* Stigand, or rather Thomas *Becket, were moonkes: but that is refelled, in respect that this* Laurence *was a priest, as Matthew Parker auoucheth out of Bede lib. 1. cap. 27.* Touching which bishops to be monkes thus speaketh a booke of the monasterie of S. Augustines: Hoc discernens (Ethelbert king of Kent, who sent Melitus bishop of London and after bishop of Canturburie to Rome to haue licence to place moonkes in that monasterie) permisit vt ipsi prædicatores nostri monachi monachorum sibi associarent gregem, & eorum vitam sanctis moribus exornarent, vnde diuino nutu tam consono regis voto & ordinum monachorum accidit in posterum, vt in archiepiscoparum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ successione, omnes fermè ab aduentu Augustini vsque ad Thomam martyrem, qui in numero 39 fuerunt, per 508 annos intermedios monachi fuerunt. This Laurence died that yeare in which Eadbald king of Kent imbraced the faith of Christ, which he had till that time detested, after the death of his father Ethelbert, or rather the next yeare (as some haue) but others plainlie affirme that he died in the yeare of Christ six hundred and nineteene, the fourth nones of Februarie, being the second yeare of Rufinian abbat of saint Augustines, and the third yere of Eadbald king of Kent. But againe to the church of the virgine Marie within the monasterie before said, as the said Thorne writeth with these words:

Laurenc.

In

In isto monasterio ecclesiam in honorem sanctæ Dei genetricis ob facinorum suorum expiationem fundauit (king Ethelbald after his christening) & ipsam ecclesiam manerio de Northborne regaliter dotauit. Quod monerium est 30 aratrorum vt in codicillo eius apparet, quod monasterium huic monasterio ita liberè contulit sicut pater suus aut ipse vnquam liberiùs tenuerunt. Ista autem ecclesia beatæ virginis à principio fuit posita ad orientem monasterij, & erat cœmiterium fratrum inter ipsam ecclesiam & monasterium. Sed post dilatato monasterio fuit ista ecclesia penitùs prostrata, & ibi super ædificata crypta sicut nunc apparet. Now although it maie seeme to come out of order to speake anie more of this Laurence archbishop of Canturburie, sith I haue alreadie made mention of the daie and yere of his death, yet I thinke it not amisse, rather here than not at all, to set downe the words of a famous booke (which Matthew bishop of Canturburie neuer saw) of Augustines, the goodliest monument that I haue beheld belonging to anie house of religion, touching the same Laurence: which words I am the willinger to write, although they be somewhat long, because I will not defraud the author of the true telling of his owne tale, nor posteritie of the spreading by print the part of that booke, which otherwise perhaps might neuer more come to light: thus therefore speaketh that booke. An. Dom. 613. Laurentius archiepiscopus, qui non solum de Anglis nouæ quæ tunc erat ecclesiæ curam gerebat, sed & veterum Britaniæ incolarum necnon & Scotorum, qui Hiberniam insulam Britaniæ proximam incolunt, populis pastoralem curam impendere intendebat, à suæ prædicationis solicitudine ad suam sedem Dorobernensis ecclesiæ regressus, præsentis monastorij ecclesiam consecrauit, & præsente rege cum confluis turbis corpus Augustini transtulit in eandem ecclesiam consecratam, corpus verò sancti Letardi episcopi Syluanectensis in Gallijs, cuius metropolis est Remensis, necnon & corpus Bertæ vxoris Ethelberti in porticu sancti Martini sepeliuit, horum enim corpora extra ecclesiam prius fuerunt sepulta, eo quòd tempore obitus eorum ecclesia nondum fuerat consecrata. Et nota quòd ista porticus quæ vocatur sancti Martini, fuit ex parte australi ecclesiæ tunc consecratæ. Quod tamen in eodem loco vbi nunc est altare sancti Iohannis non fuerat idem sancti Martini porticus, patet per Bedam li. 2. cap. 4. vbi eandem ecclesiam inter alia describit in hunc modum Habet (inquit) hæc ecclesia viz. apostolorum Petri & Pauli in medio pene sui altare, in honorem Gregorij papæ dedicatum. Dato igitur quòd altare Gregorij quod nunc est, fuit in medio pene eiusdem ecclesiæ primitùs ab eodem Laurentio dedicata (quæ multo fuerat arctior quàm est ecclesia nostra moderna, sicut in locis sequentibus sibi aptis temporibus Wulfrici, Scotlandi, & Widonis abbatum qui ecclesiam dilatauerunt erit manifestiùs explanatum) sequitur idem Martini altare siue porticum, quamuis in eadem parte ecclesiæ fuerat, non tamen in eodem loco quo nunc est altare sancti Iohannis vbi Berta fuerat regina sepulta versumiliter extitisse. But now leauing this matter of that author, and returning to the death of Laurence, we saie that there was this epitaph fixed vpon his grauestone, placed next vnto the bodie of saint Augustine as here followeth:

Dedicatio ecclesiæ sancti Augustine Cantuariensis.

Porticus sancti Martini in ecclesia sancti Augustini Cantuariensis.

Hic sacra Laurenti sunt signa tui monumenti,
Tu quoque iucundus pater antistésque secundus,
Pro populo Christi scapulas doriúmque dedisti,
Artubus hinc laceris multa vibice mederis.

Melitus. Melitus borne of a noble familie, and an abbat of Rome, being sent by Gregorie into England to aid Augustine in the haruest of the Saxons conuersion, in the yeare of our redemption six hundred and one, was in the yeare six hundred and foure by Augustine made bishop of London; he went to Rome in the fourth yeare of his bishoprike, being about the yeare of our Lord six hundred and eight; he was expelled

expelled his bishoprike by the sonnes of Sigebert or Sebba, in the yeare of Christ six hundred and eighteene, and fled into France; but he was called out of banishment by Laurentius bishop of Canturburie in the yeare of Christ six hundred and nineteene, in which the said Laurence died, after whose death, this Melitus was made archbishop of Canturburie; he died the eight kalends of Maie about the yeare of Christ six hundred twentie and foure, in the eight yeare of king Eabbald, and was buried in the porch of the monasterie of Peter and Paule, after that he had gouerned the see of Canturburie fiue yeares, as hath William Thorne: though Polydor Virgil will affoord him but foure yeares: upon the graue stone of which Melitus was this epitaph set: *Polyd. lib. 4. Angl. hist.*

Summus pontificum flos tertius & mel apricum,
Hic titulis clara redditis mellitè sub ara:
Laudibus æternis te prædicat vrbs Dorobernis,
Cui semel ardenti restas virtute potenti.

In which epitaph this bishop is called Mel, alluding to the vertue of his name, which was Melitus, in English signifieng honnied, or made of honnie.

Iustus was first created bishop of Rochester in the life of Augustine the first archbishop of Canturburie; who not long inioieng the see of Rochester, was with Melitus in the yeare of Christ six hundred and eighteene, flieng the persecution of the christians in Kent, when he passed ouer into France, but after returning home in the yeare of Christ six hundred and nineteene, this Iustus was againe restored to his see of Rochester where he remained so long as Melitus liued: after whose death he was about the yeare of Christ six hundred twentie and foure remoued to the arch chaire of Canturburie; where he ordeined Paulinus to be archbishop of Yorke, in the yeare of Christ six hundred twentie and fiue, though some haue six hundred fourescore and seuen: This bishop Iustus departed this world the fourth ides of Nouember, in the yeare that the world became flesh, six hundred threescore and foure; and about the nineteenth yeare of king Eabbald, and was buried in the church of the apostles Peter and Paule with his predecessors. On the grauestone of which Iustus was this epitaph set: Iustus.

Istud habet bustum, meritis & nomine Iustum,
Quarto iure datus cum cessit pontificatus:
Pro meritis Iusti, sancta grauitate venusti,
Gratia diuinam diuina dat hic medicinam.

Honorius by birth a Romane, was chosen archbishop of Canturburie at Rome, and was consecrated at Lincolne by Paulinus archbishop of Yorke, in the church which the same Paulinus there built, and receiued his pall from Honorius the first of that name bishop of Rome: he diuided his prouince into parishes, appointing inferior ministers vnto them: he made Paulinus flieng out of the kingdome of the Northumbers bishop of Rochester, he died in the twelfe yeare of Ercombertus king of Kent, in the yeare that God became man six hundred fiftie and foure, or rather six hundred fiftie and three, the last daie of Februarie, as hath Matthew Parker, but of September as others haue, and was buried with his predecessors in the north part of the monasterie of saint Peter and Paule, after whose death the bishoprike was void by the space of one yeare and six moneths, whose epitaph was on this sort: Honorius arch-bishop of Canturburie.

Quintus honor memori, versu memoraris honori,
Digne sepultura, quem non teret vlla litura:
Ardet in obscuro tua lux vitramine puro
Sic scelus omne premit, fugit vmbras, nebula demit.

Deusdedit or Adeodatus, descended of the Westsaxons, who in his mother toong was called Frithona, was consecrated archbishop of Canturburie by Ithamar bishop of Deusdedit.

Rochester. This Deusdedit, died in the yeare of our redemption six hundred threescore and foure, or rather six hundred threescore and three, the daie before the ides of Iulie, after that he had beene bishop nine yeares, foure moneths and twelue daies, being buried with his predecessors in the porch of the monasterie of saint Peter and Paule in Canturburie, being the last archbishop that was buried in that place: this man dooth Polydor call Theodatus, which is all one in signification with the other Deusdedit, or Adeodatus: but that the one is compounded of the Latine, and the other of the Greeke, both signifieng in English, a person giuen by God: the epitaph of which Adeodatus was after this maner, according to antike inuention greatlie then vsed, and alluding to his name of Deusdedit in the second and third word of the 1 verse:

Alme Deusdedit, cui sexta vocatio cedit,
Signas hunc lapidem, lapidi signatus eidem:
Prodit ab hac vrna virtute salus diuturna,
Qua melioratur, quicunque dolore grauatur.

After whose death the bishoprike was void fiue yeares eight moneths and fifteene daies, during which time none administred the same bishoprike, though Matthew Parker will haue the vacancie of the bishoprike to continue a longer time, about the date of ten yeares or more.

Theodorus.

Theodorus archbishop of Canturburie was chosen in this sort. The see of Canturburie being long time void of a pastor, Wigard the priest a learned Englishman was sent to Rome by Egbert king of Kent, and Oswie king of Northumberland, to be ordeined archbishop of that see. After his comming to Rome, this Wigard and most of his companie died of a greeuous plague there, before he was created bishop: wherevpon, about the yeare of Christ six hundred threescore and eight, as hath Matthew Parker, but six hundred three score and nine, as others haue, Vitilianus the pope made Theodorus, a Grecian borne archbishop of Canturburie and sent him into England: who arriued here (as hath William Thorne) in the yeare of Christ six hundred threescore and ten, the sixt kalends of Iune, being threescore and three yeares of age, hauing legantine power ouer England, Scotland, and Ireland. This man brought with him into England a large librarie of Greeke and Latine bookes: who about the yeare six hundred threescore and eighteene, deposed Wilfrid archbishop of Yorke, a man notablie learned in poetrie, artithmetike, astronomie, musike, and in the Greeke and Latine toongs, as hath William Malmesburie.

An. Do. 668. Matth. Parker, In vita Theo. & venit Cantuar. anno 2 postquam consecratus est 6. kaland. Ianuarij.

Chro. Winceſcombe.

This Theodor in the yeare that the world became flesh six hundred and fourescore, diuided the prouince of Canturburie into fiue diocesses, and appointed gouernors thereof: he held two synods, the one at Hereford, and the other at Cliffe at Hoo besides Rochester, as hath Matthew Parker. Besides which, as it appeareth by William Thorne and Beda (or else the historie of Rochester hath mistaken Cliffe for Hedtfield or Hethfield, if these two synods were all one) by Florilegus, and the Saxon chronicles of Merton, and of Peterborow (as that worthie antiquarie M. William Lambert hath well noted) that Honorius held a synod at Hedtfield in the yeare of Christ six hundred and fourescore, to keepe backe the heresie of Eutiches begun in Constantinople, and first ordeined the vse of singing throughout England, which before was vsed onlie in Kent. He wrote manie bookes, namelie, Summam pœnitentialem, Patrum canones, Ordinationes cleri, De fide contra Eutichem, and manie others: he consecrated Erkenwald bishop of London, and Eadhed, Bosa, and Eata bishops of Yorke. He died the nineteenth daie of September in the third yeare of the vacancie of the kingdome of Kent, after the death of king Edricus, falling in the yeare that the second person of the trinitie tooke on him the forme of a seruant,

Beda lib. 4. cap. 17.

Matth. Parker in vita Theodori.

six hundred fourescore and ten, being fourescore and eight yeares of age, after that he had gouerned that see one and twentie yeares, three moneths, and foure and twentie daies, being buried in the church of Peter and Paule at Canturburie, but not in the porch thereof, as his other predecessors were: for Deusdedit was the last of those which were buried in that place, whose writing on his grave I find to haue beene verie much: but because that woorthie booke and monument of saint Augustine hath not fullie set it downe, as it hath doone some other epitaphs, I will onelie deliuer so much of that epitaph as is come to my knowledge, concerning the said archbishop in this sort:

Hîc sacer in tumba pausat cum corpore præsul,
Quem nunc Theodorum lingua Pelasga vocat:
Princeps pontificum, fœlix summùsque sacerdos,
Limpida discipulis dogmata disseruit.

After which there lacked a great number of verses, which should haue hanged herevpon, but they not appearing, the latter part and conclusion of his epitaph was there deliuered in this maner:

Namque diem nonam decimam September habebat
Cùm carnis claustrum spiritus effugeret:
Alma nouæ scandens fœlix consortia vitæ,
Ciuibus angelicis iunctus in arce poli.

Touching which archbishop, I think it not amisse to deliuer to the world, what an ancient anonymall chronicler hath written concerning his erection of schooles of learning at Creekelade, which is supposed to be the mother of the vniuersitie of Oxford, the words of which author are these.

Theodorus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis per omnes chronicas commendatur Luciferos radios rationis vna cum Adriano abbate orbi Britannico infulsisse, & insulam quondam nutriculam tyrannorum in familiare philosophiæ domicilium contulisse. Horum vtique rationis euidentia memoria reducitur modernorum per illam villulam quæ lacus Græcorum, Anglicè Grekeslade à Theodori diciplina vbi scholas primitùs tenuit nuncupatur. In illa enim lacu refulsit quasi sol Theodorus à sole iusticiæ illustratus. Thus much that author, which I suppose that the archbishop of Canturburie Parker had not seene, when he maketh Theodorus (vnlesse my memorie faile) to be author of the vnniuersitie of Cambridge.

Brightwaldus an Englishman borne. This man hath Polydor falslie shewed to be the first archbishop of Canturburie that was an Englishman, making the rest to be Italians and Romans, wherein he hath doublie erred (as saith Matthew Parker) for Deusdedit the second bishop before this man was of the Westsaxons, and Theodore next before this man was borne in Tharsis of Cilicia, in which error of Polydor, William Thorne was drowned long before him. This man was sometime abbat of Raculfe now called Reculuer, besides the north mouth of the riuer Gentade neere the Isle of Tenet, he was chosen archbishop in the second yeare of Withred king of Kent, in the yeare of our redemption six hundred ninetie and two, and ordeined bishop in the yeare six hundred ninetie and three, in the third kalends of Iulie, being consecrated by Goodwine metropolitane of France, as hath William Thorne, and Beda. Sergius the first of that name, bishop of Rome granted vnto him by his bull the full primasie ouer all the English churches. When this bishop entered the see of Canturburie, there reigned in Kent two brothers Wilred or rather Withred, and Swinfard, which Withred built the church of saint Martins in Douer where they became moonks, and indowed it with great possessions.

Brightwaldus. *Polydor. l. 46.*

Genlade.

691. William Thorne.

Withredus and Swihardus.

Touching which thus writeth the same booke of S. Agustine: Withredus monasterium sancti Martini apud Doueriaw fundauit, vt testatur Gulihelmus Malsmeburie, & secundum aliquos in eodem loco 22 canonicos instituit seculares, sed propter illorum execrabilem vitam, rex Anglorum Henricus 2, concilio Theobaldi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis in monachorum ordinem idem monasterium transtulit, & ibidem nouam ecclesiam construens 13 monachos de ecclesia Christi Cantuariensis introduxit. Brightwaldus died in the fift ides of Ianuarie, in the sixt yeare of Edbert king of Kent, in the yeare of Christ seauen hundred thirtie and one, and was buried in the church of Canturburie, after that he had gouerned the same chaire eight and thirtie yeares, three moneths, and foureteene daies, whose epitaph was written as hereafter followeth:

Matth. Park. Beda. li. 5. ca. 24. 37. ann. 6. mens. 3. 14 dies.

Stat sua laus feretro Brithwaldus, stat sua metro,
Sed minor est metri laus omnis laude feretri,
Laude frequentandus pater hic & glorificandus,
Si prece flectatur dat ei qui danda precatur.

Tatwinus.

Tatwinus or Madwinus in Saxon Tatpine whome some call Cadwine or Scadwine by the corruption and ignorance of writers, was borne in Mercia, a moonke of the order of S. Benet in the abbeie of Bneobune Bruidune, or Brenton, although some others saie that he was not of the profession of a moonke. Bede doth constantlie affirme that he was consecrate (in the first yeare of Gregorie the third bishop of Rome) in Canturburie by Daniell bishop of Winchester. Ingwald bishop of London, Aldwine bishop of Lichfield, and Adulfe bishop of Rochester. Controuersie falling betweene him and the bishop of Yorke, concerning the honours of their bishopriks, this Tadwine went to Rome about the yeare of Christ 733, where he receiued the pall of pope Gregorie: to this archbishops time dooth Bede continue his historie. Tadwine died after that he had beene archbishop of Canturburie three yeares, in the yeare of our redemption 734, or (as hath William Thorne) the last daie of Iulie, seauen hundred thirtie and fiue, being the tenth of Edbert king of Kent, and was buried in the church of Canturburie, with this superscription written vpon his graue stone:

Beda. i 5 ca. 24.

Pontificis glebe, Tacwini Cantia præbe,
Thura, deus, laudes, e cuius dogmate gaudes:
Huius doctrina caruisti mente ferina,
Et per eum Christi portari iugum didicisti.

Nothelmus.

Nothelmus borne at London, archpreest of the church of London, and bishop of the same, was aduanced to the metropolitane see of Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 736, in the fift yeare (as hath Matthew Parker) of pope Gregorie the third, and was consecrated at Rome, where he receiued his pall. He was a great helpe whiles he was preest of London to Bede, for the increase of the historie of Bede, written of the church of England: he was (as saith Gulihelmus Thorn.) three yeares and more in the bishoprike of Canturburie, and lied in the fifteenth yeare of Edbert king of Kent, in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred and fortie, the sixteenth calends of Nouember, and was buried with his predecessors, hauing this remembrance ingrauen vpon his sepulture:

Thom. Spot.

Wil. Malms. hath fiue years *Chron. Couen.* hath six years.

Hic scrobe Nothelmus iacet archiepiscopus almus
Cuius vita bono non est indigna patrono:
Cunctis iste bonis par in bonitate patronis,
Protegit hic iustos vigili munimine custos.

Cutbert.

Cutbert, borne of a famous familie of the English nation, was first bishop of Hereford in Mercia, and then in the yeare of our redemption 740 being the ninth yeare

yeare of Pope Gregorie the third, made bishop of Canturburie, who in the time of Ethelbald king of Mercia, called a synod at Cliffe besides Rochester. In this synod was present king Ethelbald of Mercia, Cutbert archbishop of Cantur. Totta, Hunita, and Padda, bishops of Mercia, Aldwinus bishop of Lindseie, Sigga bishop of the south Saxons. This archbishop procured Edbert king of Kent by publike edict, to change the place of buriall of the archbishops, which were before accustomed to be buried in the monasterie of saint Augustines of that citie, to the metropolitane church of Canturburie, in which church he was buried by subtiltie before the moonks knew of his death; who thinking to haue his bodie to their church, and finding him buried before they came, did afterwards assemble with armes (as saith Spot) to fet awaie this bodie of his successor Bregwine, to burie it in their monasterie: but when they saw it was alreadie buried, they departed in anger deceiued of their hope. Capgraue saith that he was buried in the church (neere vnto the great church) which was built in the honor of saint Iohn, which he therefore built to be a place for christenings, to examine causes of iudgement, to correct euils, and to burie the archbishops: which church of saint Iohn manie ages after did Lanfranke repaire. Which translating of the buriall of the archbishops to Canturburie, happening in the time of Aldhumus the tenth abbat of that house, which died in the yeare of Christ seauen hundred and sixtie, and the fiue and thirtith of Edbert king of Kent, occasioned the moonks finding fault with his default in that action, to set these verses (for the memoriall) vpon a stone of his buriall, made in the monasterie of saint Augustines:

741. *Wil. Spin. Cloueshoo. Thom. Spot. An. Dom. 747. Meuse Se, tem.*

Fert memor abbatis Aldhumi nil probitatis,
Pontificum pausam cassat tutans malè causam:
Prisca premens iura duo Cutbertus tumulatur,
Fulta sepultura sanctis per eum reprobatur.

Before the death of which abbat, that is in the yeare of Christ seauen hundred fortie and eight, being the three and twentith of the reigne of the same Edbert king of Kent, this archbishop Cutbert, after that he had sat seauenteene yeares, departed the world, and was buried (as is before said) out of the monasterie of St. Augustines from his predecessors.

Begwinus borne of worshipfull parents of the Saxons bloud, in the countrie of old Saxonie in Germanie, came into England, and was here made a denizen: who being vnwillingly made archbishop of Canturburie about the yeare of Christ seuen hundred fiftie and eight, or seuen hundred fiftie and nine, as some haue, confirmed the burieng of the archbishops in the place which Cutbert had before appointed. He sat in that chaire three yeares, and then surrendered his soule vnto God, whose death was not knowne, till that he had beene buried three daies before in the church of S. Iohn besides his predecessor Cutbert, about whose time was Stretburg, Winchester, London, Yorke and Doncaster, with manie other places much consumed by lightening. Begwinus.

Lambertus, or Iambertus, or rather Ieanbenpche and Leanbopche being abbat of S. Augustines, was made archbishop of Canturburie, the seauenth ides of Ianuarie, in the yeare of Christ seauen hundred sixtie and two, who hauing the pall giuen him, was made archbishop of Canturburie by Pope Paulinus or Paule, the first of that name, in the yeare of Christ seauen hundred sixtie and foure. In this mans time Offa king of Mercia found means to translate the archbishops see from Canturburie to Lichfield, (when Cadulphus the bishop thereof had a pall giuen him by Pope Adrian) for the greeuous displeasures which Offa conceiued against the Kentish, but especiallie for that this bishop would haue aided (as saith Matthew Paris in his chronicle of saint Albons) Charles the great determining to inuade England, touching which matter thus writeth Matthew Parker, shewing what bishops were subiect to the metropolike see of Mercia, and what bishopriks were vnder the metropolitane see of Canturburie: his words be these. Lambertus.

Marianus Scotus saith that he was ordeined bishop on Candlemasse daie, but an old author saith he is not therein to be credited.

E adulfo

Ex archiuis. Eadulfo igitur Lichfeldensi episcopo archiepiscopalem celsitudinem administranti subijciebantur hij Merciorum episcopi, Denebertus Wigorniensis, Werebertus Legecestrensis, Eadulfus Sunacestrensis, Wulmardus Herefordensis, necnon & orientalium Anglorum episcopi viz. Harardus Helmaniensis, & Tidferth Domucensis. Sedi verò Cantuariensi, Londonensis, Wintoniensis, Roffensis, Sireburnensis, antistites, dum Lambertus sedit, tantùm superfuerunt, etsi neque sumptui neque labori pepercit, vt sedem suam pristinæ dignitati restitueret. Quidam verò referunt cùm legati ab Adriano papa in Angliam missi concilium apud Calcuch (or rather Calchith) in prouincio Northumbrorum tenuissent anno 787, ibi Lambertum archiepiscopatus præfatam partem episcopo. Lichfeldensi remisisse. This man after that he had gouerned his lamed archbishoprike about seuenteene yeares, or rather two and twentie yeares, perceiuing his end to draw neere, and desirous to vndoo all such decrees as his predecessors had made touching the place of the buriall of the archbishops, and to bring that to his ancient place, commanded that his bodie when he was dead should be carried vnto the monasterie of saint Augustines, and there to be buried with his former predecessors, which was easilie performed; and therefore was honorablie buried in the chapter house of saint Augustines, with this epitaph heere vnder written in forme following:

W. Malms. lib. 1. De reg. gestis. Roff. histor. Henricus Venantuduensis. Edmerus.

Gemma sacerdotum decus à tellure remotum,
Clauditur hac fossa, Iambertus puluis & ossa,
Sub hac mole cinis sed laus tua nescia finis,
Incola nunc cœli, populo succurro fideli.

Athelardus. Athelardus was first abbat of Maldune, then bishop of Winchester, in the yeare of our redemption seuen hundred ninetie and three, in the yeare of the reigne of Offa surnamed the great king of Mercia thirtie and fiue, and in the one and twentith yeare of the gouernement of pope Adrian. This bishop of Canturburie going to Rome, obteined of pope Leo the fourth of that name, to haue the whole metropolitan iurisdiction reduced vnto the church of Canturburie from Lichfield, in behalfe whereof Renulfe king of Mercia wrote vnto the pope, wherevnto the pope answered. The tenor of both which letters Matthew Parker hath set downe in his booke of the liues of the bishops of the see of Canturburie. In this mans time, as hath Matthew Parker noted, Pagani (which were the Danes and Norwegians) portu Egfredi, regis vastato, monasterium. Done amnis prædarunt. During the regiment of this bishop, in the yeere of Christ seuen hundred ninetie and eight, manie houses and multitudes of men were consumed in London, by a sudden chance of fire. After which he died in the yeare of Christ eight hundred and six, and was buried in Christs church in Canturburie, and not in the monasterie of S. Augustines; from which time there was neuer anie controuersie nor quarell mooued by the moonks of S. Augustines for the not burieng of the archbishops in their abbeie, as there had manie times beene before.

Simeon Dunel.

Wulfredus. Wulfredus being first a moonke of Canturburie, was elected and aduanced to the dignitie of the archbishoprike of Canturburie at Rome, by pope Leo, the fourth of that name, who also consecrated and indued him with the pall, in the third yeare of Renulfus king of Mercia, being the yeare of the incarnation of Christ eight hundred and six. This man in the ninth yeare of his bishoprike went vnto Rome, and was accompanied with Wibert bishop of Shirburne. Whilest this man was archbishop, a great plague was in the church of Canturburie, which consumed and killed all the moonks except fiue. Besides which, at the request of this bishop, Renulfe, king of Mercia, at the dedication of the abbeie of Winchombe, which he had built from the ground, set the king of Kent at libertie, being his prisoner; who after departing this world was buried in Christs church at Canturburie.

W. Malms. Io. Capgra. Tho. Spotus.

Ex archius. Roff. hist.

Theologildus. Theologildus, or Flegildus, or Feogildus, or Fleologildus, as most books haue, being first abbat of Canturburie, was after aduanced to the archiepiscopall dignitie of the

the metropolitan see of all England, who because he died suddenlie, is not placed in the catalog of the archbishops, being buried in Christs church of Canturburie, as saith Geruasius, before the altar of saint Michaell towards the south. *Ex archiuis. Geruas. Dorobor.*

Celnothus, or Ceolnothus, otherwise called Ciathredus, or Swithredus, deane of the church of Canturburie, was aduanced to that bishoprike by pope Gregorie, of whome he receiued the pall. He was buried in the church of Canturburie, dedicated to our sauior Iesus Christ, after that he had ruled that chaire eight and thirtie, or as others haue, fortie yeres. In the foure and twentith yere of this bishop, and the yeare of Christ eight hundred fiftie and fiue, a great armie of the Danes did winter in Shepeie. In the nine and twentith yeare of his gouernement, being about the yeere of saluation eight hundred and three score, the greater part of the Danes by deceit went to Winchester, tooke it, and leuelled it with the ground. Shortlie after which, Swithin the bishop thereof being an old man departed this life. The yeare that this Celnothus died, the bishops see of the east Angles, which was at Domne or Dunwich, was translated to Eltham; the cause whereof is set downe by William of Malmesburie in this manner: Tempore (saith he) Bedicani regis Merciorum, & Egricti regis Westsaxonum, Humbrictus & Wilreaus fuerunt episcopi orientalium Anglorum. Sed eodem Ludecano & antecessore eius Burredo inuadentibus prouinciam, etium episcopis necessariorum copia sublata fuit. Et quidem, vtrique reges intra regionem prouincialium incursu extincti sunt. Cessarunt autem episcopatus, & ex duobus unus factus, sedem apud Elteham villam non adeo magnam accepit. Thus much he, and thus much I touching the time of Ceolnothus the archbishop of Canturburie, which giueth some cause of wonder to me, that nothing is found written (for anie thing I can learne) of him gouerning that see so long as he did. *Celnothus. Asser. Mene. Rosf. histor.*

Athelredus being first a moonke of Canturburie, was after bishop of Winchester, and from thense by the liberalitie of king Ethelred, aduanced to the metropolitane miter of all England. Of whose dooing (saith Matthew Parker) this onelie is found written, that in the yeare that the word descended from the bosome of the Father into the wombe of the mother, eight hundred seuentie and two, the seuenth ides of Iune, being Whitsundaie, he consecrated Werfred bishop of the Wicces, after the death of Alcwine. This Athelred after that he had possessed the honor of archbishop of Canturburie eighteene yeares, died an old man, ouerworne with sicknesse, being buried in Christs church of Canturburie with his predecessors. *Athelredus.*

Plegmundus by kindred a Mercian, being chosen archbishop of Canturburie, was cacred at Rome by pope Formosus, of whom he receiued the pall with full power of a metropolitan. This man did first in the ile Cestria (which of the inhabitants is called Plegmundesham) liue an heremits life manie yeres, after which he was schoolemaster to king Alfred or Alured, of whose dooing thus writeth Matthew Parker. An. Dom. 905. Plegmundus Cant. archiepiscopus, vnà cum rege magnificè cognomento Eduardo seniore, concilium magnum episcoporum, abbatum, fidelium, procerum & populorum in prouincia Gewisarum (id est in illa parte Angliæ quæ in plaga australi sita est fluminis Thamesis) conuocauit. Fuerat enim illa regio iam 7 annos præ hostium vi & impetu furioso episcoporum sollicitudine & cura pastorali destituta: vnde salubriter constitutum fuit in hac synodo, vt pro duobus episcopis, quorum vnus Wintoniæ, alter Sireburniæ sedem habuit quûmque crearentur antistites ne grex domini pastorum cura orbatus luporum lanienæ & voracitati subijceretur. Quorum antestitum cedes hoc nomine appellantur, Wintonia, Sireburnia, Wellia, Cridium, & Petrocium, quod est iuxta Wellenses aquilonares, ad flumen Heremoth (or rather Heslmuth) posita villula. Celebrato itáque concilio, & canonica electione facta, constituit Plegmundus archiepiscopus in sede Wintoniensi Brithestanum: in Wellensi *Plegmundus. Chron. eccles. Cantuar. Asser. Mene. Gerua. Dorobernen. W. Malms. Gewissi ex Saxon. occidentalib. populus.*

Ex archiuis W. Malm. De modo erigendi episcopatum Wellen. vidi tractatum amplum ac episcopis Wellen. & Bathon.

lensi Athelmum (qui post Plegmundum factus est archiepiscopus Dorobernensis) in Cridiensi Radulphum: in Sireburnensi Wolstanum: & in Petrociensi Athelstanum. Sed & in alijs prouincijs ordinauit duos episcopos, australibus Saxonibus (quorum antistites sedem habuerunt Cicestriæ) virum idoneum Burnegum præfecit, Mercijs verò Kenulphum ad ciuitatem Dorcestriæ: hij omnes vno die Doroberniæ ab archiepiscopo Plegmundo consecrati sunt. Non multò post, facta parochiarum distributione, superfuerunt episcopo Wintoniensi prouinciæ Hamptoniensis, Sutherensis, & Wilcensis cum insula Vecta. Prætereà Eduardo rege adhuc viuente Wilcensis pagus suum habuit episcopum, cuius sedes Ramesberiæ fuit, Sireburnensis verò episcopus habebat Summersetam, Wellensis Dorcestriam & Barkeriam, Cridiensis prouinciam Deuoniensem, Petrociensis Cornubiensem patriam. Thus much Matthew Parker, which I haue thought good here to insert, that thereby the state of the clergie, the number of bishops with their diocesses might appeare in the life of this Plegmund, who ordeined them out (as you see) of the diocesses of other bishoprikes. This being thus ordered, this Plegmund did by the kings appointment go with others to Rome, to pacifie the popes displeasure. Now after the death of this archbishop, his bodie was buried in Christs church of Canturburie.

Reff. list.

Athelmus.

Athelmus being first abbat of Glastenburie, then bishop of Wels, and lastlie archbishop of Canturburie, of whom we can saie but little, onlie this we set downe out of Matthew Parker, that he laid the first foundation of the abbie of Malmsburie. But for that it is somewhat dissonant from that which I haue read in other authors touching the same, who make Adhelme the inlarger of Malmsburie to be bishop of Shirburne, I will set downe what others haue written thereof. Malmsburie, saie they, was founded by one Medulph a Scot, of whom it was first called Medulphesburie, but of so small reuenues (though Lesleus bishop of Rosse lib. 4. pa. 167. saie that Medulphus cœnobium magnificum extruxit in ciuitate Malmsburiensi, &c) that the moonks were not able to liue thereof, whereof Adhelme being abbat, it was in his time greatlie aduanced. He was a learned man, and first made abbat of Malmsburie, in the yere of Christ six hundred three score and fifteene by Eleutherius then bishop of the west Saxons. This Adhelme the twentith of Inas king of the west Saxons, was made bishop of Shirburne, whereby it appeareth that Adhelme who first inlarged or laid the first foundation of the abbie of Malmsburie was some hundred and almost thirtie yeres before this Athelme the first bishop that euer was of Wels, and after the bishop of Canturburie: for this bishop of Wels liued in the yeare nine hundred and six, and the other in the yeare six hundred threescore and fifteene, the one in the daies of Inas king of the west Saxons, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ six hundred foure score and seuen, and the other in the reigne of Edward the elder, which began his kingdome in the yere of our saluation nine hundred. But it maie be that the first Adhelme bishop of Shireburne inlarged that house, and that the same being manie yeres after destroied by the Danes, had a new foundation thereof laid by this Athelmus archbishop of Canturburie: thus this touching that and so againe to Athelmus. This archbishop of Canturburie did crowne king Athelstane, who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ nine hundred twentie and foure, which king did build three coining houses at Canturburie, whereof one was for himselfe, the other for the archbishop, and the third for the abbat of S. Augustines. Besides which also he built three like houses at Rochester, two for himselfe, and one for the bishop. Of such like houses likewise he built eight at London, six at Winchester, two at Lewes, two at Hastings, one at Chichester, two at Hampton, two at Warham, two at Excester, two at Shaftsburie, and one in euerie other towne.

Tho. Spot.

Simon Dunel. Ex archiuis.

Wolfelmus *Chro. Well. & Bath. W. Malm.*

Wolfelmus the fourth bishop of Wels was aduanced vnto the archbishoprike of Canturburie, of whom as yet I cannot find anie thing, neither when he was made

or

or by whom, how long he sate, when he died or where buried, but onelie that William of Malmsburie giueth him thirteene, and the historie of Couentrie foureteene yeres of gouernment. But I find such diuersitie of the yeare amongst authors, in their accounts of the yeares of their first comming to the see, and continuing therein, that I thinke it impossible to reckon them.

Odo, surnamed Seuerus, or the seuere person, otherwise called Odosogodus, which being Latine Saxon, signifieth in English Odosogood, was borne in the prouince of the east Angles, of an honorable stock of Danes, which were pagans, who did vnworthilie disherit him, because in his youth he became a christian. This man forsaking his countrie fled to the seruice of Ethelmus a duke vnder Edward the elder, by whom he was committed to tutors to learne the Greeke and Latine speeches; whereupon he became singular in verse and prose. Shortlie after his baptisme he was made subdeacon, and then within few yeres following became a priest. Before his priesthood he was a soldior, in which he continued likewise after that he was bishop, thrise seruing the king in his wars: for being aduanced to the bishoprike of Shireburne or Sarisburie, by the gift of king Athelstane, he was in the wars with him against Aulafe the Dane. After the death of Athelstane he was made bishop of Canturburie by King Edmund, brother and successor to Athelstane, and receiued his pall from Agapetus the second, then pope of Rome. He crowned Eadred or Eldred king of England in the yeare of Christ one hundred fortie and six: which bishop in the yeare of Christ nine hundred and fortie made such peace betweene Aulafe the Norwegian, hauing spoiled England and gotten Yorke, Vt Aulafus totam Angliæ insulam ad borealem plagam viæ regiæ (quæ Watlingstreet dicitur) suæ ditiona subiectam teneret: Ea mundus verò australis eiusdem callis parte contentus pacificè frueretur quoque superuiueret regni totius regimen obtineret. This bishop inforced Edwin to forsake his concubines, banishing them all from the church, and one of them from the kingdome into Ireland. He made his nephue Oswald bishop of Worcester, and after translated him to Yorke. He gouerned the see of Canturburie manie yeares, and died in the reigne of Edwin king of England, being buried in that Christs church which belonged to his owne see, the forme of whose toome standing on the south side of the altar of that church, was made in maner of a pyramide. After his death Elsinus bishop of Winchester by monie obteined of king Edgar the bishoprike of Canturburie; but this Elsine going to Rome to be consecrated, miserablie died in the waie with extreame cold on his feet, which could neuer receiue anie heat although they bowelled their horses and put his feet in their warme bellies: which some saie happened to him by the iust iudgement of God, because he had before obteined this bishoprike by simonie, and reprochfullie spurned the toome of this Odo Seuerus, and greeuouslie railed vpon him. After the death of this Elsinus, Brithelmus a moonke of Glastenburie, as I haue read in the historie of Wels and the seuenth bishop of that see of Wels, was chosen to the archbishoprike of Canturburie. But (as saith Matthew Parker, Quia rebelles correctionis verbere omnino non cohiberet. He was by king Edgar commanded to returne to his forsaken bishoprike of Wels, in whose place of Canturburie (by the iudgement of all men) saint Dunstan was thought meet to succeed.

Odo Seuerus.

Ex archiuis.

Reff. hist. to Capgra. W. Malms. Edmerus. Fabian.

Mat. Park. in vita Dunstan.

Lond. liber. W. Malms.

Reff. hist.

Chron. Wel. & Bath.

Dunstan the three and twentith archbishop of Canturburie, after the account of Matthew Parker, this man was borne (in the yeare of our redemption nine hundred twentie and foure, being the first yere of king Athelstane, in the countrie of the west Saxons) of noble parents on both sides, whose father was called Herston and his mother Kinedeida; he was instructed in his youth in the liberall sciences in Glascon or Glastenburie. For, as saith Matthew Parker, Nondum cœtus monasticus illam ecclesiam occupauit, abbatisque nomen penitus erat incognitum, sed

Dunstan.

Osbernus. W. Malms.

Io. Capgra.

artium professores regij alebantur stipendijs. Si quis autem ab hominum consuetu-
Osbernus. dine ad solitaria vitam se vellet abducere, modo solus, modo paucioribus consociatus, patria relicta, capta in aliena regione oportunitate viuendi, vixit peregrinus. Qua occasione Hibernenses quidam nobiles habitandi locum a ciuili turba multitudinéque seiunctum Glasconiæ delegerunt. Ibi adolescentes nobiles ingenuis artibus mercede instruxerunt, inter quos Dunstanus in illa iuuenile institutione cæteris instructior ad eas artes, musicam & pingendi atque sculpendi scientiam adiecit. After which he serued his vncle Adelme, or Athelme archbishop of Canturburie, from whom he came to the seruice of king Athelstane his neere kinsman, whom the king the more fauored because he could plaie and sing well of and to the harpe. After
Simeon Dunel. this (for that as seemeth his harpe could plaie alone) he was banished the court, who departing from thense was laid in wait for, bound and cast into a durtie puddle: but in the end comming to Elphegus his vncle also being then bishop of Winchester, by whose counsell he was made a moonke, he was executor to Algiua, a woman borne of kinglie bloud, who by this Dunstans persuasion made hir will in this sort: Iesum Christum rerum mearum hæredem facio te (meaning Dunstan) euisdem hæreditatis tutore constituo, vt quicquid ipsum cognoueris velle, tui arbitrij sit effectu mancipare. After whose death Dunstan distributed hir mooueables amongst the poore, and appointed hir liuings and lands to houses of religion, for of that inheritance he builded fiue monasteries. Then when king Athelstane was dead, he came to the court and grew in fauour with king Edmund; but after falling in his disgrace he was banished from him, wherewith not wholie ouerthrowne, he reobteined the kings fauour. Deinde loca in quibus Dunstanus natus genitus enutritus, educatus, aut versatus sit, king
Mat. Parker. in vita Dunstan ex vetustissima Dunstani legenda. Edmund, Dunstano ad cœnobia extruenda dedit, whereupon (as saith Matthew Parker) Dunstanus sui ordinis monachorum copiosa collecta multitudine, cœnobium quod tunc solùm in Anglia fuit, repleuit, ipse eorum dux ac magister abbatis nomine primus in Anglia appellatus est. But here I must with reuerence saie thus much, that if Matthew Parkers writing, that this Dunstan was the first that was named an abbat in England, be not to be taken and ment that he was the first that was named abbat of the house of Glastenburie, or that was named abbat after the destruction of monasteries and religion by the Danes, it can not be true. For besides manie abbats of diuers religious houses named by Bede, manie hundred yeares before this Dunstan, the same Matthew Parker himselfe dooth name diuers archbishops of Canturburie before this Dunstan to haue beene abbats of sundrie places, as Lambert abbat of saint Augustines in Canturburie, Theologild or Fleogild abbat of Canturburie, and Athelmus abbat of Glastenburie, &c. This Dunstan ruled all things vnder king Eadred or Eldred, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ nine hundred fortie and six. After the death of which king, Dunstan was by his successor king Edwin the third time banished the court: wherevpon he went vnto his monasterie of Glastenburie, but not setling himselfe there, was banished the realme by the king, whose anger still increased against him in the end, by meanes whereof he went into France. After the death of Edwin, Edgar his brother, made king in the yeare of Christ nine hundred fiftie and nine, did call a councell at Branford, vndid the acts of Edwin, called home Dunstan, and whether he would or no made him first bishop of Worcester, then bishop of London, both which he held at one time, and within two yeares after, archbishop of Canturburie. To this Dunstan were almost all the bishops of England of kin, or alied in bloud by one means or other. For as saith Matthew Parker, Erant tunc temporis plures & digniores episcopi consanguinitate tu copulati. Odo enim Cantuariensis & Osketellus Eboracensis archiepiscopi propinqui fuerunt, his duobus Oswaldus consanguineus. Dunstani ex altera parte cognatio fuit cum Adelmo Cantuar. archiepiscopo, Elphego caluo Wintoniensi, & Elphogo iuniore abbate, qui postea etiam Wintoniensis episcopus fuit: tum Wulfino Sireborniensi

niensi episcopo, qui priùs abbas Westmonasteriensis fuerat. His cognationibus, iunctí se invice potiundis episcopatibus tanquam proprij hæreditatibus iuuerunt. Itaque regem acriter hortatur Dunstanus, vt Oswaldus prædecessoris sui Odonis fratruelis & Ethelwaldus Abindoniæ abbas, episcopi crearentur. Oswaldum ilico consecrauit Dunstanus Wigorniensem episcopem an. Dom. 960, annóque sequenti mortuo Brithelmo Ethelwaldum Wint. episcopum. Which Dunstan bishop of Canturburie annointed Edward king of England after the death of Edgar, in the yeare of Christ nine hundred three score and fifteen. He assembled a councell at Kilkling in the prouince of the east Angles, in the yeare of saluation nine hundred three score and seuenteene, and after this called an other at Calne in Wiltshire, in which was concluded a full banishment of secular and maried priests, and introducing of moonkes into their places, which order hath euer since continued for the space of six hundred thirtie and foure yeres in England, vntill about the six and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yere of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and foure, much about which all religious houses were dissolued and their order of life reiected. After this, Dunstan crowned Egelred king of England in the yeare of our Lord nine hundred three score and eighteene, or rather nine hundred three score and seuenteene, he sate at Canturburie seuen and twentie yeares, died the foureteenth kalends of Iulie, and was buried at Canturburie, as writeth Geruasius Dorobernensis in these words out of Edmerus: Sanè via vna, quam curuatura cryptæ ipsius ad occidentem vergentem concipiebat, vsque ad locum quietis beati Dunstani tendebatur. Ipse námque sanctissimus pater ante ipsos gradus in magna profunditate terræ iacebat humatus, tumba super eum in modum pyramidis grandi sublimíque structura, habente ad caput sancti altare matutinale, &c.

Simon Dunel. *Roger Houed.* *Simon Dunel.*

Ethelgarus succeeded Dunstan in the archbishoprike of Canturburie, he was first made abbat of the new monasterie of Winchester, by Ethelwald bishop of Winchester, after which he was made bishop of Seolseie in Sussex. But after that the Iland was spoiled by the Danes, he was aduanced to the metropolitike see of Canturburie, of whose dooings by reason of the injurie of the time, for now the Danes troubled all the realme, nothing is found, but that he died and was buried in Christs church in Canturburie, after that he had beene archbishop one yeare and three moneths. Ethelgarus.

Siricius, being first a moonke of Glastenburie, was in succession of time by saint Dunstan made abbat of saint Augustines in Canturburie; after which, he was vnder the same Dunstan, indued with the bishoprike of Winchester, and at length in the yeare of our redemption eight hundred fourescore and nine, or as some haue, nine hundred fourescore and eleuen, in the time of king Ethelred, or Egelred; he was aduanced to the archbishops see of Canturburie, where (as saith William Malmesburie, and the historie of Couentrie) he continued fiue yeares: he was buried (after his death) in Christs church of Canturburie, to which place he gaue his bookes, being as Matthew Parker saith, verie good. Siricius. *W. Thorne.* *Stephan Brichinton.*

Aluricius or Alfricus, who proceeded likewise out of the monasterie of Glastenburie, was first abbat of Abindon, after bishop of Wilton, and at length created archbishop of Canturburie, and receiued the pall of pope Iohn, about the yeare of Christ nine hundred foure score and sixteene: who after that he had ten yeares as some saie, and but six yeares as Malmesburie and Couentrie writeth, goodlie and valiantlie defended the church of Canturburie from the inuasion and spoile of the Danes, departed this life, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and six, in the reigne of king Ethelred, and was first buried at Abindon, and then remoued to his owne church of Canturburie. Aluricius. *Histo. Petriburgensis.* *Chro. Steph. Brichinton.*

Elphegus or Alpheg, issuing foorth of the monasterie of Glastenburie, was first made abbat of Bath, who being borne of honorable parents, passed his youth in the Elphegus.

monasterie of Hirst, whereof he was made a religious person: then he went to Bath, and there built him a cabin, in which he liued to himselfe; after which, he was by Dunstan consecrated bishop of Winchester, and then archbishop of Canturburie, receiuing his pall at Rome. In the end, this Elphegus being seuen moneths imprisoned, was by the Danes led to Greenewich, and there beheaded, about the yeare of Christ one thousand and twelue, during the time that Swaine had the gouernment of England. He was buried in Paules church at London: but after by the commandement of Canutus the Dane king of England, he was remoued to Canturburie, and there his bodie lieth honorablie interred, after that he had gouerned six yeares, as hath W. Malmesburie.

Liuingus. Liuingus, sirnamed Elstanus, being the tenth bishop of Wels, was elected to the see of Canturburie, and installed therein, who after seuen moneths imprisonment by the Danes as was Elphegus, being deliuered did (beholding the miserie of his people) flie into banishment: but Swanus being dead, and Ethelred reigning, he returned home, and after the death of Ethelred, crowned king Edmund Ironside at London, who being slaine by treason of Edrike (as most write) this Liuingus did at London crowne Canutus, and so in the end of his life obteined some quiet. This bishop after that he had beene archbishop of Canturburie seuen yeares, and had beautified that church with manie gifts, departed the world, in the yeare that the world became flesh one thousand and twentie, being the second yeare of Canutus the Dane, and was buried in Christs church at Canturburie.

Wil. Malsm. de pont. Geruasius de gestis regum. Ste. Brichinton.

Agelnothus. Agelnothus, Egelnotus, Athelnothus, or Aethelnothus, diuerslie called of diuerse writers, was surnamed the Good, being the sonne of the noble earle Agelmare. This man (after that the chanons of Canturburie in the persecution of the Danes, being of greater number than the moonks, had after the manner of other churches made their chiefe to be called a deane) was first made deane of Canturburie: after being chosen to that bishoprike he went to Rome, in the yeare that the word descended from the bosome of the father one thousand and twentie (being the second yeare of the absolute reigne of Canutus) and receiued the pall of pope Benedict.

Steph. Brichinton. de Cantu. episco.

Matth. West.

In this mans time, the same Canutus went to Rome about Easter, where he obteined of the pope, That the English schoole of Rome should be free from all tax; That all his subiects English and Danes in their pilgrimage or other trauell, should be free from tol of passage from place to place: and lastlie, That the archbishops of England should haue their pall freelie without anie monie: wherof the said Canutus writeth to this Agelnothus and others thus.

THE LETTER OF CANUTUS TO HIS BISHOPS OF ENGLAND TOUCHING THOSE THINGS.

CANUTUS rex totius Angliæ, & Denemarchiæ, Norvegiæ, & partis Swanorum, Agelnotho metropolitano, & Alfrico Eboracensi archiepiscopo, omnibusque episcopis, & primatibus, & toti genti Anglorum, tam nobilibus quàm plebeis salutem, &c. Then a little after followeth: Conquestus sum iterum coram domino papa, & mihi valdè displicere dixi, quòd mei archiepiscopi interim angariebantur immensitate pecuniarum quæ ab eis expetebantur, dum pro pallio accipiendo secundem morem apostolicam sedem expeterent: decretúmque est ne id deinceps fiat. Cuncta enim, quæ a domino papa, & imperatore, & à rege Rodulpho, cæterisque principibus, per quorum terras nobis transitus est ad Romam, pro meæ gentis utilitate postulabam, libentur annuerunt, & concessa etiam sacramenta confirmarunt sub testimonio quatuor archiepiscoporum, & 20 episcoporum, & innumeræ multitudinis ducum & nobilium quæ aderat, &c.

After

After the returne of Agelnothus from Rome, he stored the church, which before that time laid wast since the persecution of the Danes was doone. This bishop instructed Canutus in good learnings, and crowned two of his sonnes, Harold, and Hardeknute; and then after that he beene bishop eighteene yeares, died in the fourth kalends of Nouember, being buried in Christs church in Canturburie.

Edsinus, Elsinus, or Eadsinus, a secular priest, was first chaplen to king Harold, by whome he was promoted to the bishoprike of Winchester: then after the death of Harold the king, and of Agelnoth the bishop of Canturburie, he was elected archbishop of Canturburie, and receiued his pall of pope Alexander (as some haue, or rather of Benedictus, as others will) in the time of Hardeknute, or rather of Harold, about the yeare of Christ one thousand thirtie and eight. This man by reason of sicknesse not able to discharge the burden of his bishoprike, committed the same to one Siward abbat of Abindon, and after bishop of Rochester: which Edsinus the bishop, did with his councell helpe Edward the confessor, banished into Normandie to the kingdome of England, with whome he was verie familiar; because he crowned that king at Winchester. After which, when with great sickenesse he had eleuen yeares ruled the see by his vnkind and vnthankfull deputie Siward (whome he labored to make his successor, notwithstanding that Siward would scarselie vouchsafe to find him things necessarie) he died the fift kalends of Nouember, rather famished by the said Siward, than of other death, and was buried in Christs church in Canturburie: which Edsinus was accustomed in his writings thus to subscribe his name: Ego Eadsinus archiepiscopus eclesiæ Christi subscripsi.

Edsinus. *Ste. Brichinton.*

Wil. Malm. de pont.

Robert, by nation a Norman of the monasterie of Gematicens came into England by the calling of king Edward the Confessor, who deerelie loued him for the friendship which he shewed to the same Edward whilest he was brought vp in Normandie, and for the fauor that William duke of Normandie did beare to this Robert. For which cause king Edward the first made him bishop of London, and then bishop of Canturburie, about the yeare of Christ one thousand fortie and nine. He accused (to the king) Emma the kings mother of adulterie, and caused Goodwine earle of Kent to be banished: but after that she was purged by the Ordall (a manner of triall in those daies by consecrated fier, in going bare foote ouer nine hot burning shares) and earle Goodwine was restored by the labor of ten nobilitie; this Robert was banished, as after shall appeare. For the king asking pardon that he had so rashlie accused his mother of adulterie with Aldwine bishop of Winchester, was for his penance beaten with rods by the bishop, and receiued three blowes of his mother: in remembrance of which purgation, the queene and the bishop gaue nine mannors to the monasterie of saint Swithins in Winchester, which the king confirmed, with an inlargement of a further gift of other two mannors, called Deones, and Portland to the said monasterie. Wherevpon the archbishop finding himselfe so disgraced and growne into the hatred of the people, did voluntarilie banish himselfe out of the kingdome of England, and at length dieng in Normandie, was buried in the monasterie of Gemeticum, from whense he came.

W. Malm. Robert a Norman.

Stigandus chapleine to Edward the Confessor, who was aduanced to manie honors, but whether for his vertue or by his subtiltie, in abusing the gentle disposition of Edward the Confessor, I know not, but certeine it is, that he did not obteine them by reason of his learning, for he was altogither vnlearned or vnlettered. Notwithstanding which, it was no impediment vnto him to ascend the top of the archiepiscopall dignitie of Canturburie by these degrees. First he was bishop of Helmam amongst the east Angles, then bishop of Winchester and Chichester, and then lastlie, in the tenth yeare of the said K. Edward, being the third yeare of pope Leo the third, and the yeare of our saluation one thousand fiftie and three, aduanced to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, during the life of the last before exiled

Stigandus. *Walt. Couen.* *Matth. Paris.* *Iuuenal. hist.*

Wil. Malms. exiled bishop Robert, liuing then in Normandie. Who hauing thus atteined the highest spiritual honor, did not yet leaue the bishoprike of Winchester, for which cause he was termed a simoniake, couetous, a theefe, an inuador of other mens possessions, and for that cause could neuer obteine the pall of the true pope of Rome. *Wil. Malmi. Thom. Spot.* Wherefore in the end he got one of the schismaticall bishops of that see called Benedict, to inuest him with the pall. Which Stigandus remaining archbishop of Canturburie at the conquest, so wrought, partlie by policie, and partlie by force, as may be seene in manie chronicles that he and Egelsinus the abbat of saint Augustines in Canturburie, the two chiefest lords in Kent, obteined of William Conqueror at Swainescombe in Kent, that the same prouince should for euer keepe their accustomed lawes and liberties; which granted, they deliuered the whole shire and castle of Douer to William Conqueror: notwithstanding all which, and that William Conqueror did outwardlie seeme to honor him, yet he would not be crowned of this Stigandus.

1067, or 1068, as some haue. After which, William Conqueror, about the second yeare of his reigne, going into Normandie, carried this Stigand with him, and would not suffer him to depart his sight, rather for feare of his subtiltie, than for anie credit he gaue to his fidelitie: whom though he neuer trusted nor loued, yet the king would alwaies call him by the name of father, and rise to meete him in all assemblies. In the end, the king *Roger. Cest. Iroual. hist.* dissembling the matter no longer, but laieng all the fault vpon pope Alexander, did in the yeare of our redemption one thousand threescore and nine, falling in part of *Walt. Couent. Wil. Malms. Radulph. de Diceto. Rog. De Cest. Roff hist. Wil. Thorne. Florilegus. Hist. Eliens.* the fourth yeare of William Conqueror, find meanes to haue him deposed: For the said Alexander, sending Hermanfredus bishop of Redimence, with Iohn and Peter priests cardinals into England, in the octaues of Easter, they so handled Stigand that inforcing him to flie hither and thither, sometime into Scotland with Alexander bishop of Lincolne, and sometime into Elie to hide himselfe; they at length in a councell holden at Winchester deposed him, and his brother Agelmar bishop of the east Angls, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand threescore and ten, being part of the fourth yeare of the said William Conqueror. Wherevpon Stigandus being spoiled of all his goods, was committed to perpetuall prison, where he was hardlie kept from anie food and other things, till he would confesse where his treasure was: but he rather choosing to be famished than to shew it, hauing before with an oth denied it, did in the end most miserablie depart the world, after that he had beene archbishop seventeene yeares. But when he was dead, there was a keie found about his necke, which after led the king to innumerable treasure, hidden by him in diuerse places.

Lanfranke. Ioronal. hist. Chron. Saxo. Cant. Sigebert. Gemblacens. Lanfranke an Italian Lombard, being from his youth brought vp in learning came into Normandie, allured thither by the fame of Herlwine abbat of Bec: who going towards that place, was in a wood robbed and fast bound, but after being let loose he came to Bec, where he professed and taught logike to releeve his pouertie, being first made a moonke, and after prior of the same abbeie; whom, when *Wil. Gemite. Roff. hist.* William the bastard duke of Normandie did affect, he was made abbat of Cane, being further in following time also by the said William (when he was king of England) made archbishop of Canturburie, and consecrated at Canturburie the fourth kalends *Wil. Malms.* of September (in the fourth yeare of the said William Conqueror, being in the yeare of our redemption one thousand threescore and ten) of these bishops, William of London, Siward of Rochester, Walkeline of Winchester, Remigius of Worcester, Herfastus of Helmhalm, or Thetford, Stigerard of Seolseie, Hermon of Shireburne, and Giso of Wels. This Lanfranke thus installed, Thomas archbishop of Yorke came to Canturburie vnto him to be consecrated: but vpon some termes of contention vsed betweene them, Thomas departed vnsacred, whereof he complained to William Conqueror. But after, Lanfranke so cunninglie handled the matter, that Thomas by the kings especiall edict sware obedience vnto him. Shortlie after this,

Lanfranke

Lanfranke of Canturburie, and Thomas of Yorke, with Remigius of Lincolne bishops, went to Rome, to receiue their pals of pope Alexander the third: where Lanfranke obteined two pals, one of loue, and another of office and honor. During whose abode at Rome, Thomas the archbishop of Yorke began afresh to complaine of his subiection to Canturburie: but the pope referred the deciding of that matter to the king and the nobilitie of the realme: which in the year of our redemption one thousand threescore and twelve, being the sixt yeare of William Conqueror, defined the same at Windsore the tenor of the Lanfranke by Matthew Parker, at what time also (saith Geruasius) the pope granted him Totius Angliæ, Walliæ, & Britanniæ (secundum morum antiquorum) primatum.

Ioronal. hist.

Walt. Couent.

Rog. de Cest. Roff. hist. Chro. Saxon. Cant.

This Lanfranke in a Councell at Winchester ordeined that no canon should haue anie wife: as by these words appeareth set downe by Matthew Parker, Statuit inter alia, vt nullus canonicus vxorem haberet, extra vrbem in vicis & castellis sacerdotes non compellendos vxores dimittere, prohibendos autem ne matrimonium protraherent qui iam sunt cœlibes. Tum episcopis iniunctum est, nè quos ausint presbyteros vel diaconos ordinare nisi cœlibatum professos. He kept an other synod at London for remooning of bishops sees to greater cities. In this mans time there was without the citie of Canturburie in the east part a church of S. Martins, where was a bishops see, whereof the bishop alwaies remained at or within the shire, and was in all things deputie to the archbishop, who did continuallie frequent the court. This vnderbishop being alwaies a moonke, had the charge of the moonks of Canturburie, and did come to celebrate the solemnities in the metropolitane church, which doone he returned home, who with the prior of Christs church (whom they called deane) did with like attire and habit obteine place in all synods. Which order of deputie bishop continued vntill the time of the Normans gouernment, at what time the last bishop of that place was called Goodwin, who being dead, Lanfranke denied to make anie other bishop of the church of S. Martins, because two bishops ought not to be in one citie, when in truth he was not a bishop in the citie but out of the citie in the countrie. Wherfore Lanfranke appointed in his place a clearke of his, and created him to the title of an archdeacon, whereof the archbishop repented him before he died. This archbishop was at the councell of Rone in Normandie appointed by William Conqueror, in the eighth yeare of his reigne, wherein manie things were decreed touching the state of England, and Lanfranke at that time recouered manie things against Odo bishop of Baieux and erle of Kent, which he unjustly withheld from the bishoprike of Canturburie. Beside which he recouered also to his see fiue and twentie manors. To this man did Scotlandus (as hath Geruas. Dorobernensis and Guido abbats of S. Augustine) sweare obedience. For which great contention was betweene the moonks of that house and the bishop of Canturburie, who repared the church of Canturburie being partlie verie ruinous and partlie burnt. Moreouer, he built two hospitals the one at Harbaldowne and the other at saint Iohns, whereof the one was for lepers, and the other for sicke and weake persons, to which he gaue of the treasure of the archbishoprike yearlie one hundred and fortie pounds. Besides which he built the church of S. Gregories, wherein he placed canons to serue such as were sicke and weake, building an other church neere to the lepers, where they might serue God and be buried. Wherevnto maie be added (as saith Geruasius) that he built the bishops palace at Canturburie. He gaue yearelie fiue hundred pounds in almes to the poore, and in a famine sent to London and fed one thousand people. The old church of Rochester being downe, he built the same anew, giuing great gifts unto it, he gaue one thousand marks to the white moonks, and purchased the manor of Redburne. And though he had the dailie gouernement of the common wealth, yet he gaue himselfe mostlie to diuinitie, wherein he

Liber. Wigor. Randulphus. W. Malmsb.

Sigeb. Gembl.

Ex fragmento historiæ quod in chronic. Roff. prostat.

1065 or rather 1075.

The first archdeacon of Canturburie.

Sigeb. Gemblacens.

1074.

Matth. Paris. Annales hist. Cant. Fide placitum apud Pinendenam inter Lanfrancum & Odonem ex textu eccles. Roff. per Ernulphum episcopum.

was

Aurea histor. 2. pars.

was procured by his father Herebald, and his mother Rosa to be instructed. He corrected the old and new testaments corrupted by the transcribers, he wrot bitterlie against Berengarius touching the sacrament, he made commentaries vpon Paules epistles, and the psalter, and euerie yeare wrot manie other works. In the third yeare of his bishoprike he consecrated Peter bishop of Lichfeeld or Chester at Colchester, and in the yeare following made Patrike bishop of Dublin (in Ireland) at London. In which yeare also he consecrated Hernestus moonke of Canturburie bishop of Rochester, and further, made Gundulph moonke of Canturburie bishop of Rochester after the death of Hernestus. In the eigth yeare of his bishoprike, in a councell held at London, he deposed Ailnod abbat of Glastenburie. In the eighteenth yeare of his gouernment he crowned William Rufus, consecrated Godfreie bishop of Chichester, Iohn bishop of Welles, and Guido abbat of saint Augustines. Sometime after which he was by William Rufus banished, who as he was going to Rome, hearing of the death of the same Rufus, returned to his bishoprike, where when he had sitten nineteene, or (as saith Geruasius) twentie yeares, he died (as he had long desired) of a feuer, the fourth kalends of Iune, in the yere of Christ 1088, after which the see was void foure yeares (as hath M. Parker) but Per quinquennium as writeth Geruasius. Of which Lanfranke Sigebertus Gemblacensis setteth downe these verses, composed by Anselme his successor:

Chron. Saxon. Cantuar.

Archiepiscopi nec diuitias nec honores,
Sole sub vndecima geminos subeunte dieta,
Lanfrancus subijt sed curis atque labore,
Fœlicis vitæ sibi ponitur vltima meta,
Natus in Italia Papiensi de regione,
Ciuibus egregijs & honesta conditione,
Monachus atque prior Becci fuit hinc Cadomensis
Abbas post, præsul primatus Cantuariensis.
Totius Anglorum fuit ecclesiæ reparator,
Et Normanorum nihilominus auxiliator,
Cuius doctrinam pars maxima senserat orbis,
Et commune fuit viduis solamen & orbis,
Claudis, contractis, leprosis dæmoniosis,
Surdis & cæcis nec non etiam vitiosis,
Post exhortamen non spreuit ferre leuamen,
Hic dum vixit erat spes omnibus atque leuamen.
Regum rex æterne Deus rerúmque creator,
Sis sibi perpetuus defensor & auxiliator,
Virgo redemptoris mundi sanctissima mater
Illum conserua ne spiritus arceriator,
Omnes electi precibus meritísque iuuate,
Lanfrancum vestris & vobis consociate,
Vos quoque qui vitam gratanter adhuc retinetis,
Et spem venturæ donec superestis habetis,
Hortor & admoneo, quòd eidem subueniatis,
Et quod feceritis post mortem percipiatis,
Nam qui propter eum supplex & sedulus orat,
Pro semet supplex & sedulus ipse laborat.

In reading these verses the superstition of the time is to be remembred.

Anselmus.

Anselmus borne in Augusta a citie of Burgundie, situat at the foot of the Alps, was descended of worthie parents, his father being called Gundulphus, and his mother Heneberga. This man mooued with the fame of Lanfranke, came to the abbeie

of

of Bec in Normandie, where he was made a moonke, in the twentie and seuenth yeare of his age, succeeding Lanfranke in the place of the prior of Bec, who shortlie after the decease of Helwine the abbat of Bec, was also substitute in his place, continuing abbat fifteene yeares. After being called into England by Hugh erle of Chester (extreamlie sicke) he was in the end made archbishop of Canturburie by William Rufus, though afterwards he would haue vndone his gift to Anselme loth to lose so great reuenues as he receiued by the vacancie of the see. This Anselme thus departing with the abbeie of Bec, was consecrated archbishop by Walkeline bishop of Winchester. After which, sharplie admonishing the king for spoiling of churches, he grew in the kings displeasure, and could not obteine licence to go to Rome for his pall, sith (as he said) there ought none of his subiects to be in subiection to pope Vrbanus. For which cause a councell being called at Rokingham by the king, the nobles, and the clergie, Anselme stood in defense of the pope, and the others resisted against his authoritie. Whervpon in the end all the bishops, except the bishop of Rochester, forsooke their obedience to Anselme, some of them onelie affirming that they denied obedience vnto him in things which he commanded on the behalfe of pope Vrban, and not otherwise. Which Anselme vnderstanding, craued leaue to depart to Rome, but could not obteine it: but notwithstanding all which, a peace was after made betweene the king and him, vntill Whitsuntide. But the bishop not finding this protection sufficient, he was spoiled of his goods and lands, and greeuouslie molested by the kings officers, wherwith not mooued, he did yet receiue Vrban for pope, which king Rufus and the cleargie of England in that schisme of the popedome would neuer doo, for which cause he obteined the pall of the said Vrban, by the means of Walter bishop of Alba, who brought that pall from Rome to Canturburie. The dooing whereof caused William Rufus secretlie to labor with the pope, to haue Anselme by some meanes or other to be altogither withdrawne from England, in which he preuailed not. Whervpon William Rufus returning from the wars, fell at dissention with Anselme, who now had libertie either to tarrie in England, and not to appeale from the king to the pope, or else to depart the realme, and to giue answere thereof within eleuen daies, wherof the archbishop receiued the last, and said that he would depart England. Then the archbishop departing from the king (who yet said he would not refuse his blessing) went to Canturburie, where he tarried foureteene daies: after which as he was taking ship at Douer, he was by one William the kings clerke, and the people there, spoiled of all he had, and so sent naked ouer the seas into France. The archbishop thus departed, the king seized all he had, and vndid all his decrees. In the end, Anselme passing to the pope, was well interteined by him at Rome, whither came the same William that spoiled him, as the kings ambassador, and obteined a respect of hearing Anselme cause, vntill the feast of Michaelmas following; during which time both the pope and the king died.

Roger de Cestria.

Matth. Paris. Ruff. histor. Ieronal. histor.

Eadmerus.

Annal. ecclesiæ Augustinæ.

Eadmerus.

This Rufus feeling the sweet that came vnto him by spirituall liuings, whereof he reteined manie in his hands, would iest with these words, that Panis Christi panis pinguis est, The bread of Christ is sweet and fat bread. After the death of Rufus, Anselme was called home by king Henrie the first, and restored to his bishoprike, with all other things to him belonging; for the king did greatlie fauor him, as may appeare by this deed, which is in Saxon, the tenor whereof we haue here set downe in Saxon, and the Latin out of Matthew Parker, being both set downe in the same booke of the bishops of his see. Wherin is two things to be noted, first the simplicitie and good meaning of that age, that in so few words did conueie so great matters, not leauing contention for lawyers to wrangle upon, contrarie to the custome of our age, who make their charters excessiue long, and yet not so strong as they were in times past. The other is the maner of sealing vsed by the kings in those daies: for the kings seale which is now hanged at the end of all patents, in

Ieronal. histor.

this ancient grant is fastened to a little part of parchment drawen out and cut from the left side of this charter. For in times past the kings did not vse to set to their seales to anie grant, till Edward the Confessors time, which first brought that order into England (if my memorie faile not, and therefore I haue not mistaken the words of Ingulfus for this Edward his charter) for the more witnesse of the truth, to be sealed with wax, which yet it seemed the following princes did vse but at pleasure, for I haue seene an ancient deed of William Conqueror part in Saxon and part in Latine, without date, in which the king gaue to Guiso bishop of Wels the manor of Banewell in Summersetshire, which Harold had taken from them, wherevnto was neuer any seale but the subscription of the king and the nobilitie, written in Saxon characters, the name whereof I thinke good (though it concerne not the bishops of Canturburie, for antiquities sake, and because that some of these names haue yet a being) to set downe in this sort: Ego Gulielmus dux, Waltheof dux, Robertus frater regis, Rotgerus princeps, Gualterus Gœsehtard, Serlo de Burci, Rotgerus Derundell, Richardus filius regis, Gualterus Flæmine, Wurstan, Baldwinus de Waranbeicge, Otheltard Aelfgardethorne, William de Waluile, Bundi Stallere, Robert Stallere, Robert de Yle Rotgerus pincerna, Hardineg Wulfutard, Brightine, &c. And so to the charter of Henrie the first made to Anselme.

Geraus. in vita Eduardi Con.

THE SAXON CHARTER OF KING HENRIE THE FIRST,

FOR THE RESTORING OF ANSELME HIS PRIUILEGES.

Þ. Anȝle-landeſ kýnninȝ. ȝret. Þuȝe de Boclande and W. Baýnarde. and ealle mýne picnæreſ en lundune. Ic pille and be beode ꝥ ealle Anſelmeſ mænn þe he heꝼð on lundune and ealle hiſ oðſe mænn, þe cumeð and areth ꝼ into þære burh. ꝥ hi beon ſpa ſacleaſe oꝼ eallen ȝeþunen ſpa Landſrane Arcebiſcop hiſ mænn betſt hæꝼde on mýn æſ ꝼadeſ týme. and haþiȝeð ꝥ ȝe heom naht ne mýſ heoden. t Þuȝ. Comite de Ceſtria. ap. peſtmonſt.

THE SAME CHARTER IN LATINE.

H. rex Anglorum Hugoni de Bocland & Willihelmo Baignard, & omnibus ministris meis Londoniæ salutem. Præcipio & volo vt omnes homines Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, quos in Londonia habet, & omnes sui in ea villa euentes & redeuntes, ita quietè de omnibus consuetudinibus sint, sicut vnquam Lanfrancus archiepiscopus suos in ea meliùs & quietùs habuit tempore patris mei, & videte ne eis vllam iniuuam faciatis. Teste Hugone comite de Cestria apud Westmonster.

Aurea histor. pars. 2. W. Malms.

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* Hertseie as some suppose.

After this, Anselme called a synod at London, in which he deposed for simonie and other euils, Guido abbat of Wimondham, and Edwine abbat of Ramseie simoniaks; and these other abbats, Gefferie of Peterborow, Heimo of * Cerulle, Egelrike of Midleton, bicause they were not ordeined in the cleargie, with Richard of Elie, and Robert of S. Edmunds, for other defaults and excesse. In which councell also amongst manie other lawes conteining six and twentie chapters, for the cleargie were these: That clearks should weare garments of one colour, and such shooes as were appointed cap. 10. That abbats should not make anie knights that might eat or drink in that house with the moonks cap. 17. That the bodies of the dead should not be buried out of their paroch church cap. 24. And that none with rash noueltie should attribute to dead bodies, to wels, or other places (which we haue knowne to haue often happened) anie reuerence of holines without the bishops

Abbats did make knights.

Buriall in paroch churches.

shops authoritie ca. 25. And that none should exercise that most lothsome busines in which hitherto men were woont to be sold like brute beasts, cap. 26. The which constitutions of this synod of London Giraldus bishop of Yorke could not make his people to obeie, neither yet would manie other parts of the realme obeie the same, especiallie such as following the kings order had disposed of their ecclesiasticall liuing, as the king had doone for the inuesting of bishops. Against which Anselme did greatlie stand, and would not consecrate such bishops, the which Girald archbishop of Yorke alwaies did, at the request and pleasure of the king, who appointing a place and day for them to be consecrated by him thither came William bishop of Winchester to receiue his benediction, but he in the end not meaning to take the same consecration at Giralds hands, deliuered his staffe and ring againe to the king, of whome he had receiued it: wherevpon the king banished him, and sent William Warlwast ambassador to the pope about that matter, whereof is more spoken by Holinshed in the reigne of king Henrie the first. *Gisburensis. Reg. de Cestri. Roff. histor.*

This Anselme comming from Rome, together with William Warlwast, was forbidden by the said Warlwast (from the king) to enter England, vnlesse he would without anie subjection to the pope obserue all the customes of England brought in by William Conqueror and William Rufus his predecessors: wherevnto Anselme disagreeing, remained three years at Lions with the archbishop Hugh. But after that he was reconciled to the king by means of the countesse of Adela his sister, whome Anselme came to visit in hir sicknesse, who going into Normandie to the king (then in subduing the same) did so effectuallie worke with him, that Anselme was restored, and this peace made betweene them; that all such bishops as were before inuested by the king, and excommunicated by pope Paschall should be absolued and keepe their bishopriks, and that neither the king nor anie other laie man hereafter should doo the like againe. Wherevpon Anselme returned into England, and was restored to his bishoprike, and to all the commodities receiued by the king in the time of his banishment. After the kings returne to England, there was by the king a councell kept at London, in which the inuestiture of bishops was wholie giuen to the king. This Anselme bestowed much on the decking and reparing of the church of Canturburie, and instituting the monasterie of the moonks of Chester first built by Hugh earle of that prouince, ouer which monasterie he made Richard his chapleine abbat. This archbishop was verie diligent in writing, of whose dooing there are extant three hundred sixtie and seauen epistles, he compiled diuerse treatises, first: De veritate. 2 De libertate arbitrij. 3 De casu diaboli. 4 De grammatico & discipulo. 5 Monologion. He wrote also a booke called Sententiarum prologion, a booke De incarnatione verbi, and manie other bookes, as one intituled Cur Deus homo, an other De conceptu virginali, and also De orationibus contemplatiuis, and lastlie De processione spiritus sancti. Who thus spending his time to helpe other, did, two yeares after his last comming into England, fall sicke of an ague at saint Edmundsburie, and hastened to come to Canturburie, where keeping his bed a long time he at length departed this life the eleuenth kalends of Maie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and nine, the seauentie and six of his age, and the sixteenth of his bishoprike, being buried at the head of Lanfranke his predecessor. *Walt. Couent. Sim. Dunel. Matth. Paris. Will. Malms. Roff. histor. Aureæ histor. 2. part. Gbran. Rober. Edmerus.*

Rodolphus borne in Normandie a Benedictine moonke, was sometime the scholer of Lanfranke in the abbeie of Cane. This man being first made abbat of Sagos, was from thense by Anselme lead into England, and made bishop of Rochester, whose aduancement to the see of Canturburie was after this manner. Henrie the first holding manie spirituall liuings in his hand, and the nobilitie complaining thereof, he was in the end ouercome by their petition, to subject them vnto pastors and gouernours, for which cause he appointed Faricius abbat of Abindon to the see of Canturburie, a man doubtlesse of great wisdome and grauitie. But manie of the nobilitie being against *Rodolphus. Matth. Park. Ioronal. histor. Aureæ histor. 2. part. W. Malms. Chro. Canob. Martini. Roger de Cestria. Roff. histor. Ex archiuis*

against it, they would haue had the king to promote one of his secular clearks and chapleins to that dignitie. Againstwhom it was objected that none had possessed that see, but such as were moonks, except Stigandus, whose unhappie end did shew the punishment of the breach of that moonkish succession, wherefore by all mens voices, and the kings changing of his mind touching Faricius, this Rodulphus was made archbishop of Canturburie, and consecrated by William bishop of Winchester, the fifteenth yeare of pope Paschalis, and the fourteenth of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and fourteene, and the fift kalends of Iulie next following receiued the pall at Canturburie sent from pope Paschall by one Anselme abbat of S. Sabina, nephue of the other Anselme archbishop of Canturburie. In which daie of receiuing the pall, he consecrated Theolfus bishop of Worcester. In this bishops time the most bishops of England were Normans. Now Rodulphus being old, sicklie, full of the palseie and of the gowt, was hard to be pleased and somewhat became vnthankefull to the king which had preferred him. For whereas the bishop of Salisburie was readie apparelled and prepared to haue executed the solemnities of the marriage (which belonged to the bishop of Canturburie) betweene Adelicia and king Henrie the first at Windsore, this Rodulph commanded him to leaue off the same, and committed the dooing thereof to the bishop of Winchester. Besides which, when the king was at Berkeleie in the Easter, and came to London at Whitsuntide, and sat crowned in his throne, that daie the queene was to be crowned, this Ranulph saieng the diuine seruice that daie (leauing his masse in the middle) did come vnto the king, whome Thomas archbishop of Yorke had crowned when he came to the kingdome, bicause Anselme was banished and out of the realme. Against which archbishop of Canturburie the king rose vp to receiue him with curtesie: but the bishop notwithstanding boldlie asked the king who crowned him, whereunto the king answered, that he cared not, and therefore did not remember it. Whereto Rodulphus replied, Whosoeuer did the same did not rightlie doo it, wherfore either leaue you off your crowne, or I will leaue off my masse. But the king nothing troubled therewith, did answer him; If as thou saiest this crowne be not well put vpon my head, doo thou that which thou thinkest is rightlie doon. With which words the bishop came neerer, and lifting vp his hand to take the crowne from the kings head. The nobilitie (as the king was about to loase the lace which tied the crowne fast vnder his chin) with one voice cried out against the bishop, and greatlie laboured him not to take off the kings crowne in this solemne coronation of the queene. With whose acclamations Rodulphus being quieted he went forward with his masse, beginning at this verse Gloria in excelsis Deo. Which fact of Rodulphus doone at this vnseasonable time, the cleargie and nobilitie did so hate, that they agreed (as hath Matthew Parker) neuer to haue anie moonks to be bishops of Canturburie, wherevnto the king assented, and by law established it. But this decree did not long hold, for the two following bishops were moonks, and the third being Becket, was the first canon after Stigand that was consecrated bishop of Canturburie.

But this was not so as may before appeare.

Matth. Paris. Radulph de Diceto.

Roger being sometime chancelor of England.

Foranall hist.

In the time of this Rodulphus was the question of obedience mooued betweene him and the archbishop of Yorke. For Thurstan bishop of Yorke at the first would not sweare obedience to this Rodulphus, for which cause Rodulphus in his old age went vnto Rome; but the pope giuing a doubtfull sentence, the archbishop of Canturburie shewed the same vntó king Henrie the first at his returne into England. Wherevpon Thurstan was forbidden to enter into England; but the popé excommunicating both the king and Rodulphus, compelled them to receiue Thurstan into Yorkshire with this condition, that he should not medle out of his diocesse of Yorke, and professe his due obedience to the see of Canturburie. At length Rodulphus hauing the palseie three yeares departed the world (after that he had been bishop of Canturburie

Matth. Paris. Simeon Dunel. Foranall. hist. Radulph de Diceto. Gisburnensis. Roger de Hoveden.

Canturburie eight yeares, or as others saie nine yeares) the thirteenth kalends of November, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred twentie and two, being about the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of that learned king Henrie the first (which for the same was surnamed Beauclerke, or faire, or skillfull clerke) and was buried at Canturburie. This bishop was of speech courteous, noted of no notable crime, but ouermuch giuen to mirth and iesting, for which he was surnamed the iester or trifler. *Ex archiuis. Edmerus. Ex archiuis, Gisburn. Matth: Paris.*

William Corbell or Corbois, whome Matthew Parker maketh the six and thirtith bishop in succession, and some call Gulielmum de Turbine was first a secular clerke, then a moonke of the order of saint Benet, and after that, prior of saint Osith of Chich, who in the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of Henrie Beauclerke, and the third of pope Calixtus, was by Henrie the first made bishop of Canturburie on Candlemas daie, and consecrated of William bishop of Winchester, the bishoprike of London being then vacant. This doone, this William goeth to Rome for his pall, at what time Thurstan thinking it now time to mooue Calixtus about the subiection of the see of Yorke to Canturburie, did yet find no grace at Rome therefore, because the pope vtterlie remooued from himselfe the deciding thereof; albeit the Saxon chronicle of Peterborow dooth saie that gold and siluer did end this quarell. Wherefore William of Canturburie and Thurstan of Yorke comming home togither, saluted the king then in Normandie, and so entred England. After this he consecrated Iohn his archdeacon of Canturburie into the bishoprike of Rochester, in the three and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and three, as hath Rob. Montensis, at what time also he blessed Godfreie the kings chancellor to be bishop of Bath at London. In the fourth yeare of his consecration he did hold a synod in the monasterie of saint Peters at London; which synod was called Synodus Willielmi, or Williams synod. In this bishops time Paules church and a great part of London was burnt; for the citie was consumed by fire from saint Clement of the Danes without Temple barre to London bridge, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and thirtie, being the thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, and the eight yeare of the consecration of this bishop. At what time also the church of Canturburie was consumed with the like flame and fell downe, which this William, being legat of the apostolike see, did againe build vp, and dedicated it in the same yeere of our Lord one thousand one hundred and thirtie being the thirtith yeare of Henry the first, the fourth nones of Maie, as hath Geruasius Dorobornensis, with a great and honorrable preparation in the presence of the king and queene of England, and of Dauid king of Scots, with the nobilitie and prelats of both realmes, as hath Geruasius. Vnto which church then consecrated king Henrie the first gaue the church of saint Martins of Douer and the archbishop yearelie gaue ten pounds. This bishop William was so faint-harted, that he almost died because he was ouercome by Henrie de Blesses (bishop of Winchester and brother to king Stephan (which built the hospitall of the holie crosse neere Winchester) in the legantine power which the said William secretlie labored to obteine. For first Henrie going to Rome, this William followed to resist him; but Henrie so preuailed, that being made a cardinall, he succeeded William being dead in the office of Legat. This William declared his inconstancie in crowning king Stephan, contrarie to his oth made to Maud the empresse, who being feared by the terror of his conscience, let fall the host when he celebrated the masse at the coronation of the same Stephan. After which, this bishop for sorrow falling sicke, died the eleuenth kalends of December, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred thirtie and seauen, hauing gouerned that see fifteene yeares and nine moneths, being buried in the church

William Corbell.

1121

Chro. Sigisb. Gemblacens.

1268

Ex archiuis.

Gulielmus archiepiscopus (as hath *Geruasius*) fundauit ecclesiam sancti Martini monachorum de Douræ.

1136

Matthew Parker ex Polycrat. Roger de Chestria. Iornal. histor.

of

of Canturburie; after whose departure the see was void one yeare, two moneths, and fourteene daies.

Theobald. *Reff. histor. Ex archiuis. Gualt. Couent. Matth. Paris. Gembl.*

Theobald, whose originall is not knowen, was of a Benedictine moonke made abbat of Bec, after which in the second yeare of king Stephan, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred thirtie and eight, in a councell at London (assembled by Albert bishop of Hostia the popes legat in England) he was chosen archbishop of Canturburie by the suffragans of that see, and consecrated by the said Albert; after which he sent twelue moonks to the new church of Douer, and offred them Asceline sacrist of the church of Canturburie. In which moneth being Ianuarie this Theobald with great pompe went to Rome, and receiued the pall of pope Innocent the second of that name, of whome he also obteined this title to be called Legatus natus, which was euer after attributed to his successors, whereby they were from that time forward termed Legati nati, which title they haue kept vntill our time, so long as the pope had anie authoritie in England. This Theobald was but meanlie learned but well qualited, and of mild conditions, whereby he was both acceptable to the king and to the nobilitie, of whom thus writeth Geruasius; Hic Theobaldus 37 ab Augustino Cantuariensem ecclesiam adeptus, cùm esset natura simplex & aliquantulum literatus, asciuit clericos scholares quorum consilio suo impetu quolibet ducebatur. Post annos verò quinque minùs quàm deceret considerata ratione Ieremiam priorem, qui eum elegerat, deposuit, etiam post appellationem, aliúmque substituit. Ieremias autem tàm de suæ institia causæ quàm de Romani pontificis æquitate confidens ad sedem apostolicam accessit, & de sua restitutione literas obtinuit. Restitutus itaque in prioratum, apostolica authoritate post modicum cessit, ne archiepiscopus causa sua alqua cæterisinferret grauamina. Huiusmodi despositio prioris anteà pænes nos facta non est, &c. Successore autem suo Waltero ad episcopatum Cicestrensis ecclesiæ vocato, substitutus est in prioratum Cantuar. ecclesiæ Walterus Paruus archiepiscopi capellanus. The like matter of the deposition of Walter Paruus Geurasius pursueth in the historie, with the originall how the archbishops of Canturburie got the prerogatiue to make and depose the prior of Canturburie, being a thing which came by meere vsurpation in this sort. In the wars in the time of king Stephan, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred and fiftie, Geruasius reciteth, that Walter the prior of Canturburie, seeking the helpe of this bishop Theobald to succor his house in distresse, submitted all the things and gouernment of the same to the archbishop, at the first refusing it; but in the end, accepting thereof, with much importunitie he placed a moonke called Dericus to haue the ouersight of all the things within doores and without, who should therefore yeeld account to the bishop, at what time first began the euill and trouble. For that which was then attempted for necessities cause for their benefit, turned after to their hinderance, because the bishop vsing all things with extremitie; the prior appealed him to Rome, which Theobald despised, imprisoned the moonks (whereby they could not follow the appeale) and tooke from them all their writings and priuileges. But in the end the matter was compounded with quiet in some part betweene the bishop and the prior, who at length by the flattering words of the archbishop, which the prior beleeued, did in the end surrender his priorie to the archbishop. And when the prior amongst other words of his resignation said to the bishop; I resigne my priorie (at what time manie supposed, that the archbishop would haue replied; And I restore thee to the same) this bishop contrarie therevnto said; And I depose thee from the same, further commanding the prior, that he should follow him to London, where he should receiue full restitution. Whereupon the prior despising the aduise of his brethren, came with some of the ancients of his house to the bishop at Lambeth, who being called aside as though they should talke of the restitution of the prior, with the archbishop, the bishops

seruants tooke this Walter so deposed, and led him to Glocester, commanding the abbat of that house in the archbishops name, that he should not suffer him to depart thense, or to go foorth. Wherevpon the prior remained there in a prison during the life of this Theobald archbishop, who consecrated Walter archdeacon of Canturburie bishop of Rochester, chosen by the moonks of Canturburie by his appointment, from whence euer after the archbishops of Canturburie were patrons of the church of Rochester, as saith Matthew Parker: but Geruasius prooueth their authoritie in that see long before, for thus he writeth. Obijt (which was an. Dom. 1147) Ascelinus Roffensis episcopus anno episcopatus sui sexto, nono kalendis Februarij, cui successit Walterus archidiaconus Cantuariensis, frater Theobaldi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, qui secundùm antiquam consuetudinem, in capitulo Cantuariæ electus est à monachis Roffensibus. Cuius electionis primam habuit vocem Hugo abbas sancti Augustini, eò quòd apud ecclesiam Roffensem monachicum susceperat habitum; ad præfatam verò abbathiam translatus cum monachis Rouecestriæ coram Theobaldo Cantuariense archiepiscopo (ad quem spectat de iure antiquo episcopatus ipsius donatio) in capitulo Cantuar. in præsentia totius couentus Cantuar. cleri & populi multitudine, vt prædictum est, ipsum elegit Walterum. Qui more antessorum suorum iurauit super quatuor euangelia, se fideliter obseruaturum dignitatem Cantuar. ecclesiæ, quam habebat in ecclesia Roffensi. Est autem ecclesie Cantuariens. consuetudo ab antiquis temporibus constituta, & à pijs patribus obtenta, quòd episcopus Roffensis debeat eligi in capitulo Cantuariens. ex dono archiepiscopi & electione conuentus Roffensis ecclesiæ. Facta autem electione debet electus iurare super quatuor euangelia fidelitatem ecclesiæ Cantuariens. & archiepiscopo. Et quod non debeat Roffens. episcopus operam dare, vel consentire vt ecclesia Cantuariens. priuetur honore vel dignitate, quam habeat in ecclesia Roffens. Et quòd debeat baculus pastoralis episcopi Roffensis defuncti à monachis Roffensibus ad altare Christi Cantuariens. deferri. Et quòd vacante Cantuarien. ecclesiæ sede vel absente archiepiscopo, debeat episcopus Roffensis in Cantuar. ecclesiæ episcopalia ministrare, sicut proprius & priuatus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ capellanus, si tamen a conuentu Cantuariensis fuerit vocatus. Hac igitur facta fidelitate consecratus est Walterus ab ipso fratre suo Theobaldo archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. Quo consecrato, archiepiscopus archidiaconatum Cantuar. cuidam Rogerio dedit de ponte episcopi, qui & ipse Cant. ecclesiæ fidelitatem iurauit sicut archidiaconi facere consueuerunt. Thus much Geruasius a moonke of Canturburie in defense of the honor and priuileges of the see of Canturburie. After which this Theobald receiuing an oth of obedience of the said Roger archdeacon of Canturburie, he blessed him into the bishoprike of Yorke and made Thomas Becket, commonly called saint Thomas of Canturburie, archdeacon of Canturburie in his place, procuring him also to be the kings chancellor.

Histor. eccles. Cantuar.

1147 Beginning the yeare at Christmas.

In the third yeare of the consecration of this archbishop, pope Eugenius held a councell at Rhemes, wherevnto Theobald was called. Wherefore Henrie bishop of Winchester the popes legat (who in authoritie of superioritie of that office did often contend with the said Theobald for the archbishoprike of Canturburie, was Legatus natus, and the other as I maie terme him, but Legatus datus, the first for euer, the second but for a time) did subtilie vse the matter both with the king and the pope, that the one should call him to the councell, and that the other should forbid him to depart out of his realme; to the end that if he obeied his spirituall pastor, he might fall into the censures of the church; and if he obeied not his temporall lord, that he might fall into the ciuill punishment and be banished the realme, whereupon he was commanded to staie in England, and all the ports stopt that he might not passe foorth. But he rather fearing the displeasure of the pope than the king, scaped the hands

Geruas. Thom. Spot.

Robertus abbas S. Michaelis.

hands of such wardens, passed the sea and went to the councell. Which councell being ended, as hath Geruasius, the bishop returning home, was honourable receiued by the couent of Canturburie; whereof when the king had intelligence, being then at London, he grew so angrie, that he came with all speed to Canturburie, where manie words of heat passing betweene them, more than were conuenient or tending to peace, at length the bishop was by the king commanded to depart the realme: who after a few daies respite passed the seas at Douer and went into France, where he remained a certeine time, and was called backe to saint Omers by the queene, and William de Ypre, that the kings messengers might more easily come vnto him, at what place he consecrated Gilbert elect bishop of Hereford the nones of September, by the helpe and assistance of the outlandish bishops, which were Thidrike bishop of Amiens, and Nicholas bishop of Cambraie. Now the bishop thus banished, for requitall thereof interdicted the king: but after leauing saint Omers he came to Graueling, entred the sea, returned into England, came into Northfolke, and landed at Gofford in the lands of Hugh Bigod, whom the said earle meeting receiued with great honour: in which countrie he interdicted the land, and would not be remooued from that sentence, vntil the bishops Robert of London, Hilarie of Chichester, and William of Norwich, with diuers other noble men came vnto him to Framelingham castle in Northfolke, belonging to the earle Bigod, where at length a peace was concluded betweene the king and him, the interdict was released, and the bishop with great honor and ioie came to Canturburie. Where hearing how the moonks of S. Augustines had contemned his interdict, and thereof complained to the pope, he trusting to a sure staffe of the popes fauor, did aggrauate the sentence against those moonks, whom he excommunicated with Siluester their prior, and William surnamed the Deuill, kinsman to abbat Hugh of that house, after deposing the same Siluester in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred fortie and eight.

At length, such was the fauour of this Theobald in England, as he at Wallingford or rather at Winchester, as hath Geruasius, reconciled king Stephan and Henrie Fitzempresse, contending for the crowne of England in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred fiftie and three. After comming home, he required a little summe of monie of fiftie shillings and seuen pence of the moonks of saint Augustines Pro dotatione chrismatis, which the moonks denied. Wherevpon Theobald laid the censures of the church on them, whereby the matter was by appellation deferred to the pope, who wrot to Henrie bishop of Winchester and Robert bishop of Hereford, to define the cause; which they did, in giuing sentence against the moonks. Things thus quieted in England, there was a councell held at Rome, whither went these bishops, Theobald of Canturburie, Walter of Rochester, Simon of Worcester, Roger of Couentrie, and Robert of Excester, with so manie abbats called thither. After this, Theobald called a synod at London, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred fiftie and two, being the seuenteenth of king Stephan, and the foureteenth of his consecration, in which councell was present king Stephan and his sonne Eustace, whom he required to be made king, to which (being by the pope forbidden) they would not by anie means assent. Which was so brought to passe by the means, as saith Geruasius, of one Thomas a clearke borne at London, whose father was Gilbert, and his mother Mawd. Wherefore the king and his sonne shutting them vp close, with threats and feare obteined that which they could not doo with fauour and authoritie, for manie of them were therby brought to yeeld to the kings mind. But Theobald priuilie stealing from the place, got a boate wherein he was carried to the Thames mouth into the sea, where he entered a ship at Douer, and passed ouer the seas, wherevpon the king did banish him

Gervas.

Chronic. Robert.

Walt. Couent. Chro. Petrob.

This Thomas is supposed to be Thomas Becket.

and*

and seized on all his substance. In this councell were manie kinds of friuolous appeales to Rome forbidden, which Henrie bishop of Winchester had procured; to which Henrie, Lucius the pope, as master Lambard hath noted out of the chronicle of Rochester, did send a pall, determining to haue made him a new archbishop, assigning seuen bishops to be under his subiection: but as it seemeth, the same tooke no great effect. For which dooing of Henrie, there was great contention betweene Theobald and him, for Canturburie would vse his ordinarie authoritie ouer his suffragan Winchester, and he would extend his legantine power ouer his metropolitan Canturburie, by which meanes were manie appeales made to Rome. After the death of king Stephan, Theobald was called out of exile, and was in greater fauour with Henrie the second, than euer he was with Stephan; and yet Thurstan or rather his successor William archbishop of Yorke, did priuilie attempt to crowne king Henrie, which he would not suffer, admitting none thervnto but Theobald, as appeareth by these letters.

Annal. eccle. August. Cant.

Wil. Nubrigen.

Henricus rex Angliæ & dux Normaniæ & Aquitaniæ, & comes Anb. Theobaldo Cant. archiepiscopo salutem. Super hoc quod mihi mandastis, quòd audieritis me coronandum ad natale ab archiepiscopo Eborac. apud Lincoln. in prouincia vestra, sciatis quòd nullo modo me ibi coronabit, nec alibi contra dignitatem vestram. Ibi enim me coronabit, sicut mandastis, Lincoln. episcopus, si præsentiam vestram habere non potero, quam multùm desiderarem. Sed hac vice parco labori vestro, & cùm dominus Lincoln. episcopus possit modo supplere vices vestras, nolo quòd ad me veniendo tanto labore vexemini. Et hoc pro certo scialtis, quòd nec in his nec in alijs quàm diu coronam portabo, vestram offendam gratiam nec diuinam dignitatem. Teste T. cancellario nostro, apud Notingham.

Which William attempting the matter at Rome was, after the king had repelled him, poisoned vpon his returne into England, the king being after crowned in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred fiftie and fiue, by Theobald, in the seuenteenth yeare of the gouernment of his archbishoprike. About this time was Canturburie and Rochester almost all burnt with the church of Yorke. Theobald being now verie old died in the yere of our redemption one thousand one hundred three score and one, the foureteenth kalends of Maie, as saith Geruasius, after that he had beene bishop two and twentie yeares, and was buried in Christs church in Canturburie, after whose death the church was void one yeare one moneth and foureteene daies.

Sigisb. Gembl.

Thomas Becket borne in London the sonne of Gilbert Becket, was taught and brought vp at Merton colledge, from which he went to Paris, was after a iustice of England, then in seruice with Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, after which he went into Italie to learn the ciuill law, who returning home was made archdeacon of Canturburie by Theobald in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred fiftie and foure, master and ruler of Beuerleie, and parson of Bromfield, of whom Matthew Parker thus writeth: Deuotus semper fuit diuo Albano à quo cepit primos redditus scilicet ecclesiam de Brampfeld. From whense he was aduanced to the chancellorship of England, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred fiftie and foure, who going to the court being a deacon, left off his clerklie apparell and attired himselfe after the fashion of such as serued the prince. He was a good souldior both for the church and the kingdome, for the miter and for the crowne: he being the first Englishman after the conquest, which possessed that see, was made archbishop of Canturburie at Westminster by the kings edict, and consent of all the clergie, except as some saie, Thomas bishop of London: but Geruas. saith,

Thomas Becket. *Ex archiuis. Roff. hist.*

Houeden. Walt. Couen. Roff. hist. Ioronal. hist. Rog. de Cest.

Mentiuntur planè qui dicunt Londoniensem electioni Thomæ archiepiscopo restitisse, quia sedes illa Londonij illis diebus vacauit & postea vsque ad natiuitatem Domini; in the yere of our redemption one thousand one hundred three score and two, in the seuenth yeare of Henrie the second, and the second of pope Alexander the third, about the fortith of his age as hath Geruasius, and was made priest, (for he was before but a deacon) by Walter bishop of Rochester on Whitsun eeue, and the next daie consecrated bishop of Canturburie by Henrie bishop of Winchester, of whom in this treatise I will set downe the words of Geruasius Dorobern: touching his death, leauing the rest of his life for another place. Anno gratiæ 1170 Thomas in fine quidem anni martyrio coronatus est, dies nenim natalis Domini erat in sexta feria, sancti Stephani in sabato, sancti Iohannis in die dominica, sanctorum innocentium feria secunda; feria verò tertia sanctus Thomas passus est dum monachi vesperas cantarent in choro, quod in anno sequenti videlicet 1171, esse non potuit, &c. Qui asserit sanctum Thomam martyrizatum anno 1170, annum incipit & terminat in Annuntiatione, qui autem dicit eum passum esse anno gratiæ 1171, annum præcedit alterius & anticipat trium mensium spatio. Of which Thomas Becket, and of all other the archbishops of Canturburie, which were chancellors of England, I will here in this booke speake but little, referring the discourse of all the rest of their dooings to my large booke of the liues of the chancellors, where the liues of these archbishops shall be liberallie penned, and for this man at this time refer thee to the collections of the chancellors set downe in Holinshed.

Matt. Paris. Florilcg. Herebertus, Iornal. hist.

Richard archbishop of Canturburie was chosen to that see in this order. One Robert abbat of Bec, elected archbishop, being desirous to liue quietlie, and fearing troubles to follow, did willinglie refuse that place. After which the king labored Odo the prior and the moonks of Canturburie to choose a quiet man, and not such a troublesome person as Thomas Becket was counted to be. For which cause he named to them the Bishop of Baion, as hath Geruasius. Wherevnto the prior answered the king, that they would doo according to his request, and therefore did choose this Richard a Benedictine moonke prior of the monasterie of S. Martins of Douer, who by Henrie the second was admitted to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, whose consecration when all things were prepared therefore, was withstood by the yoong king Henrie, writing his letters to this effect to Odo prior of Canturburie.

THE LETTERS OF YOONG KING HENRIE TO THE PRIOR OF CANTURBURIE.

HENRICUS Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & dux Normanniæ, & comes Andegauiæ, regis Henrici filius, charo & fideli suo O. priori Cantuar. ecclesiæ, & vniuerso conuentui salutem & dilectionem. Ex certa quorundam relatione reperimus, quòd in ecclesia vestra, & etiam in prouincialibus ecclesijs, personas quasdam minùs congruas pater meus instituere attemptet. Et quoniam absque assensu nostro id nequaquam fieri debet, qui ratione regiæ vnctionis regnum & totius regni curam suscepimus, super hoc Romanam sedem in multorum præsentiam appellauimus, & appellationem factam venerabilibus patribus nostris, & amicis Albert. & Theod. cardinalibus apostolicæ sedis legatis scripto & nuntio nostro denuntiauimus, qui sicut viri prudentes appellationi detulerunt. Hanc etiam ipsam appellationem fidelibus nostris London. Exoniens. & Wigorn. episcopis scripto nostro denuntiauimus, & quemadmodum appellauimus iteratò sub testimonio vestro appellamus, &c.

Wherevpon the bishops being in some doubt what to do, sith most fauored the election of this Richard, and some fauored the appeale: yet at length he was at Auinion consecrated by pope Alexander the third with these words; Tibi Richarde tuisque successoribus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, primatum ita plenè concedimus, sicut à Lanfranco & Anselmo, alijsque ipsorum prædecessoribus quondam Cant. episcop. fuisse possessum constat. A little after which, this archbishop returned into England with his pall and legantine power of the pope of Rome, swearing fealtie to the king, Saluo ordine suo. This man would confirme the election of the bishop at the will of the prior, without lawful inquisition in the kings chamber. When he came to Glocester, in saint Oswalds church (which was subject to the bishop of Yorke) the clerks of Roger then bishop of Yorke would not be subject vnto him: whereby dissention arose betweene them. He kept a councell at Westminster, in which, the same Roger bishop of Yorke would not be present; but complained and renewed the quarell of bearing vp his crosse in the prouince of Canturburie: further affirming, that the bishops of Lincolne, Excester, Worcester, and Hereford, ought to be at his obedience; as manie other archbishops before that time had made chalenge,

Gisburnens. Radulphus de Dicets.

Matthew Paris in hist. minor.

Houeden.

In the first yeare of his consecration, he ordeined three archdeaconries in his diocesse of Canturburie, where before there was but one. Hugoniuis a legat comming into England called a councell at Westminster, in which, about contention betweene the bishop of Yorke and this Richard, for sitting on the right side of the legat; the archbishop of Yorke was well beaten, his rochet torne, and he feigne to complaine to the king. Which being for that time turned to a iest, yet in the end, the matter was after composed and appeased betweene the two bishops for fiue yeares. Wherevpon, by oth they bound themselues to stand to the arbitrement of the bishops of France and of Rone. This man, after the death of king Henrie the sonne (as saith Matthew Parker, though Geruasius maketh king Henrie liuing much after, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred threescore and seuenteene, leauing the gouernement of his bishoprike to Gilbert bishop of London, did go ambassador for the king of England into Sicilie, with the kings daughter Ione, to be maried to William king of that Isle: who in returning, did in the same yeare depose William Watermill abbat of Peterborow, being the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred seauentie and six. After, in the yeare one thousand one hundred seauentie and seauen, this Richard refusing to consecrate Roger before elected abbat of S. Augustines in Canturburie, bicause that Roger would not sweare such absolute profession of obedience to the archbishop, as the archbishop would haue inforced him vnto; this Roger went to Rome, made his church tributarie and feodarie to the pope, with whome he wrought all he could to bring the bishop of Canturburie in his disgrace. Which in the end he did so effectually, that the pope (to vse Geruasius Dorobernensis words) did in Contumeliam archiepiscopi, grant to the said Roger episcopall iurisdiction, with the miter, staffe, and ring, ensignes belonging to a bishoprike.

Matthew Paris in hist. minor. Florileg. Ex archiuis.

Geruasius Iorolancus.

Much about fiue yeares after, that is in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred eightie and two, as hath Geruasius, Walter bishop of Rochester died in the moneth of Iulie, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of his bishoprike: who being buried this archbishop did seize vpon his townes and possessions, with the church of Rochester, as of right he might doo during the vacancie of the see, and further accursed all such as did breake the ancient prerogatiue of the church of Canturburie, or diminish their dignitie. Notwithstanding which Randolph Præfectus Angliæ, cheefe gouernour of England (being that man as I suppose which was called Ranulph Glanuille cheefe iustice of England, and liuing at this time) did resist without the kings consent. Wherfore the archbishop sent letters to the king, being in the affaires beyond the seas, concerning the same, and receiued this answer, that he should doo all things as he had beene accustomed, and at his pleasure place a bishop in the vacant see; wherevpon this archbishop appointed his clearke Walerane, archdeacon of

Baion to the bishoprike of Rochester. This bishop after that he had gouerned ten yeares and eight moneths, riding from Wrotham, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred seauentie and foure, as hath Geruasius Dorobernensis (but he faileth in his account by the transcribers fault, for I thinke it should be one thousand one hundred eightie and foure) besides Rochester, was in the waie striken with such an extreame cold and sicknesse of mind, that he could scarse come to Hawling, where lieng downe vpon his bed vehementlie troubled with the collicke, he died in the night of the next daie, being the fourteenth kalends of March, whose bodie was caried to Canturburie, and honourablie buried in the chapell or oratorie of S. Darie.

Ex archiuis. Geruas. Doro. In the time of this archbishop, in the yeare one thousand one hundred seuentie and seauen, was the church of Canturburie burnt; and in the yeare one thousand one hundred seuentie eight, was the church of Rochester with the whole citie consumed with fire: besides which, in the said yeare 1177, were moonks brought into Waltham abbeie built by king Herald, and the secular preests expelled by king Henrie the second.

Baldwine. *Ex archiuis.* Baldwine, borne at Excester in Deuonshire of an vnknowne father, being brought vp at learning, did keepe a schoole himselfe. After which he was made an archleuit or archdeacon, being termed the light of the people, which office he voluntarilie forsaking, became a Charterhouse moonke, from whense he became abbat of Ford in Deuonshire, then bishop of Worcester, and lastlie chosen archbishop of Canturburie.

Radul. Nigr. About whose election was no small stirre as well amongst the laitie and cleargie of England, as amongst the cleargie of Rome, the pope hauing before made void the election of the abbat of Bath, sometime prior of Canturburie to that archbishoprike, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred eightie and foure, which contention of election continued about nine moneths. After which, the matter was declared vnto the pope, who sent him the pall, and he was aduanced to the see of Canturburie, the foureteenth kalends of Iune, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred eightie and fiue, the one and thirtith of Henrie the second. Betweene which archbishop and the moonks of Canturburie was much contention for the building of saint

Geruasius. Stephans church in Hakington beside Canturburie, wherof is large discourse in the life of the said Baldwine, written by Geruasius Dorobernensis, Matthew Parker, and by William Lambert esquier (a rare antiquarie) in his perambulation of Kent.

After the death of Honorius prior of Canturburie (which made all the said stirre, in withstanding Baldwine for the church of S. Stephans, and appeling the bishop at Gillingham to the popes audience in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred eightie and six, at what time the bishop was taking his iourneie from Gillingham to Canturburie:) Roger succeeded this Honorius in the same priorie, by the authoritie and fauor of the king, and of this archbishop, in the fourth yeare of his consecration,

Ex annal. Gilb. Matt. Paris. who so hated the moonks of Canturburie, that in following time he draue them out of the monasterie of the Trinitie, and by the kings authoritie placed secular clearkes therein. Of which matter Geruasius maketh so long and large a discourse, as almost halfe the first part of his historie is nothing but of the same bishop (vsing his legantine and metropolitane power ouer all the parts of Wales, which neuer anie of his predecessors did before, as appeareth by Matthew Parker.) He did in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred eightie and eight, being about the foure and thirtith of king Henrie the second, take his iorneie into those parts, on whom attended Giraldus Cambrensis that writ the historie of that uoiage of Baldwine, and dedicated it to Stephan archbishop of Canturburie, beginning his booke with this note thereof. Anno ab incarnatione Domini 1188 apostolatus apicem regente Vrbano 3. imperante Romæ Alemmanorum rege Friderico, Constantinopolitano Isiaco, regnante in Francia Philippo Lodouici filio, in Anglia Henrico 2. in Sicilia verò Willi. in Hungaria Bela, in Palestina Guidone, anno vz. quo Saladinus tam Aegyptiorum quàm Damascenorum princeps occulto Dei iudicio, sed nunquam iniusto, publico bello certamine potitus,

Hierusalorum

Hierusalorum regnum obtinuit, vir venerabilis, & tam literatura quàm religione Cantuariorum archipræsul Baldwinus in salutiferæ crucis, obsequium ab Anglia in Walliam tendens, apud Herefordiæ fines Cambriam intrauit. In reciting of all which kings of Europe, and others, Giraldus hath forgotten the kings of Scots and Denmarke.

This Baldwine interdicted the prouinces of Iohn earle of Dorset and Summerset, sonne to Henrie the second, for the mariage of Isabell the daughter of the earle of Glocester his kinswoman in the third degree. Wherof earle Iohn complaining to Iohn the cardinall, latelie as legat arriued in England, appealed him to the pope, the cardinall confirming the same appeale, and vndooing the interdict. This archbishop went with king Richard the first Anno Dom. one thousand one hundred ninetie and one to the warres of Hierusalem, where he died at Acon, after that he had beene bishop of Canturburie six years eleuen moneths and fiue daies. There he made his will, and gaue all he had to the soldiors, committing the same to be disposed by Hubert bishop of Salisburie, which went thither with him at the same time. After his death and honourable burieng, and in the kings absence, the moonks of Canturburie in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred ninetie and two, expelled Osbert of Bristow (whom king Richard by the counsell and helpe of Baldwine had made prior of the monasterie of the trinitie of Canturburie a little before, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred ninetie and one) and railed against the said archbishop Baldwine, calling him (bicause he was mild of nature) slothfull and lukewarme, the same bishop being also by pope Vrban reprehended by these words: Vrb. pp. seruus seruorum Dei, monacho feruentissimo, abbati callido, episcopo tepido, archiepiscopo remisso, ex quo mónachi affirmant quòd melior monachus simplex quàm abbas, melior abbas quàm episcopus, melior episcopus quàm archiepiscopus fuerit. Touching whome in like sort thus writeth Geruasius Dorobernensis, that his words Semper erant quasi simplicia, & ipsa pauca & ambigua.

Reginald archbishop of Canturburie being thervnto onelie chosen, was neuer installed, nor receiued anie consecration therefore, bicause he died shortlie after his election to that place, who yet deserueth to be remembred, and that the rather bicause the moonks did choose him against the kings mind. In dooing whereof before his full election, there arose great and long stormes and troubles about the same. For the king, the cleargie, and the other nobilitie, were desirous to haue one William de Monte regali to be chosen and aduanced to that place. But the moonks reiecting their petition, and following their owne mind, did elect this Reginald, who was the fourth bishop of Bath and Wels, after the vniting of those places into one bishoprike. This Reginald borne in Lombardie, being about the foure and twentith yeare of his age, was by king Henrie the sonne of Henrie the second made bishop of Bath (in the yeare of our redemption 1173, falling the nineteenth yeare of the same Henrie the second) by the name of Reinalt fits Ioseline: he died fifteene daies after his election to the see of Canturburie (going from thense to Bath) at Dogmersfield in Hampshire, whose bodie was on Christmas daie caried to Bath, and there buried in the third yeare of Richard the first, being about the yeare of Christ 1191. At this time Hugh bishop of Chester and Couentrie, put out the moonks of Couentrie, and brought in secular clearks: but after his death the moonks were restored to their old home. Reginald. *Anony. M. S.* *Matth. Park.* *Roff. histor.*

Hubert Walter, or Walter Hubert, being borne in Westerham in Northfolke, was brought vp vnder Reginald or Randulph Glandfield procurator or cheefe iustice of all England. This man hauing obteined the deanrie of Yorke, then the bishoprike of Salisburie, did after that go to Ierusalem with Richard the second, and was made archbishop of Canturburie about the yeare of Christ 1193, receiuing the pall from pope Celestine, in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred ninetie and foure, being the fift yeare of the ransomed king Richard the first, beside which he was chancellor Hubert Walter. *Geruasius. Houeden. Tho. Spot. Will. Nouiburg.*

cellor and cheef iustice of England, and at London did consecrate Herebert archdeacon of Canturburie bishop of Salisburie. This Hubert had charge, or was maister ouer the kings wards, by the kings especiall grant. Who in the end, after that he had sat seauenteene yeares, as hath the historie of Couentrie, comming to his mannor of Tenham, did there fall sicke, and shortlie died within foure daies, being buried at Canturburie in the south wall of the quier, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred and three, the ides of Iulie being the same yeare, falling in the seuenth yeare of king Iohn, after whose death it seemed that see was void about two yeares.

Being made bishop an. 1193 and diing an. 1203, he could then gouerne but ten years.

Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie was chosen after this maner. The moonks of Canturburie did in the night choose one Reginald their subprior, and vnknowen to the king did inthronize the elect in all speed, sending him with their letters to the pope, taking an oth of him before his departure, that he should not discouer his election to anie, or beare himselfe as elected, without the licence of the moonks. But he as soone as he came into Flanders, forgetting himselfe, opened the matter. Whervpon the moonks came to the king, craued pardon, and asked leaue to choose an other; whereto the king consenting, did with manie faire speeches moone them to choose Iohn Greie bishop of Norwich. Whervnto when they had agreed, the king sent for Greie then souereigne at Yorke about the kings affairs, and led him honourablie to Canturburie, where in the presence of the king and the people he was pronounced in the metropolitane church to be rightlie and lawfullie chosen archbishop of Canturburie, and the moonks foorthwith did place him in the archbishops see The knowledge of which inconstancie of the moonks comming to pope Innocent, he commanded the moonks vnder the power of binding and loosing to choose a third person, which was called Stephan Langton borne in England, but bred vp in foren countries, and to make void both the former elections, which the moonks did accordingly. Wherevpon the suffragans of the prouince of Canturburie, chalenging the election of their metropolitan, or at the least to ioin with the moonks in choosing of the archbishop, opposed themselues against the moonks, which comming before the pope, he presentlie gaue sentence in behalfe of the moonks. With which secretlie against their willes the moonks at Rome (which were there to defend their cause against their bishops) chose Stephan Langton with secret murmuring, although onelie Elias de Branfield the moonke that then defended the cause of Iohn Greie would not by anie means assent therevnto, secretlie departing into England. By force of which election, Stephan Langton the fifteenth kalends of Iulie receiued his consecration of the pope at Viterbie; with whome the pope sending the moonks backe againe into England wrote flattering letters vnto king Iohn, to appease him for the reprobation of Iohn Greie and the election of Stephan Langton, whom the pope required the king to receiue with all courtesie. But the king stomaching the maner therof, with the matter, and the man, banished all the moonks which had beene at Rome, and expelled all the other moonks which remained at Canturburie out of their celles, whereof insued great trouble to king Iohn and the kingdome, as in the English historie may more at large appeare. For the king reiecting this Langton brought vp in Paris, and chancellor of that vniuersitie familiar with the French king and cardinall of Chrysogon, wrote vnto the pope about the said Langton. Wherevpon Ioannes Florentinus legat of the pope came into England, onelie attended vpon with three horsses, whereof the one was lame and led by hand; which legat afterwards keeping a councell at Reding, but dooing no good in the cause, did in hast depart England, when he had filled his purse with monie. Much about which time the friers minors came first into England, going barefoot, whose apparell was grisell garments girded with cords full of knots. After this, the pope seeing all things to go contrarie to that he had iudged, wrot

Stephen Langton. *Matth. Paris. Florilegus. Ste. Brichint. Ke archiuis.*

An. Dom. 1205 as some haue.

againe to king Iohn to receiue Langton, further directing his bulles to William bishop of London, Eustace bishop of Elie, and to Maugerius bishop of Worcester, that if they could not persuade the king therevnto, that then they should interdict the land: which they after did when the king would not agree therevnto. Which doone, they with Ioseline bishop of Bath, and Giles bishop of Hereford fled the realme for their labor. Therewith the king more greeuously mooued, seized all their lands and goods, and caused the moonks to flie out of the realme; by which act the people rebell, the nobles forsake the king, and the kingdome is whollie in an uprore. At length the pope himselfe hearing thereof, did thunder an interdict against the king by name, and the bishops of England, committing the diuulging thereof to the said bishops of London, Elie, and Worcester, liuing then beyond the seas, who not willing to plaie that part, posted the same ouer to certeine bishops of England which fearing the king, durst not obeie the pope. Yet the land and king being interdicted, king Iohn subdued Wales, conquered Ireland, reduced the Scots to quiet, forbad anie causes to be caried to Rome, subdued his rebelles, lent the emperor a great summe of monie, and feared not Stephan Langton or the pope. Wherevpon Philip the French king was persuaded to warre vpon king Iohn, which he denied, till he should see no amendement in the king of England. At length Stephan Langton (finding succor and helpe) came into England with his complices. and shewed that the king was remooued from his kingdome. For the auoiding wherof the king was by Pandulph the legat brought to vnequall conditions, and submitted his kingdome to the pope for a thousand marks (whereof the wiser sort haue made some question) and receiued the crowne again of Pandulph, wherby the realme was quieted, the pope satisfied, the king freed, Langton restored, and the interdict released. But after when Langton saw how these things were carried, he did greatlie lament and with deepe sorrow greeue thereat, when he beheld king Iohn to giue vp his crowne and scepter to Pandulph. For comming to the altar, he could not withhold himselfe, but openlie shewed how greatlie he was offended therewith; and therefore euer after became a louing father to his countrie, in such sort, that the first seuen yeares was a tragedie of the kingdome, and this time which followeth will be but a comedie of his gouernement in the see of Canturburie. For now contention falling betweene the king and his barons, the pope tooke the kings part, and Stephan Langton ioined with the barons. Wherevpon the pope (when he could not at the request of the king bridle the barons) did excommunicate them as traitors to the king, which sentence he committed to be published by Stephan Langton. But he going to the general councell answered the bishop of Winchester and Pandulph (the popes legat) that brought that excommunication, that he would first in person talke with the pope about it; whervpon they suspended Langton from his bishoprike, and excommunicated the barons from the church. For which cause Langton going to Rome, was there by the abbat of Bellew, Thomas of Huntington, and Geffreie of Crawcomb knights, accused of that which he had doone in England, how he had set the barons against the king, and would not execute the popes excommunication. With which Langton being ouercome, without anie excuse craued to be absolued from the former suspension. Wherevnto the pope would not agree, but doubled the same, and sent vnto the suffragans of Canturburie to denounce it ouer all England: yet in the end, by the wise carriage of himselfe he was absolued with this condition, that he should stand to the popes iudgement touching the controuersies betweene the king and the barons, and that he should not returne into England before the same were ended. After this the king would againe haue remooued Langton from his see, which he could not doo, no not with the helpe of the pope, because the cardinals did resist it. During which troubles king Iohn departed this life; and Stephan Langton after his death held a councell at Osneie, in which

Chro. canobij Martini.

Matt. Paris.

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which one was crucified and hanged that said he was Christ, and two women were condemned, the one because she said she was the virgin Marie, and the other Marie Magdalen.

Aurea histor. Matthew Paris. This archbishop translated the bodie of Thomas Becket from a marble toome, to a rich shrine decked with gold and siluer, whereto was a woonderfull concourse of people, for all which this Langton found haie and horsemeat during the time of that solemnitie. At which time also in places of the citie, conduits and pipes of purpose made therefore, did abundantlie run with wine. The charge of which translation could not be againe recouered by fauor of the bishops of Canturburie that followed. Before which time this Langton carried some of the relikes of this saint Thomas to Rome. This archbishop procured the customes of England called Magna charta to be made, to end all controuersie betweene the king and the barons. When the realme was in quiet, he held a councell at Westminster, in which he made a sermon vpon this text: In Deo sperauit cor meum, & refloruit caro mea. When he had so begun his sermon, a certeine countrie man in the companie with a lowd voice said: By Gods death thou liest, for neither thy hart trusted in God, neither dooth thy flesh flourish or spring againe: which person being apprehended by the rest of the companie, was plucked out of the church, and receiued worthie punishment therefore. A little before his death he made his brother Simon archdeacon of Canturburie, whom the pope reiected, and would not admit to the bishoprike of Yorke, wherevnto he was chosen. This Langton gouerned the see of Canturburie two and twentie yeares, and died at his manor of Slindon in Sussex the seuenth ides of Iulie, being carried to Canturburie the daie before the nones of the same, and buried in saint Michaels chapell. He did write manie things learnedlie and eloquentlie, he diuided the bible into chapters as the church now vseth it, he writ the life and historie of Richard the first. In the time of this man the burrow of Southworke with the church of saint Maries was burnt, the same fire going ouer London bridge as far as the Tower and the Vintree: of whom thus writeth Nicholas Triuet; Hic super totam bibliam fecit postillas, & eam per capitula (quibus nunc vtuntur moderni) distinxit, qui dum Parisijs in theologia regeret, factus est ecclesiæ Grisogoni presbyter cardinalis, deinde factus archiepiscopus, inter alia bona quæ fecit, pulchram aulam quæ est in palatio Cantuariæ ædificauit.

Others saie 21 yeares, and died as hath *Triuet.* an. 1228. being 12 Hen. the third.

Richard the great came to the bishoprike by this meanes. The moonks having leaue of king Henrie the third to choose an archbishop, did make choise of one Walter de Hemesham or rather Euesham, the third nones of August, whom they presented to the king, which by the aduise of the clergie did ouerthrow the said Walter so by the moonks elected and erected, because he was defamed for manie things; wherevpon he runneth to Rome: but the kings ambassadors and the bishops messengers comming thither first, did preuent him. But before that these ambassadors, which were the bishops of Chester and Couentrie, finding the pope and the cardinals somewhat vntoward towards the king of England, did in the end obteine of the pope (by ministring pecuniarie aid vnto him, and promising a tenth out of England, Wales, and Ireland, for the maintenance of his warres against Frederike the emperor) that he sentenced the matter against the said Walter, auoided his election, and reserved to himselfe the prouision and disposing of the church of Canturburie. Wherevpon they (fearing that the pope would choose one at his owne pleasure, as Innocent his predecessor had doone Stephan Langton) with all speed obteined from king Henrie letters to the pope to confirme their promise, and that he should promote Richard chancellor of Lincolne, a man famous for good life and learning, to the archbishoprike of Canturburie. Wherevnto the pope agreed, and writ to have the said Richard placed in the archbishops chaire: by reason of which precept, this Richard the great was consecrated (without anie pall) at Canturburie

Richard the great.

Ste. Brichin.

turburie by Henrie bishop of Rochester, in the feast of the Trinitie, at what time the king was also present; and the said Richard did then consecrate the bishops of London and Elie. This doone the pope sendeth for the performance of the promise of the tenth of England, Wales, and Ireland: wherevnto the king (against his will, but in respect of his promise) seemed by silence to agree; but the barons flatlie denied the same, and the bishops by procrastination demanded three or foure daies respit to giue answer therevnto, who in the end for feare of the popes curse consented whereby it was fullie paid by all men; except onlie Ranulph earle of Chester, who did resist and would not suffer it to be paid in his prouince, whom yet the pope did not excommunicate. 1229 as some haue.

This archbishop assembled a synod at Westminster, where he made good lawes, and as he was by nature gentle, so was he seuere in defending the liberties of his church. For against Hubert of Borow (constable of Douer castle, cheefe iustice of England and earle of Kent, being in great fauour with Henrie the third, who also made Richard as some name him the sonne of the said Hubert knight) he thundered out excommunication, because he could not find other remedie at the kings hand for the iniurie which the said Hubert had doone against him, in deteining from the said bishop of the castle of Tunbridge, the towne therof with the lands therto belonging, and the other possessions of the earle of Clare; which during the minoritie of the said earle, did of right apperteine to the see of Canturburie. This was the first time, as some haue, that such reuenge by waie of excommunication was taken vp and laid vpon those which did withhold anie of the possessions of the clergie. At length the archbishop goeth to Rome, hoping thereby to right his cause, against whom the king sendeth Roger de Cantelew with other ambassadors to the pope, at what time the archbishop not onlie complained of Hubert, but also that the king had the suffragan of the said archbishop to sit in his exchequer, and to heare ciuill and criminall causes. Wherevpon the pope mooued with the dignitie of the archbishops calling, the reuerence of the mans personage, with his eloquence, wisedome and learning gaue sentence in behalfe of the said Richard against the other, wherevpon they returned home vtterlie confused. After which the bishop being three daies on his iornie towards England, and now extreme werie and full of paine, did end his daies in the towne of saint Gemma, with whom and by whose death there also died all that which was doone at Rome in the former matter. This archbishop did write in his life manie most learned bookes, which were De fide & legibus, De sacramentis, vniuerso, &c.

Matth. Paris in hist. maiori, & minori.

Thomas Becket did excommunicate before this such as either infringed the churches liberties, or deteined anie of his possessions. *Cantalupe.*

1231 as hath *Triuet.*

Steph. Brichlingon.

Saint Edmund (which name I vse for antiquitie and difference sake) archbishop of Canturburie, commonlie called S. Edmund of Abington, after the place where he was borne, came to that bishoprike in this order. The moonks had chosen Rafe Neuill bishop of Chichester, being for his fidelitie in great fauor with K. Henrie the third, and his chancellor, whom they presented vnto the king, well accepting thereof, and without delaie granting vnto him the administration of the temporalties of the archbishoprike. But the pope inquiring of Simon Langton (archdeacon of Canturburie brother vnto the archbishop of Canturburie, Stephan Langton) of the state and behauiour of this elect Rafe Neuill: this Simon either an enimie to the king or him, or else to both, being led with hope to obteine the archbishoprike for himselfe, did priuilie and subtillie persuade the pope, that he was vnlearned, light of behauiour, vnconstant, hot in speech, a courtier, following a courtlie kind of life, and further, of so subtill and craftie wit, and also well beloued of the king, that he managed all the affaires of the king and kingdome: for which cause, if he were archbishop of Canturburie, he would with the consent of the king and the people, find meanes, that England should shake off the yoke of the pope and tribute to Rome, which king Iohn had confirmed to pope Innocent, being a thing which the pope had the more

S. Edmund.

Matth. Paris Chron. maiori & minori. Florilegus.

cause greatlie to feare; for that before this time, Stephan Langton (archbishop of Canturburie) had once appealed from the grant of that tribute, the forme of whose appeale he reduced into writing, being at this daie extant to be seene of all men.

Wherevpon the pope, moued by the words of Simon, did without cause shewed therefore, frustrat the election of Rafe Neuill (when the moonks came to Rome to haue the same confirmed) and granted power to the moonks to choose another; by reason whereof they elected Iohn their subprior, to whome in the end the king gaue full assent. But when the letters of his election were exhibited to the pope, this Iohn was deliuered to the cardinals to be examined of his doctrine, who three daies after informed the pope that they found not anie default in him. All which notwithstanding, he was repelled, and his election voided by reason of his age, which was not sufficient to weld so great a charge. Wherefore in respect thereof, the pope persuaded him to remoue his election, which without delaie he did, obeieng the popes will, and with obteined licence departed into England.

These two elections thus frustrat, the third time the moonks chose Iohn Blund then studieng in Oxford, whome the king also admitted, who had as good successe at the popes hand as the others before had: for the pope did also reiect this man, because that being familiar with Peter de Roches bishop of Winchester, he had receiued two thousand marks of him, which as it was suspected he corrupted the moonks of Canturburie to make that election of him: and moreouer, that he kept two benefices appointed for cure of soules, against the order of the ancient councels. For which cause, the moonks of Canturburie that were present at Rome, were required by the pope, that they would by his voice now the fourth time choose Edmund, canon and treasuror of the church of Salisburie, a godlie and learned man, to be their archbishop of Canturburie, which yet they would not doo in hast, as after shall appeare.

Ex archiuis. Chron. sancti Albani. Abbreuiat. Rich. Cicest. Polycratic.

Which Edmund being borne at Abington in Barkeshire, had to his father one Edward, and to his mother Mabell, both of them surnamed the rich, because they had at Abington so greatlie increased their substance by merchandise: who procured this their soone to be trained in learning at Oxford, distant about fiue miles from Abington, where he increasing in learning, gaue himselfe to diuinitie, when he came to mans estate; and entring into the profession of a clearke or spirituall man, he did vse to preach in the adioining shires of Oxford, Glocester, and Worcester. After this, he was made a canon of Salisburie, about which time his father, with his wiues consent, became a moonke in Euesham. But although this Edmund were wise, learned, vertuous, and honored; yet would not the moonks at Rome vpon the popes consent choose him, vnlesse they might also haue the kings fauor therein, and the assent of the rest of their moonks at home. Wherefore the pope did secretlie send the pall to this Edmund, sith those moonks durst not openlie gainesaie the election. But for what cause the pope so desired it, we know not by the course of the histories: for this Edmund was sent vnknowne, and a meere stranger vnto the pope. But be it as it maie, it is most true, that he receiued his consecration at Canturburie by Roger, surnamed the Blacke bishop of Lincolne, being in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred thirtie and foure, falling in part of the eighteenth and nineteenth yeare of king Henrie the third; at what time he put on his pall at the masse time, which he did celebrat in the presence of the king, thirteene bishops, and a great number of other people, who being thus installed in the see of Canturburie, did first succor the common-wealth, troubled with intestine and euill councell. For he persuaded the king to remoue from him Peter bishop of Winchester, and Peter de Riuallis ambitious persons and authors of ciuill discords; and himselfe with the bishops of Chester and Rochester went into Wales, and made peace betweene the king of England, Leolin prince of Wales, and Richard earle Marshall: whereof the two last had ioined their powers, and prepared wars against the first. Besides which, he restored the earls of the kingdome

Matth. Paris hist. maiori & minori.

1239 as hath *Iohannes Londen.* 4 no. of Aprill.

kingdome which were fallen from the crowne, to the kings new fauour, and to their old honors: vpon which, the king commanded Peter de Roches to get him home to his bishoprike of Winchester, and cast Peter de Riuallis out of the court, threatning him, that if he did not take holie orders, that he would plucke foorth his eies with his owne hands: but this peace so by the bishop made was after broken.

This archbishop held a synod at London, in the which were made thirtie and six prouinciall lawes. After this there fell dissention betweene the king and this archbishop, because he withstood the mariage of Elenor (sister of the king, and widow to William Marshall earle of Penbroke, hauing as was said, vowed chastitie) to Simon Montford earle of Leicester: for which cause the king sent secretlie to the pope to haue a legat come into England to bridle this archbishop, and such as tooke his part. Whervpon the pope sent one cardinall Otho hither into England, whome the king met at the sea side, receiued with humilitie, bowing his head to the cardinals knee, and after brought him into the inner parts of the realme: which legat making his gaine here in England, bestowed all the vacant spirituall liuings vpon that flocke which he had brought with him. Wherewith saint Edmund being moued, did reprehend the king, both for the comming of the legat, and the vexing of the realme, which the legat reuenged as a great iniurie doone vnto him. In the meane time, Simon Montford obteined a dispensation from the pope for the mariage, with a like dispensation for the vow that Elenor had made, and with commandement to Otho that he should pronounce sentence in behalfe of the mariage; all which he performed, and so the mariage was consummat.

Matt. Par. calleth him, *Willielmum Mariscallum comitem Glocestr. in Hibernia mortuum* which cannot be. For William Marshall neither died in Ireland, nor was earle of Glocester: for it was Rich. Marshall erle of Penbrooke that died in Ireland.

This Otho remaining still in England, held a councell at London at the west end of Paules church, where the old contention for place of the right side of the legat was againe renewed by the bishops of Canturburie and Yorke, who falling to extreame chiding, the legat to appease the matter, shewing foorth the popes bull, said: Videt is hîc depictum Christum crucifixum, eique à dextris Paulum & à sinistris Petrum astare, inter quos nunquam mota est de Christi dextris aut sinistris occupandis contentio, etsi ambo sunt in gloria æquali. Veruntamen propter Petri clauigeri dignitatem & apostolatus principatum, meritò à dextris crucis eius imago collocanda videtur. With which persuading example the archbishops being pacified, the bishop of Yorke tooke the left hand. About this time did this Edmund archbishop of Canturburie consecrat Robert Grosted bishop of Lincolne, of whom an ecclesiastike writeth thus: Sub hæc tempora Hugone Wellensi episcopo Lincoln. mortuo, electus est à capitulo Robertus cognomento Grosted, id est caput crassum, vir humili quidem stirpe satus, sed virtute, prudentia, doctrináque insigni. But this opinion of that writer, that he was but meanelie borne cannot be so, if that pedigree be true (which for manie reasons I am not lead to thinke ouer sound, I speake vnder correction of better antiquaries) which I haue seene of the said Grosted, taken out (with the armes as hath beene most constantlie affirmed vnto me) of the old portasse of the said Grosted; who being the yoonger brother of a second house, and but meanlie mainteined, might occasion others to write that he was borne of meane parentage; when in deed it appeareth by that pedegree remaining within my custodie at the writing of this same, that his right name was Robert Copleie, and surnamed Grosted of his great head. For this Robert is there made a yoonger sonne of Rafe Copleie the kings seruant, yoonger sonne of Thomas Copleie, sonne of Adam Copleie, sonne of Thomas Copleie, sonne of Rafe Copleie, sonne of Hugh Copleie, sonne of Adam Copleie, which was slaine at the besieging of Yorke, in the time of William the Conqueror. This Edmund the archbishop of Canturburie reiected Richard of Wendouer chosen by the voices of the moonks of that house to be bishop of Rochester, and would not consecrat or admit the said Richard. Whervpon the moonks appealed and went to Rome, whom this archbishop followed. At what time Otho the legat (supposing

Verb. Matth. Paris in chron. maiori.

Grosted bishop of Lincolne of what descent he was.

Iob. Leod. saith 1237 Edmundus archiepis. Cantuar. pro quibusdam negotijs ecclesiam suam contingentibus Romam adijt.

(supposing that he had now opportunitie to reuenge himselfe of this Edmund, who had so much before withstood him) did forbid the archbishop to take shipping, or to enter into that iourneie: but he would not obeie the legat, because the authoritie of the legat was taken awaie by the popes countermand.

The bishop now at Rome, not onelie complained of the moonks of Rochester, but also of the legat Otho, and of Henrie the third; but the pope reiecting all his speeches, did iudiciallie confirme the election of Richard of Wendouer to the bishoprike of Rochester, which notwithstanding this archbishop Edmund had pronounced to be void: for which sentence being on their behalfe so pronounced on the feast of saint Cuthbert, that daie was made a double feast in the church of Rochester. This doone, the pope not yet atisfied, did moreouer reuoke a sentence giuen by this archbishop against Hugh earle of Arundell; for recompense of both which supposed wrongs, the one to Wendouer, the other to the earle, Edmund was appointed to paie one thousand marks vnto either partie, whervpon being so impouerished, he returneth home with greefe. But a new contention did receiue him at his comming home into England by the legat aforesaid, which added further trouble vnto him. For whereas the moonks of Canturburie had chosen them a prior without his knowledge, this Edmund did excommunicat them; which the legat did release, and confirmed the other election, which the said Edmund did againe undoo, punished the stubburne moonks, and interdicted their church: for which cause sith the archbishop should seeme to haue the vpper hand, Otho the legat commeth to Canturburie, thinking to haue disgraced the bishop: but hearing the cause againe, he remooued the prior, chastened the moonks, bound some of them to perpetuall penance, and made some others of them to be tied to a streicter kind of life.

Ebron. Roff.

Hugh de Albinee.

After this, the archbishop granted eight hundred marks at the councell holden at Reading by legat Otho, to helpe the popes wars against the emperor, although he had manie times in manie councels stiflie gainesaid the same. In the time also of whose gouernement, the church of Paules in London was dedicat vnder the name of the cathedrall church of saint Paule by Roger bishop of London, in the presence of the king, the noble men, and the bishops: at the dooing whereof, the bishop of London with the deane and chapter of that church, did make a solemne and sumptuous feast. This thus spoken, it resteth now to draw to some end of the dooings of this archbishop, whose actions be stretched longer than at the first I meant, and than this short discourse of the archbishops dooth require: but sith I cannot leane him so, I must now go forward otherwise than I would. You heard before that he complained to the pope against the king for manie euill things doone by him, whereof the cheefest was, that he ouerlong kept in his hands the void metropolitan, cathedrall, and conuentuall churches. For the reformation whereof, he obteined of the pope, that if the king did not in six weeks prouide therefore, that the archbishop should haue the presentation: which decree of the pope obteined by Edmund through great summes of monie, the king procured of the pope to be reuoked. In which matter Polydor in the sixteenth booke of his English historie hath falslie deceiued manie, whilest he saith, that saint Edmund obteined this grant (for presentations to void spirituall liuings) the king Henrie himselfe, and that the same was some while kept, vntill that the king finding the want of the gaine which grew thereby, did reuoke that which he had before granted. And to the intent it maie be seene that this is not falslie fathered vpon Polydor, I will set downe his owne words. Huic malo (meaning the presentations by the king to vacant spirituall liuings) Edmundus occurrendum iudicans; à regè impetrauit, vt huiuscè rei curandæ munus solus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus obiret, quo per hunc modum episcopatus atque cœnobia rectoribus orbata & meliùs gubernarentur, & citùs dignis decernerentur præpositis. Verùm cùm aliquandiu ita seruatum esset, & Henricus animaduerteret non esse in rem

It maie be that here grew the first ground that if patrons did not present to spirituall liuings within six weeks, that the bishops might present by lapse.

suam

suam quòd paulo ante concessit, illud statim reuocauit, & sacerdotiorum vacantium vectigalia quout antea fecerat capere rursum cœpit. In the end this Edmund thus crossed with so manie mishaps, and lamenting his countrie and church vexed with so manie euils, himselfe to be so much ouer-reached by the deceipts of others, and his metropolitane power to be restreined by the dooings of the couëtous legat, he goeth to the king, rebuketh him therefore, in that he would permit these things in his owne realme, and with abundance of teares saith vnto him, that he should neuer see his face. Wherfore being wearie of his life, and not minding to see those things whereof he could not abide to heare; he voluntarilie banished himselfe from the realme and his freends, who passing the sea came to Pontineacke in France, where dailie praieng for his countrie of England to be deliuered from subiection and thraldome, he there lead a sorrowfull life for a certeine space. At length, what by sickenesse, and what by abstinence, he fell into a consumption, and then into a sharpe feuer: after which being remooued for recouerie of his health from Pontineacke to Soises, he surrendered his life to God the sixteenth kalends of December, after that he had gouerned the see of Canturburie about the space of eight yeeres, or rather seuen yeares (as hath the historie of Couentrie) whose bowels being by the physicians taken out of his bodie, were buried at Soises, and his bodie at Pontineacke, after that honorable sort that belongeth to an archbishop: after whose death the see of Canturburie was void three yeares and more. About six yeares after whose death, pope Innocent the third did canonize him a saint: and his bodie in the yeare following was translated by Lodouike king of France, being three yeares after put into a new sepulchre garnished with gold, siluer, and christall. In this bishops time was the sisterhood of saint Katharins beside the Tower of London, builded by Elenor daughter of the earle of Prouance, and wife to king Henrie the third, which house is at this daie (Anno Domini 1586) standing, and vnder the gouernment of Rafe Rokesbie esquire, maister of the requests, and maister of the said house of saint Katharins. This archbishop Edmund had a brother called Robert le Rich, florishing in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and fortie, which wrote a booke of the life of this bishop Edmund, and one other booke called Exegesin in canonem diui Augustini.

Matth. Paris. chron. minor.

1241 As hath *Iob. Lond.* being as he also saith the fiue and twentith yeare of Henrie the third.

1240 And the foure and twentith of Henrie the third. *Trivet. Polydor. Matth. Paris. Florilegus. Polychro. Iob. Lund.* appointeth his canonization in the yeare 1246 And his translation to the yere of Christ 1248

Boniface the six and fortith archbishop after Matthew Parker, but the fiue and fortith after Polydor, queene Elenors vncle, and the sonne of Peter earle of Sauoie, was chosen by the moonks of Canturburie vnto that see, wholie against their minds, for they had rather haue reiected than receiued a stranger by birth, vnknowen for conditions, vnacquainted with the state of their church, and so neere to the king by mariage. But the king taking the thing to be well and lawfullie doone by the moonks, sent his election in parchment to the pope, vnder his seale, and the seales of the bishops and abbats, as a thing doone by their generall and voluntarie consent; though manie of them did the same for feare of the kings displeasure. By meanes whereof Boniface (being noblie borne, tall of person, and indued with a certeine comlinesse in his countenance, but in other respects far unmeet for the place) was consecrated at Lions, where the pope then was; whereof some of the moonks ashamed that they had chosen so vnmeet a man, forsooke the church of Canturburie, and bound themselues to perpetuall penance in the streict order (as hath Matthew Parker) of the charterhouse moonks. These things thus doone, shortlie after Peter erle of Sauoie commeth vnto London, and built the Sauoie without Temple bar, calling it after the name of his honor, which house was afterward the dukes of Lancaster Iohn of Gant, and in the end was by Henrie the seuenth most statelie built vp, as it now standeth, with places of reliefe for the poor.

Polyd. Angl. hist. lib. 16.

He was consecrated (as hath *Iohn of London* in the yeare of Christ 1243 who comming into England was at Canturburie on all Saints daie installed in the presence of the king, of the queene, and of manie other of the nobilitie, in the yeare 1248.

These things thus doone, Robert Passelew (who was wholie emploied in augmenting and keeping the kings treasure, and for that cause deare vnto the king) was chosen

chosen bishop of Chichester by the canons (of that cathedrall church) studieng to please the king. The which election the archbishop Boniface tooke in euill part, who calling togither the bishops of his prouince, did seriously examine this Passelew by the bishop of Lincolne, vpon certeine difficult questions proponed vnto him; but he either not well answering, or the archbishop Boniface not well liking his answer, this Robert was repelled, and one Richard Wiz or Witz substituted in his place without the kings knowledge. In which hurlie burlie Martine the popes procurator expecting the same commoditie, did by the power of his buls bestow the benefit of the vacant liuings, which this Richard had forsaken, being aduanced to Chichester. But the king not suffering so great a reproch to be vsed towards him, did forbid this Richard Witz to enter into his baronie and secular possessions. Shortlie after which, this Boniface archbishop of Canturburie with the bishops of Worcester and Hereford (which were suspected and hated of the English, in that they attributed so much to the pope) did go to Rome without the kings priuitie. The cause of whose going Boniface alledged to be the debt of fifteene thousand marks, wherewith his bishoprike was charged, the greatnesse of which debt could not be paid but by the popes helpe: but at his departure he made a great masse of monie of the Kentishmen, and especiallie of woods which he sold, with which he sailed into France, and to the people called Allobrogi, to subdue a certeine knight which had stolne awaie the daughter and heire of Reimond earle of Prouance, to the intent for to haue maried hir. For whose ouerthrow a great summe of monie was heaped togither in England by this archbishop, although he seemed to haue obteined the same vnder the pretense to free his church of Canturburie from the excessive debts wherin it was left by his predecessors. At length this Boniface comming to the pope, required of him that he might reteine with the bishoprike of Canturburie the bishoprike of Valentia in Prouance, with manie other such commodious and rich churches which he had gotten in that iourneie.

This man was vtterlie condemned of all the cleargie for vnsatiable extortions.

1245

About this time was a generall councell holden at Lions, wherevnto the king and the prelats of England were cited, in the ninth of March with day giuen vnto them vntill the eight kalends of Iune. In which meane time, the king sent to the pope one Laurence of S. Martins the kings chapleine, for the absence of certeine prelats from that councell, and to complaine to the pope of the iniuries which the archbishop had doone vnto him. The first the pope granted, but in the second he stood against the king with the archbishop. After this approcheth the daie of the councell at Lions, whither came the pope and the clergie; at whose first comming the popes conclaue or parlor (as some haue) or rather his whole house as others haue, was burnt: in the same, and as manie affirmed, was with fire consumed that charter in which king Iohn did by force of the legat Pandulph subiect and make tributarie the kingdome of England to pope Innocent. This councell of Lions now ended, Bonifacius obteined the popes buls to all the clergie of his prouince to this effect:

1246

Vt ex illius prouinciæ beneficiorum vacantium vectigalibus septennio proximo ad illud æs alienum dissoluendum, quod in translatione Thomæ quam Stephanus fecerat Cantuariensis ecclesia contraxerat, 10000 marcarum colligere posset, præter duo milia marcarum annuatim ei ab ecclesia Cantuariensi soluendarum. Which when the king knew, he said: What maruell is it if Boniface bishop of Canturburie, whome I haue aduanced to so great dignitie, doo now procure from the court of Rome such discommodities to my kingdome? But although the king did at the first a little resist the grant, yet in the end he would neither trouble the pope nor the archbishop, but being ouercome with intreatie, yeelded vnto the same.

1252

Boniface being now returned out of Prouance, visited his diocesses and suffragans, in which there were great troubles betweene him and Fulco bishop of London, and betweene him and the prior of great saint Bartholomews, manie blows passing from

from one to an[illegible] prior was sore hurt, resisting the visitation of the archbishop. [illegible]s of those his suffragans, occasioned him to excommunicat all those [illegible] were called, that attempted to hinde[illegible] queene, erle Richard, the countes[illegible]er the elect of Winchester, the ki[illegible]n that sentence, and in his dio[illegible]ich Boniface being nothing dismaied, [illegible]unication at Oxford, and began afresh ano[illegible] tumultuous visitation; for comming to Linco[illegible] of the bishop, of his owne authoritie bestow the va[illegible], and excommunicat all such as withstood him. Against[illegible]con of Lincolne repined, and resisted him with an appellation [illegible] what time this Boniface did not onelie excommunicat him, but did [illegible]pursue and afflict him in all that he might. Wherevpon this William not knowing in what place to hide himselfe, went to Rome to the pope, who absolued and defended him from Boniface, with hope of restitution of the right of his church. But he being ouerworne with three yeeres trauell in the same, in the end died in his iournie returning into England. The moonks of Canturburie seeing the warlike and priestlie demeanor of this Boniface in his visitation, obteined a bull from the pope that he should not visit, suspend, nor trouble their church. Which letters being brought to Boniface then being in the monasterie of saint Albans, he hurled the same into the fire, burned them, and excommunicated the bringers thereof; who needed not (as it seemeth) to feare anie thing whatsoeuer he did. For when complaints were made against him to the king and the pope, the first would doo nothing because he was his wiues vncle; and the other did beare with him, for the nobilitie of his birth, being in a countrie neere adioining vnto him.

1253

Annal. eccles. August. Cant.

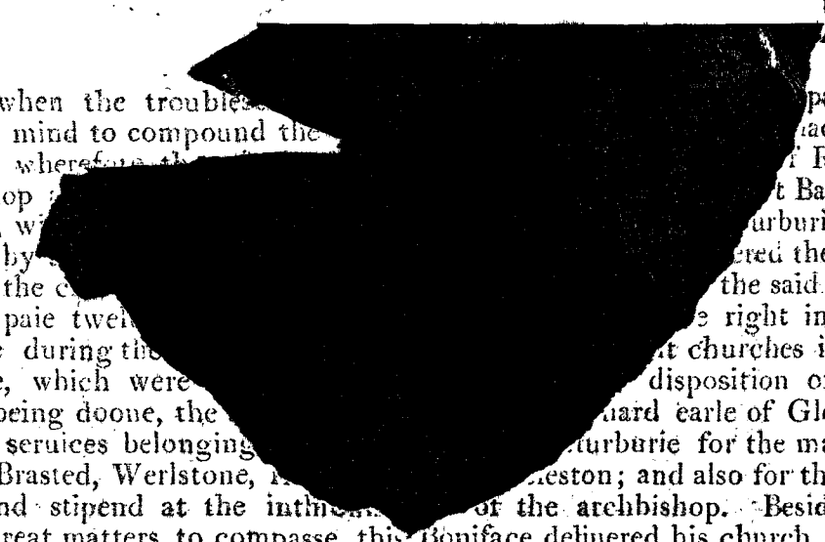
1255

After this, being againe troubled in England by his visitations and other meanes, he goeth into Prouance, by wars and force to deliuer his brother Thomas sometime earle of Sauoie, imprisoned by the citizens of Terwine: where neither profiting by his owne or the popes excommunication, he returned home fowlie disgraced, after the prodigall expense of all his riches in that iorneie. Much about this time king Henrie borrowed monie of the pope, and laid his kingdome to pledge; which rash deed withdrew the harts of the people from the king, because that the same bond was with trouble and charge after redeemed out of the popes hand. During these things, Boniface did dedicate the cathedrall church of Salisbury on the feast of saint Michaell, and Hugh Balsham sometime prior of Elie, and founder of saint Peters college in Cambridge, was consecrated bishop of Elie; and Magna Charta was established for the liberties of England, the breach whereof caused the barons to rebell. Whervpon Boniface departed the realme to his countrie of Sauoie, leauing Hugh Mortimer in his place, a man skilfull to gather monie. At this time pope Vrban did void the two elections of the couent of Winchester, and did at Rome consecrat Iohn of Oxford chancellor of Yorke to the bishoprike of that see, who had before paid 6000 marks to the pope, and as much to Iordan the popes chancellor before he was sacred; all which notwithstanding he by oth promised his subiection to Boniface bishop of Canturburie. Boniface, after he had beene foure yeers beyond the sea, returned to Canturburie; but before his comming thither obteined licence with condition of the barons, that he should not raise any new turmoiles, or procure anie troubles in England. Who in his absence out of the realme, commanded Walter Gifford chosen bishop of Bath to be consecrated by the bishop of Paris, and Walter de Lauilla chosen bishop of Salisburie to be consecrated by the bishop next to that place being the bishop of Winchester.

1256

Annal. eccles. Cantuar. Ste. Brichint. de archiepisc. Cantuar.

Now



Now when the troubles [illegible] passed, the king gaue his mind to compound the [illegible] had sowed in the church; where[illegible] of Rochester, with the bishop [illegible] Barthòlomews in London, w[illegible]urburie, were extinguished by [illegible]ered the fees and seruices of the c[illegible] the said church should yearelie paie twe[illegible]e right in the church of Lincolne during ti[illegible]t churches in the citie of Lincolne, which were [illegible] disposition of the chapter. Which being doone, the [illegible]hard earle of Glocester for his knights seruices belonging [illegible]turburie for the manors of Tunbridge, Brasted, Werlstone, [illegible]heston; and also for the earles order, place, and stipend at the inthr[illegible] of the archbishop. Besides all which, being great matters to compasse, this Boniface deliuered his church from the full debt of 22000 marks laid vpon the same, by the immoderat expenses of his predecessors, Stephan, Richard the great, and Edmund; and at length finished the noble hall of the archbishops palace of Canturburie, begun by his predecessor Hubert, or (as Nicholas Triuet hath noted) Stephan Langton.

Geruas. Dorob. in mappa mundi. Ste. Brichint.

After the dispatch of these things, he celebrated a prouinciall synod at London by the commandement of pope Vrban; and becomming more holie towards his end, he went with the other bishops to the king, requesting him that being mindfull of the decaie of his kingdome, by ecclesiasticall liuings bestowed upon strangers, he would hereafter prefer learned and godlie men of his owne nation: to whom the king answered that he would willinglie doo it. Wherefore I think it meet that you which are a stranger and vnlearned, and also my brother Ethelmer bishop of Winchester, whom I haue preferred to such dignities onelie for kindreds sake, should first giue example to others, and forsake your churches, and I will prouide other learned men to serue in them. Which answer of the king so persed this Boniface, that he alwaies after liued a wearisome life in England. Wherfore perceiuing himselfe to be misliked of the king and the people, he desired to returne into his countrie. And therevpon first felling and selling the woods, letting out the archbishoprike, taking great fines of his tenants, and making a great masse of monie of the clergie of his prouince, he went with the curse of all men vnto Sauoie, where, in the castell of S. Helens, after that he had gouerned the see six and twentie yeares, six moneths and sixteene daies from his consecration, being 29 yeares from his first election he died, the fifteenth kalends of August. Before which he founded and indued with lands an hospitall at Maidstone in the honor of saint Peter and Paule, being commonlie called the hospitall of the new worke, which William Courtnenie archbishop of Canturburie did after change into a college of secular priests. In the time of this bishop, the palace of Westminster was almost consumed with fire. The citizens of Norwich in hatred of the moonks burnt their cathedrall church with the palace. There was so great dearth of vittels, that the parents in manie places were compelled to eat their children, and a bushell of wheat was sold for twelue and sometime for sixteene shillings. The prouision for the vniuersitie of Oxford was about this time confirmed, of whom further in these words writeth Mat. Parker.

1270 The 54 yeare of Henrie the 3 which *John London* referreth to the yere of Christ 1267.

His Bonifacius vt moribus gestisque peregrinus, sic nomine ipso & appellatione reliquis omnibus tam prioribus quàm eum sequentibus archiepiscopis dissimilis fuit. Id quod Radulphus de Diceto ecclesiæ quondam Paulinæ London. decanus, vir in Anglicana historia peritissimus, qui ad Hubertum archiepiscopum scribens, ex illa tam longa archiepiscoporum Cantuariens. tot annis ducta serie, mirari se ait, ne duos vnquam vno eodémque nomine appellari. Quod quidem vsque ad Huberti tempora,

vt ipse annotauit verum fuit. Nos verò qui 70 archiepiscoporum vitas in hoc opere descripsimus, multo magis mirari debimus, & animaduertendum esse duximus, præterquam quòd & hic Bonifacius, & quatuor post eum archiepiscopi nominibus à cæteris distincti & discriminati furunt, ex illo toto 70 numero, ne mediam partem coniunctam archiepiscopalem sedem tot annis occupasse, quot hic noster * septuagesimus solus ad hunc annum 1572 tenuit. *Matth. Parker.*

Robert de Kilwarbie was made archbishop of Canturburie: for a little before the death of king Henrie the third, the king licenced the moonks of Canturburie to choose William de Chillenden their subprior to be their archbishop. Who went to Rome to be sacred by pope Gregorie the tenth: but at his coming thither the pope compelled him to renounce his election, wherevpon the pope of his owne authoritie, without consent of the moonks, pronounced Robert Kilwarbie to be bishop of Canturburie through the fulnesse of his authoritie. Which Robert being borne in England was brought vp at Paris, where receiuing the degrees belonging to the sciences, came into England and was made a frior Minor, whereof in the end he became the prouinciall head, which office (as the popes collector) he possessed eleuen yeares. After the pope had thus made Kilwarbie archbishop, the moonks of Canturburie (least they should seeme to loose their right in election because the pope had appointed one against their wils) did also choose the said Robert Kilwarbie, and sent the said William their subprior (renouncing his election) with the prior of Douer and the officiall of Canturburie, in the name of the whole couent of Canturburie, to salute the new elected bishop. This Kilwarbie was consecrated at Canturburie on a sundaie in Lent, being the fourth kalends of March by William or rather Walter Gifford bishop of Bath, because the bishop of London was sicke. In the daie of whose consecration the prior of Canturburie required of this Robert three thousand marks; which the couent had spent in the election of William de Chillenden, sith the pope promised to the said William, that the next archbishop should paie the same vnto the couent. The archbishop Robert mooued herewith, began to enquire of the conditions of the man, to the end to haue cause to remooue him: which the prior vnderstanding, found meanes that the couent remitted thirteene hundred marks of the said summe: which mooued the archbishop to cease anie further to trouble him. His consecration being ended he came to London, and with the nobilitie (at the new Temple) made Edward the first (then in Syria) king of England, appointing treasurors and officers of the excheker to keepe the reuenues of the realme to the kings vse. In the time of this Kilwarbie there was on saint Nicholas eeue an earthquake, thunder, lightning, a fierie dragon, a comet, and an extreame tempest, which feared all the English people. In which tempest the kings iustices, whilest they went to their tribunall seats, at Westminster were so feared, that they were inforced to staie and sit at the new crosse, now called Charing crosse; or rather in that place where now standeth that ancient crosse which was made manie yeares after this third yeare of king Edward the first. For the crosse now standing was made by the same Edward, as a remembrance of the death of his wife queene Elenor the daughter of Alphonse king of Spaine (as were also the crosses of Cheape, Waltham, Dunstable, Stamford and Grantham) vnlesse that there stood a stone crosse, the which was after plucked downe by Edward the first, in whose place anew he built the now standing crosse. This archbishop did renew and shortlie conclude in fiue articles, all the old statutes made by his predecessors, and now almost out of vse, concerning the court of Canturburie kept in the Bow church of London. He compounded the contention betweene the moonks and citizens of Canturburie, he visited all his prouince, in which visitation by his metropolitan authoritie he visited both the vniuersities, and did subtilie at Oxford dispute of diuinitie, philosophie and logike; in which

Robert de Kilwarbie.

1272 And the 56 of Henrie the third.

Ex archiuis.

Pet. de Ickham. Walt. Gisborn. Steph. Brichin. Ex archiuis.

1275 In the third yeare of Edward the first.

1278 In the sixt yeare of Edward the first.

which arts he did reprehend and refell manie opinions and sentences of the Oxford men as not probable. Whose opinions Iohn Peckham that followed him in the bishoprike, did (in a synod of the clergie) condemne as vaine and foolish dotings of sophisters, being hereticall and varieng from the christian faith. In this yeare by gathering a great sum of the prouincials of the frier Minors, he built the faire monasterie of the frier Minors, of an old tower of London set in the west part of the citie, the relikes of which west tower were before this granted by William the Norman to the bishop of London, to build the chancell (of Paules church) destroied by fire. After which he was called to Rome by pope Nicholas the third, made cardinall of Hostia and bishop Portua, and procured by the pope to grant that another frier Minor of his order might succeed him at Canturburie. But shortlie after that he was come to Rome, and had receiued these dignities, he tooke a greeuous disease, whereof he died at Viterbo, where he was honorablie buried.

Iohn Pecham. 1279 In the seuenth yeare of Edward the first.

Iohn Peckham in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred three score and eighteene (when Kilwarbie left Canturburie, was consecrated by the pope in the court of Rome, against the will of the moonks and consent of the suffragans of the prouince of Canturburie) whereof neither were called to that consecration: for the moonks had chosen Robert Burnell bishop of Bath and the kings chancellor, whome the pope reiected. This Peckham being thus made archbishop, would be called by none other name than frier Iohn, who was borne in Sussex of obscure parents, being of a child brought vp in the monasterie of Lewes; after which, he studied at Oxford, where he was made a frier Minor, atteining at length to be made prouinciall of the same order. Then he went to Paris to studie diuinitie, from whense he went to Lions, where he was made a chanon: which place and dignitie, as a thing of right belonging to the church of Canturburie, the archbishop of that see did long inioie, and keepe in their hands till the time of *Henrie the fift.* When this Peckham was at Lions, he studied the ciuill law, and greatlie increasing therein, went to the vniuersities of Italie, where he remained sometime. At length he went to the court of Rome, in which he handled and pleaded the causes with such skill, that he by the pope was preferred to be the hearer and iudge of the causes of the popes palace. This Peckham writing to the bishop of Lincolne, dooth in his letters saie, that he publikelie read in Paris, in England, and in the court of Rome. He held a councell at Lambeth, during which councell, the archbishop of Yorke as he went to the king, would haue caried vp his crosse in the prouince of Canturburie; but by the policie of Peckham, who had in all his prouince vnder paine of excommunication, commanded that none should minister food to the archbishop of Yorke and his people, the crosse was laid downe, or else they must haue starued.

Vide in suo registr. fol. 217.

1280 In the ninth yeare of Edward the first. *Florilegus.*

In this councell, he did excommunicat all such as would be exempted from his visitation, amongst whom (as ringleaders) were the abbats of Westminster, saint Albons, saint Edmunds, and Waltham appealing long to the pope, with whom the rest joined; but not able to abide the archbishops authoritie and power, they left their appeale and submitted themselues vnto him: which councell being ended, he visited all his prouince. He went into Wales, and at Snowden sought to appease the warres betweene Edward the first, and Leoline the prince of Wales: but when he could doo no good therein (sith they were determined to die, rather than to be so hardlie dealt withall by the kings iustices and bailiffes, as they complained that they were) he returned into England, and did excommunicat them, as breakers of the kings peace. But before he went into Wales, fearing that he should be there staied by force, and not returne when he would, he appointed Robert Burnell bishop of Bath, before repelled from the see of Canturburie, to be his vicar generall, and disposer of his prouince in his absence: but in the end, the king subdued the Welsh,

Florilegus. 1281 In the tenth yeare of Edward the first. *Florilegus.*

1282 In the eleuenth yeare of Edward the first. *Ex archiuis. Hist. Camb.* Or the *Welch historie*, fo. 338, 339, and so to fol. 371. *Tho. Walsing.*

and

and the barons of that countrie came to his parlement at Northampton, where they sware homage vnto him. *Walt. Gesb. Petr. de Ickh.*

This parlement being doone, the archbishop did againe more diligentlie than before visit his prouince; in which visitation, determining for euer to banish all Iews: he wrot to the bishop of Lincolne that he should ouerthrow all their synagogs, which decree by the kings meanes was somewhat mitigated, and the Iewes were permitted to have one temple in the publike place of the citie, in which they might celebrat their ceremonies: whereof a great number were taken from them. At this time, the archbishop reiected and would not confirme Richard Moore professor of diuinitie, and chosen bishop of Winchester, and Iohn Kirkbie the kings chapleine, chosen to the bishop of Lichfield, because they had manie benefices. Whervpon they appealing to the pope, after the vaine spense of much monie, and long time thereabouts, were faine to leaue the matter, and against their wils to stand to the sentence pronounced against them, in the behalfe of the archbishop Peckham. So that they being reiected from these bishoprikes, one Iohn Pontisar was in place of the one by the pope made bishop of Winchester, which greuouslie infested the moonks of that citie, and increased the liuings and rites of that bishoprike with the spoiles of the same, as appeareth by the monuments of that church. 1283 *In archiuis, fo.* 242.

This Peckham was (as is prooued by this which followeth) a seuere punisher of euils; for being no lesse bitter to those which were not resident on their cures, than to such as had manie cures; he by publike edict admonished and compelled the bishop of Lichfield (a stranger, and ignorant in the English toong, and therefore remaining out of his diocesse) that he should (vnder paine of being displaced) returne to his bishoprike there to be resident: who comming to the archbishop to excuse himselfe, was sharplie rebuked, because he might through his residence vpon his bishoprike, feed the bodies of the poore with almes and liberalitie, although he could not feed the soules of his sheepe with preaching and literature. When this Peckham came to the college of Woluerhampton in the diocesse of Lichfield, (whose patronage belonged to the church of Canturburie) to visit the same, he was excluded and forbidden it by the chanons vpon their priuilege of exemption: but the archbishop depriued Iohn Theodosius de Camilla (who prosecuted this cause at Rome) of two parsonages or rectories (which he had in England for non residence: during the time that the said Iohn was in these affaires at Rome. At this time, this archbishop did confesse in his letters written to the queene, that he had spent more than two thousand marks on the reparing of the buildings in his manors, saieng besides, expreslie in the register, that in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fourescore and foure, he did expend about three thousand marks in necessarie buildings: who as he sharpelie punished the non residents, so he did with no lesse seueritie punish adulterie. 1284 In the twelfe yeare of Edward the first. *In archiuis.* *In regist. fo.* 45, *fol.* 114.

For whilest he visited the diocesse of Chichester, he there punished Roger Ham a priest by one years penance to be performed vpon his oth, who spent that time in pilgrimages to Rome, to Cullen, and to Compostella, being depriued of all his spirituall reuenues, which the bishop caused to be giuen to the vse of the poore. In his visitation also of his diocesse of Salisburie it was found, that Osborne Gifforde knight had taken two nuns out of the monasterie of Wilton, whom the archbishop did first excommunicat, and then released vnder hard conditions. First that he should not all his life after enter into anie monasterie of nuns, or vse the companie of anie nun: then, that he being naked, should be beaten with rods in the parish church of Wilton and receiue the like publike punishment, both in the market, and the parish church of Shaftsburie, wherevnto were added the fast of manie moneths: besides this, that he should be disgraded from the order of knighthood, and neuer after 1285 In the thirteenth yeare of Edward the first. *In archiuis.* 1286 In the fourteenth yeare of Edward the first. *In archiuis fo.* 142.

weare gilt spurs, sword, armour, saddle, or gilt trapings: and moreouer, that he should not weare anie coloured garments but onelie of russet, furred with lambe or sheepe skins, that he should not weare anie shirt three yeers after his punishment, that he should not returne to the order before he had passed three yeares in the Holie-land; and especiallie, that he should procure the nuns to be sent to the monasterie to receiue the like punishment: all which, this Osborne Gifford bound himselfe by oth to performe, the bishop of Salisburie appointing him a forme of fast therefore.

About this time there was a certeine contention betweene the bishop of Lincolne and the vniuersitie of Oxenford, touching the iurisdiction of the bishop ouer the scholers of the same vniuersitie. Concerning which, thus writeth Matthew Parker. De qua (meaning that controuersie) Iohannes Cantuar. cùm scholarium tum causam vacillare, nec iure stare posse intellexerat, scholaribus rescripsit: Si in iure contenderent, vinci eos ac superari necesse est, præsertim cum his quibus niterentur priuilegijs, à iurisdictione episcopali iure communi stabilita eximi nequaquam potuissent. Whervpon in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred fourescore and eight, the said Iohn Peckham hauing ouerseene Oxfordshire, did in that visitation also come vnto Oxenford, and visited the same by his metropolitane power: In qua visitatione quasdam philosophicas opiniones, quas errores & à Roberto Kilwarby (his predecessor in the bishoprike of Canturb.) antea reprehensos docuit, & tanquam hæreses & a fide christiana abhorrentes e suggestu Latinè refellit. Inter has vna erat, in homine esse tantummodo forman vnam, &c. Of which matter Matthew Parker maketh a great discourse, declaring a contention betweene one Richard Knapwell doctor and frier preacher, one Hugh de Manchester prouinciall of that order, and this Iohn Peckham archbishop, about those questions, which being but frierlie wranglings, I let passe as needles to spend time, labor, and paper therevpon. This archbishop Peckham kept a councell of the bishops, in which he made fiue seuerall lawes. In whose gouernement of the see of Canturburie hapned such a cheape of corne, that wheat was sold for three pence the bushell: but shortlie after, by the space of fortie yeares following, there was contrarilie such a dearth, as a bushell of wheat was sold for two shillings. Now after that this man had beene archbishop thirteene yeares, perceiuing his end to draw neere, he made his will, and appointed Nicholas of Knouile or Knowle, person of Maidstone, and Simon de Greile, to be his executors. These men after the death of Walter Reinolds, in the vacancie of the archbishoprike, being called to account for the goods of the testator, by the prior of Canturburie, the same was at that time Ex inuentario præter legata in specie relicta, to haue exceeded fiue thousand three hundred and fiue pounds, seuenteene shillings, and two pence quad: of English monie, notwithstanding his great gifts vnto the cardinals, and seuen hundred threescore and ten marks to be distributed to the poore inhabiting in his manors, and the liberall aduancement of manie of his kinred, some being knights, and some being gentlemen, wherof their posterities at this daie remaine in my sweet countrie of Kent, and in other shires of England. This archbishop, after that he had possessed the see of Canturburie (as before I said) thirteene yeares, foure and twentie weeks, and two daies, departed this life in Ianuarie, and was buried in Christs church of Canturburie.

1290 In the nineteenth yeare of Edward the first.

Sapientia ejus ante obitum suum fuit totaliter deuorata & sine planctis monachorum moritur. *Verba Chro. Roff.*

Robert Winchelseie, when he was yet a child, was brought vp at Canturburie in the rudiments of grammar, being of so faire complexion, of so good wit, and of so mild disposition, that in his childhood it was a common prophesie, to saie that he should be bishop of Canturburie. After his childish yeares thus spent at schoole, he went to Paris, where he was made maister of arts, and then applied himselfe to diuinitie eight yeares, after which, by vniuersall consent he was made ruler of the vniuersitie of Paris. Then comming into England, vpon proofe of his learning at Oxford,

Robert. Winchelseie. *Steph. Brichinsen.*

Oxford, he receiued the degree of a doctor, and at length by generall voice was aduanced to be chancellor of that vniuersitie; to which offices in following time, was also added the archdeaconrie of Essex, and a prebendariship in Paules church of London. This Winchelsie not yet satisfied, he was in the end by the assent of all men, made archbishop of Canturburie (as some haue) in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fourescore and twelue, who going to Rome to be consecrated, was there had in such great admiration for his learning and vertuous conditions, as the pope would then haue made him a cardinall, and still reteined him vnder his protection. But he alledging necessarie causes to remaine in England, had leaue to depart after his consecration. In the meane time, king Edward the first demanded of the cleargie of Westminster a great masse of monie towards the charges of the war: the bishops demand a daie for answere, which was giuen vnto them, being but a verie short time. During which time William Montfort, deane of Paules, being in perfect health, and comming to the king to intreat for mitigation of so great a summe as he demanded of the clergie; and beginning his tale before the king, did there suddenlie fall downe dead. But the king nothing troubled therwith, at the daie appointed, sent Iohn de Hauering knight to the prelats assembled at Westminster, who with a lowd voice said: If any man will gainsaie the kings demand, let him come foorth, that being knowne he maie be iudged guiltie, as a disturber of the kings peace. Wherewith the prelats being astonied, did in the end condescend to the kings request, the same grant being after great cause of dissention betweene the king and the clergie. About which time Winchelsie returning from Rome into England, went to the king into Wales, then occupied in the wars of those countries; where, after his fealtie made to the king for his temporalties, he did excommunicat Madocke Leoline that raised this war against the king: which sentence he commanded to be declared thoughout all the parts of Wales. At length the same tumult being pacified, the archbishop returned home, and held a synod at London. The synod ended (in the fift of Nouember, in the presence of this archbishop, sitting in Bow church) he causing the lawes to be read openlie, which he had made for the iudges and officers of the court of the arches: which doone, he came to Canturburie, and there was inthronized, consecrating on the same daie Iohn of Monmouth professor of diuinitie bishop of Landaffe in Wales. These things thus passing, Edward the first being in the wars of the low countrie, did (when Roger bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield was dead) procure one Walter of Langton to be chosen bishop, who was consecrated at the kings request beyond the seas, by the cardinall of Alba, sauing all rights belonging to the bishoprike of Canturburie. The king after the subduing of his enimies, demanded releefe of the clergie, but they denied it, for that they could not grant any thing to the king, without the popes consent. For which this bishop with the rest, standing in contention with the king, he put him and them wholie out of his protection: whereupon the clergie well considering of the same, submitted themselues, and chose the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of Durham, Elie, and Sarisburie with others, to deale in those affaires, to whome they committed power to seeke remedie, both to satisfie the pope and the king: who therevpon consulting togither, agreed to laie downe in the church the fift part of the ecclesiasticall goods, for the vrgent and necessarie defense of the church of England. But this archbishop vtterlie misliking the same would not anie waie change his mind; for which cause being turned out of his house, no man would scarse giue him lodging: but he not esteeming thereof, vsed this protestation, that he would doo nothing the more for that; further affirming that all they were excommunicat which gaue anie thing against the popes will and authoritie. For which cause the bishops vncerteine what to doo in this extremitie, for doubt of both swords, brake off their councell, and

Walsingh.

Flor. Walsingh.

1294 In the two and twentith yeare of Edward the first.

Ste. Briebin.

Florileg.

1295 In the three and twentith yeare of Edward the first.

Walsingh. Florileg.

Ex archiuis.

Florileg.

Chron. sancti Albani. W. Thorn.

that the rather, because that this archbishop Robert departing from the same councell, admonished euerie man to looke to his owne soule.

Walter Gisb. 1296 In the foure and twentith yeare of Edward the first.

At length yet in the end, the clergie going to the king offered him sometime the fourth part, and sometime the fift part of their goods, thereby hoping to receiue their temporalties, and to be againe vnder his protection. At what time the king (for that present, by reason of hast of warres in France thinking it good to dissemble the dealing of the archbishop) did in a parlement at Westminster receiue the archbishop into fauor, and restored to him all that he had taken from him. Whervpon the king taking with him this Robert Winchelseie, his sonne prince Edward, and the erle of Warwike, came into Westminster hall, where he commanded the people to assemble, to the end to make a full pacification with them before his departure into France. Before whome the king made a lamentable speech, and excused himselfe of taxes laid on his people, as a thing wherevnto he was inforced by the necessitie of the warres; promising to repaie all such summes, if he returned in safetie from the present warres: and if he did not see England againe, he earnestlie desired them that they would then crowne his sonne Edward in his fathers seat. With which words the archbishop pitifully weeping did so pacifie the minds of the people, that they with one voice both held vp their hands, and promised their faith vnto the king to performe all his demands. But the earles and barons which were to go with him into Flanders, refused the same, vnlesse the king would confirme Magna Charta, and Charta de forresta, both which the king vnwillinglie granted to performe.

Walsing. Florilegus.

1305 1306 In the one and twentith and foure and twentith yeare of Edward the first.

Shortlie after this archbishop was accused by the king of treason, in aiding and counselling such as rebelled against him, whilest he was in the warres of Scotland, amongst whome was the earle Marshall, who for satisfaction thereof made the king his heire. This treason did the bishop confesse, and on his knees craued pardon therfore; but the king remitting the matter to the pope, the archbishop was by the pope suspended from his office, and then banished England: but after by Edward the second, comming to his crowne, restored, in the first yeare of his reigne, with all the commodities which were withheld from him during the time of his banishment, being so great a summe to him, that his calamitie was by that meanes vnto him great commoditie. For thereby he became the richest archbishop of all his predecessors, for which cause he would with this saieng comfort himselfe in his banishment, accompanied with other greefes:

1307 1308

Nihil nocebit aduersitus vbi nulla iniquitas dominatur.

But as he at this time seemeth to be in all prosperitie by reason of this exceeding wealth: so yet now and not before came the cause of this archbishops greefe and moorning, in that king Edward the second, against the minds of all men, did recall into England Piers de Gauestone the Gascoine, which hated all the cleargie and nobilitie, and was banished into Ireland by king Edward the first. For this Piers at his comming to the king, imprisoned Walter the bishop of Couentrie by the kings commandement. Wherevpon the archbishop would not in the parlement suffer anie thing to be doone by the cleargie of his prouince, vntill the bishop of Couentrie were deliuered out of prison. After this (the king being offended with the archbishop) he kept a prouinciall councell in London, in which the order of the knights of the Temple were destroied. In which yeare also Henrie king of Almaine being created emperor, receiued three crownes in this order: one of siluer at Aquisgrane, an other of iron at Millane, and the third of gold at Rome. Besides which in the same yeare this archbishop required of the king to haue sir Iohn Heron knight (prisoner in the Tower of London, for the murther of Robert Grace) to be iudged in the spirituall court as a clearke, wherevnto the king did giue consent. After which the said knight being receiued by the deputie of the bishop of London, to purge the suspicion of the said murther, was quitted thereof by the sentence of

1309 *Adam. Murim. Walsing.*

1310 The fourth of Edward the second *Memoriale historiarum.* *Adam. Meri.*

that bishop: but vpon further examination, that act was reuoked by this archbishop, the sentence made void, he found guilty of the murther, and inioined to doo penance therefore.

About the yeare following, there was contention betweene the couent and prior of Lewes, and the bishop of Norwich in the kings court (concerning the right of a patronage) by the space of seuen years, which at length obteined this end. The prior and the couent did present one Reginald Bedaling to the parish church of Feurell, whome the bishop did pronounce to be vnmeet therefore, and would not admit him. Wherevpon grew a sute at the common law, and the bishop pleaded that he could not admit a man vnmeet for that place: which answer caused the kings iudges to write vnto this archbishop, to certifie them of the validitie or unworthinesse of the clearke. Wherevpon the archbishop approoued the bishop of Norwichs fact, in writing thus to the iudges; Inueninus quòd R. B. in breui mentionatus, est in habilis ad omne beneficium ecclesiasticum. Which returne caused the iudges to giue sentence against the prior. This archbishop was so seuere in executing his archiepiscopall iurisdiction, that he would not spare anie of the nobilitie, for he banished Iohn earle Warren (vpon his oth) from the companie and presence of an harlot (which he kept openlie in his house) after that he had rashlie turned awaie his wife: and when he perceiued that the same would not helpe, he by publike edict, cited the earle and the children gotten in that adulterie to a synod, where the earle was againe interdicted, as well for periurie and for adulterie, as for ouermuch vnlawfull familiaritie with that strumpet. And as he was to some seuere in respect of vice, so to his prince he bare as faithfull dutie: for he deerelie in the beginning loued Edward the second, from whom by parlement he remooued the Spensers, and such other euill flatterers as were about him, procuring them to be banished; being moreouer a rare man, and of great almes. Wherfore I will set downe the words of that reuerend father and worthie antiquarie Matthew Parker touching him, for the example of the cleargie proportionablie as their liuings now will heare, to be so great alinesmen as he was. Thus therefore archbishop Parker writeth of this Robert Winchelsei.

1311 The fift of Edward the second.

Walsingham. Merimouth.

Vitia, quæ in hoc archiepiscopo deprehensa sunt, non tam hominis quàm temporis propria fuerunt. Nam pro ecclesiæ libertatibus cum papa, & pro regni iuribus cum baronibus aduersus regem fuit, in quarum vtraque causa Salamonis dictum verum expertus est; Indignationem principis morti comparandam esse. Beneficia ecclesiastica nunquam nisi doctis contulit, precibus atque gratia nobilium fretos & ambientes semper repulit, iuuenibus literarum studiosis ad academias missis annua alimenta decreuit, in eleemosynis & largitione quotidiana omnes ante se & sequentes archiepiscopos anteire dicendus est, pauperibus ostiatim mendicantibus præter quotidianas ex fragmentis largitiones, quolibet die dominico & feria quinta pro eleemosyna habenda ad loca vbi degebat venientibus panes frumentarios quadrante valentes dari præcepit. Horum panum numerus tempore caritatis annonæ quatuor, tempore copiæ trium millium fuit, his in illis festis solennioribus 150 denarios, totidem pauperibus in pecunijs numerandos addidit. Infirmis præterea senióue confectis, puerperis, & euismodi egenis prodire ad eleemosynas petendas non valentibus, mitti singulos panes cum modica carniuin aut piscium iuxto diei varietatem quantitate iusset. Subleuabat insuper eas qui à secunda fortuna casu ad inopiam detrusi, quosque pudor a mendicitate prohibebat, quibus & vestes & pecunias misit. In mensa fuit inter conuiuas, lætus, affabilis iucundus. Detrectatores, adulatores, & scurras à sua hilaritate & epulis seiunxit; à quibus &

Memorial. hist. Ste. Brichint.

à consortio

à consortio cum in secretiora et interiora loca se abduxisset, precibus primùm deinde studijs iucubuit.

After that this bishop was (as is before said) returned out of exile, he liued by the space of six yeares in great fauor with king Edward the second, who (when he perceiued that the king had againe admitted the Spensers hated of all men, and that he rejected the companie of good men) fell into a great sicknesse, and ended his daies at Otford (after that he had beene bishop much about nineteene yeares) the fift ides of Maie, from whense he was conueied to Canturburie, and buried neere vnto the altar of S. Gregorie at the south wall, whose toome was cast downe because the people did frequent therevnto, and worship him as a saint: who at his death gaue the librarie with the vestments and other few goods of his (which were left) to the church of Canturburie.

1313 In the sixt yeare of Edward the second. *Steph. Brichin.*

Archiui.

Walter Reinolds, chapleine to Edward the first, parson of Wimberton, treasuror and chancellor of England, was made archbishop of Canturburie by the popes appointment, and that worthie person Thomas Cobham prebendarie of Yorke, and deane of Salisburie, elected by the moonks of Canturburie was reiected; of the time of whose death finding no mention in Matthew Parker, I will set downe what is to be seene in his epitaph, written in the wall of the north side of the quier of the church of Canturburie, where he is buried, being couered with the image of a bishop carued out of marble stone, which writing is this: Hîc iacet Walterus Reinôld priùs episcopus Wigorniensis & Angliæ cancellarius, tandem archiepiscopus istius ecclesiæ, qui obijt 16 die mensis Nouembris, anno Gratiæ 1317, cuius animæ propitietur Deus.

Walter Reinolds.

1313 In the sixt yeare of Edward the second. *Ex archiuis. Walsingham. Adam. Merim.*

Simon Mepham, archbishop of Canturburie, touching whose election we must saie thus much. After the death of Walter Reinold, the archiepiscopall authoritie and cheefe gouernment of ecclesiasticall things remained with the prior and couent of Canturburie, who committed all the iurisdiction ouer the prouince of Canturburie, to their fellow-moonke Gefferie de Eton. About the dooing whereof there was much contention betweene them and the bishop of London; but in the end, as I gather by the processe thereof, the moonks obteined the better hand or at the least lost nothing in the cause. At which time one Henrie, prior of Canturburie, Vir (as saith Matthew Parker) vt existimari conuenit, minùs rerum vsu quàm suo iure prudens, did in the vacancie of the bishoprike administer all the iurisdiction whatsoeuer belonging to the said church, except the consecration of bishops. Which when he could not doo with his authoritie, he sent to the bishop of London, and inioined him, that he with the suffragans assembled at a certeine daie at Canturburie, should consecrate the elect bishops of Meneuia and Bangor, whome he had confirmed by his authoritie, and to whom he had giuen his letter sealed with the couent seale, in witnesse and truth of that their consecration.

Simon Mepham.

Archiui ex processu elect. Sim. Mepham.

The authoritie of the couent thus acknowledged in the vacancie of the church of Canturburie, they writ letters to the king to demand licence to choose a new bishop; which obteined, they elected to their father, and to the honor of a patriarch, Simon Mepham borne in Kent, professor of diuinitie, chanon of Chichester, prebendarie of the church of Landaffe, and parson of Tunstall, a man in that age knowen to be singularlie learned, according to the doctrine then professed: whose election being by the king approoued, Henrie the prior of Canturburie sent messengers vnto Auinion, where the pope remained, to haue the same confirmed, at what time the pope consecrated the said Simon at Auinion; which being obteined, he presentlie returned home: and first of all by his charter (which I haue seene, and Matthew Parker hath set downe) appointed Richard de Solburie his procurator to receiue the commodities of his prebend in the church of Lions, and to bestow all needfull charges vpon his manor of

1320 In the 14 of Edward the second.

Quincracke

Quincracke in the dioces of Lions in France. After this he crowned Philip wife to Edward the third, then he kept a councell at London: In quo iura quædam vt à seruilibus operibus in diebus parasceues animarum, & conceptionis cessaretur, & de iurisdictione & bannorum matrimonialium editione condidit. Inter quæ Oxoniense illud de appellationibus à definitiuis tantùm sententijs interponendis decretum tanquam iniquum sustulit. Besides which, in this councell, by the consent of the clergie, all they were excommunicated which killed Walter Stapleton bishop of Excester and treasuror of England, or but once consented to his Death. Which Polydor dooth most vnskilfullie attribute to Iohn Stratford the next archbishop, whilest also forgetting himselfe, he maketh this Simon Mepham to be a person ouer merie and plesant, as hath Matthew Parker. These things thus doone, Roger bishop of Salisburie, and Iohn bishop of Bath died. Wherevpon the pope created Iohn de Wimble, a man both vnlearned and vncomlie, bishop of Sarum, by pretext of his power of prouision for bishopriks. But Simon the archbishop had confirmed and consecrated Rafe de Scrobsburie or Shrewsburie chosen bishop of Bath, before the pope had intelligence of the vacancie of that church, which Rafe being cited to Rome, and vexed with long delaies, at length returned home with full confirmation from the holie father. At length contention falling betweene this archbishop and the moonks of Canturburie about a visitation, the moonks appealed to the pope, who sending Letherius de Concreto by the name of a nuncio or messenger (for before all legats were vtterlie forbidden to come into England) to determine this cause, he gaue sentence against the bishop, and condemned him in seauen hundred pounds. Wherevpon the archbishop being conuicted, did more foolishlie attempt greater things, and being foiled by the weaker, would needs contend with the stronger. For determining to visit the prouince of Canturburie after the manner of his predecessors, there was a parlement called by the king; in the beginning of which, his visitation being begun, there was a councell of the clergie celebrated at London vnder the archbishop, from which councell they departed, despising the archbishop, and yeelding to nothing the king required. The councell ended, the bishop did afresh begin his metropolitan visitation, from which Iohn Grandison, then bishop of Excester did appeale to the pope, at the least by that meanes to delaie the visitation, which Grandison was borne in Kent and familiar with this archbishop Simon Mepham, whose jurisdiction he either feared or despised, and therefore resisted him, although not by right, yet by such power as he could, in appealing him to the pope. Wherefore, when Simon Mepham in that visitation had quietlie passed ouer the diocesse of Rochester, Chichester, Salisburie, Bath and Wels, he would also haue entred into the diocesse of Excester: but Iohn the bishop of that citie did with strong heart resist him; and when the archbishop determined to cope with him also by strength, the matter was brought vnto the king; the bishop was called backe by the kings letters, and shamefullie departed out of that countrie, without setting end to his visitation. By which and other repulses, as he returned home he fell into a deadlie ague at Magfield, and yeelded his life the twelfe of October, after that he had sitten fiue yeers, six moneths, and twelue daies in the chaire of the see of Canturburie. In setting end to which archbishop I must not forget (for the honor of my sweet countrie of Kent) a thing so rare, and perhaps neuer like to be seene againe; that this archbishop being himselfe a Kentishman, had at one time vnder him six of his suffragans to be of the same shire: so that Kent did at one time bring foorth seauen bishops, whereof the one was this archbishop Simon, the other six were the foresaid Iohn Grandison bishop of Excester, Stephan Grauesend bishop of London, Henrie Borwash or de Burgesse bishop of Lincolne, chancellor and tresuror of England, Thomas Cobham bishop of Worcester, Richard Swinefield bishop of Hereford, and Haimon bishop of Rochester. The bodie of this Simon Mepham was on the 7 calends of Nouember caried

Murimuth. Walsing.

Polydor erreth.

Murimuth. Walsing.

1324 In the third yeare of Edward the third. *Murimuth.*

1327 In the fift of Edward the third.

1332 In the sixt of Edward the third.

Contention betweene the bishop of Canturburie and Excester, that the first would visit the diocesse of the second.

Sta. Brichint.

1333 In the 7 of Edward the third.

Math. Parker.

caried to Canturburie, and buried in a marble toome, on the north part of the chapell of S. Anselme somtime bishop of Canturburie.

Iohn Stratford.

Ex epistola Rich. Dunel.

1348 In the 22 of Edward the third.

Iohn Stratford, when he was yet but yoong, gaue himselfe to the canon and ciuill law, after which he was made archdeacon of Lincolne, then deane of the arches, by Walter Reinolds archbishop of Canturburie, next to the priuie councell, and secretarie to Edward the second, and in following time made bishop of Winchester. He was chancellor to Edward the third, and then made bishop of the arch see of Canturburie, and protector of the realme in the absence of Edward the third. This Iohn after that he had bin bishop 5 yeares, fell into a deadlie disease at Magfield and there died, being buried at Canturburie at the high altar in the south part, with an honorable toome of alabaster at the steps of the altar of saint Dunstan.

Iohn Vfford. 1350 as some haue, but rather 1349 being the 23 of Edward the first, as others haue.

Iohn Vfford sonne of the earle of Suffolke, did studie the ciuill and canon law at Cambridge, who being after made deane of Lincolne was admitted to the kings councell, and inuested with the honor of chancellor of England, from whense in following time he was aduanced to the see of Canturburie, who waiting for the pall six moneths and six daies, died in the great pestilence in the moneth of Maie, or (as hath Matthew Parker) the seuenth of Iune one thousand three hundred and fiftie, being the foure and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third. The bodie of which archbishop was the next morning secretlie brought to Canturburie, and buried without anie archiepiscopall majestie in the north wall of the wall of Thomas Becket.

Thomas Bradwardine.

Thomas Bradwardine (chosen by the moonks of Canturburie to succeed Iohn Stratford, and being repelled to bring in the foresaid Iohn Offord or Vfford) was borne at Hatfield in Sussex, who studieng diuinitie, was by Iohn Stratford bishop of Canturburie brought to be the kings confessor, in which office without anie reward or honor he remained with the king in all his warres. Which Bradwardine being of a zelous mind, would not feare to rebuke the king if he at anie time saw him depart from equitie: which the king did not take in euill part, but alwaies loued the man, who although he might obteine anie thing of the king yet would hardlie be brought to this euill, that he would at one time keep both his canonrie in Lincolne, and his chancellorship of London. Wherby it appeareth, that he was not onelie vertuouslie giuen from couetousnesse, but also so mild conditioned, that he was neuer offended because he was reiected at his first election from the see of Canturburie, and Offord placed in the same: for which cause after the death of Offord, the moonks did rechoose him to be their archbishop of Canturburie; whereunto the king did with much intretie agree, being loth to loose the companie of so good a man. After which, this Bradwardine coming to Auinion to be consecrated, the same was celebrated by Bertrand the cardinall, in the companie of all the other cardinals. At the time of which feast of consecration, Hugo the cardinall of Tull, the popes kinsman, a person puffed vp with vaine pride, beholding the simple and mild countenance of this new archbishop, did in mockerie of him bring into the place an abiect and base wretch sitting on an asse, requiring to be made an archbishop. For which his foolish act being bitterlie rebuked and tawnted, he did with shame depart as a person noted of extreme follie. The solemnities of this consecration ended, and the pope and cardinals saluted, this Bradwardine returneth into England, first receiuing his temporaltie of the king: which being had, he goeth forthwith to Lambeth to rest himselfe after his long iornie, where remaining in the bishop of Rochesters house called the place, some certeine weeks, he fell into an ague, whereof he shortlie after died, fiue weeks and foure daies after his consecration, being before that he was inthronized at Canturburie. After which he was buried at Canturburie in the chapell of Anselme, by whose death the church of Canturburie was thrise vacant in one yeere. This man,

amongst

amongst manie other works which he wrot, made one great and learned booke intituled, De causa Dei contra Perigrum, which booke is at this daie extant, and (as maister Lambert noteth in his perambulation of Kent) among the names of the archbishops of Canturburie; he built the Blacke friers in London.

Simon Islep was first made a canon of Paules, iudge of the arches vnder Iohn Stratford archbishop of Canturburie, then chancellor, secretarie and keeper of the priuie seale to king Edward the third, and lastlie by the moonks of Canturburie chosen to the archbishoprike of that citie. But the pope admitted him as a person rather placed in that see by his owne collation, than by the moonks election: whereof the buls were published in Bow church of London the fourth daie of October. After which, in December next, he was consecrated in Paules church by Rafe Stratford bishop of London, in the presence of William Edinton bishop of Winchester treasuror, and Iohn Thorsbie bishop of saint Dauies chancellor of England. This doone, he sent Michaell Northburge a doctor of the law to Rome to bring his pall, and appointed Roger Dorking to be his procurator to receiue the commodities of his canonrie at Lions, which the archbishops of Canturburie held. The pall being brought into England, he receiued the same from the hands of the bishop of Winchester in the manor house of Esher, being (for auoiding of further charge) inthronized at Canturburie with a small feast. But as he was a verie sparing man in all things, so therewithall he was ouer seuere in most things; for he visited his diocesse of Canturburie with great animaduersion. Contrarie wherevnto he slenderlie passed ouer the diocesse of Rochester and Chichester, which was ascribed to his moderation and lenitie. But after comming home to his seat, calling the offendors before him, they found no lenitie but all seueritie in him: which caused Iohn Buckingham bishop of Lincolne to defend his diocesse from the visitation of this archbishop, by the bulles of pope Clement obteined at Auinion; but the same priuilege was after reuoked at Rome, by the instigation of this archbishop. For the scholers of the vniuersitie of Oxford choosing one William de Palmorine to be their chancellor, sent him to the bishop of Lincolne (in whose diocesse Oxford then was) to be confirmed. But he by manie delaies was by the bishop turned ouer to an other time: for which, this William complained to the archbishop, which appointed a daie to the bishop of Lincolne to confirme the chancellor or to appeare before him. During which time the archbishop committed the hearing of the cause to his chancellor Iohn Caulton and to the deane of Wels, at which daie the elect chancellor of Oxford with the scholers appearing, and the bishop of Lincolne making default, the chancellor of Canturburie lawfullie proceeding in that matter, pronounced him to be lawfullie elected; vpon which sentence the archbishop confirmed him and sent him to Oxford, writing to the vniuersitie to obeie him. Which greeuing the bishop of Lincolne, he foorthwith appealed to the pope, but the archbishop reiecting his appeale, called him to his owne iudgement seat, as a contemner of the archiepiscopal authoritie: but the bishop of Lincolne not appearing, the archbishop interdicted all his churches and lands. In the end, manie things being in this controversie alleaged before the pope, the priuilege of the bishop of Lincolne was reuoked, and he inforced to giue place to the archbishop. After which, this Simon called Andrew Vfford archdeacon of Middlsex, administrator of the goods of Iohn Vfford the archbishop of Canturburie, into law for the buildings which the said Iohn Vfford had left ruinous in the bishoprike of Canturburie, and recouered of him eleuen hundred pounds fiue and thirtie shillings two pence halfepenie farthing, which he bestowed in repairing of the palace of Canturburie: Idemque (as saith that worthie antiquarie Matthew Parker) totum manerium de Wrotham demolitus, ædificia (quæ Iohannes Vfford Maidenstoniæ inchoauit) ex demolitis tignis, lapidibus, & cæmento traductis absoluit.

Simon Islep.

1349 In the three and twentith yeare of Edward the third.

Ashor.

1350. In the 24 yeare of Edward the third.

Palmorine.

Steph. Brich.

Adam Murimuth.

1351 In the fiue and twentith yeare of Edward the third.

In this fiue and twentith yeare of Edward the third, there was a new contention betweene the two archbishops of Yorke and of Canturburie, for the bearing of their crosses, whereof we will speake more in another worke of the bishops of Yorke.

Dissention betweene the scholers and townesmen of Oxford.

These things thus passed, a heavy discord fell betweene the scholers and townesmen of the uniuersitie of Oxford, which of them should bear the cheefest rule in the towne, in which after that it was come to weapons and diuerse slaine on both parts, the scholars were driuen to forsake the towne. The bishop of Lincolne, vnder whose iurisdiction Oxford was, determining to punish the townesmen, did both interdict them and the towne: but after somewhat abating the same, he onlie gaue commandement to all the priests of the parishes, that if anie of the townesmen did come in whilest they were at diuine seruice, or were present at the diuine seruice, they should cease from the same, so long as anie of the townesmen were in the church. Wherevnto this archbishop added a further paine of excommunication. But the scholers being dispersed hither and thither, and the king sorrowing to heare of the death that happened therby, called the controuersie into his owne hands. Which being heard, and the townesmen punished, he released the offense to the scholers, with this condition, that they should returne to the vniuersitie, and there fall againe to their studie: the whole substance whereof, the king would haue this archbishop to declare vnto them. And to the end that the scholers might hereafter be free from all violence to be offered vnto them by the townesmen, he condemned them to paie two hundred and fiftie pounds for damages vnto the scholers: and further bound them vnder a great paine, neuer after to hurt anie of the same scholers. Wherevpon the whole gouernment of the towne was committed by the king to the chancellor of the vniuersitie (vtterlie excluding anie of the townesmen therein) to whose determination the iudgement and knowledge of the assise and measure of bread, wine, drinke, and of all other measures and weights were granted. Besides which generall amends, euerie particular scholer was left to his priuate reuenge by acton, for anie iniurie doone vnto him by anie of the townesmen.

1354 In the eight and twentith of Edward the third.

Robert Aueb. Walsing.

About this time, Edward prince of Wales, after the death of the bishop of saint Assaph, did chalenge to himselfe the liuings of the bishoprike during the vacancie of the said see: but this archbishop contending with the prince, and prouing by ancient custome and by the witnesse of the clergie, that the same of right belonged to Canturburie, in the end obteined the same. Much about which time Elisabeth a noble woman, after the death of Iohn earle of Kent hir husband, became a nun, in which profession when she had remained certeine yeares she fell in loue with one Eustace Abricourts a Henower, which earnest affection of hers inforced hir to depart out of the monasterie, and to be married vnto him against hir vow, in the morning before daie light without anie banes asking. Whereof when this archbishop had knowledge, he punished and bound them yearelie to assigne a liuing vnto two chaplains: and besides, that they should a long time be inioined the penance of fasting and praier without dissoluing the bands of matrimonie. This archbishop did build a famous college in Oxford called Canturburie college, to which he appropriated the rectories of Magfeld and Pagham; further granting the churches of Monktowne and Estreie to the moonks of Canturburie, and for two hundred and fortie markes did release to the earle of Arundell six and twentie bucks and does, which the same earle of Arundell should yerelie paie to the church of Canturburie, for which act he was euillie thought of by diuerse of the couent. In his iorneie as he went to Magfeld, he fell with his horse into a poole, in which whilst his horse and he did strugle togither to get foorth, and that the archbishop would haue recouered himselfe, he was all so tumbled and so wet in the mire, and so came throughlie wet to Magfeld, where he fell into a heauie sleepe before that he had put off his apparell, whereby falling into a palsie, he died there at Magfeld, in the seuenteenth yeare of his

1362 In the six and thirtith yere of Edward the third.

Archiui.

Iohn sonne of Edmund of Woodstoke erle of Kent, who after the said Edmund was earle of Kent, and died without issue, and the earledome came to Ione his sister.

bishoprike

bishoprike, after that he had sitten at Canturburie sixteene yeares, foure moneths, and twelue daies, and was buried at Canturburie in the middle of the bodie of the church, with a toome wheron is a faire marble stone yet standing, hauing this epitaph in brasse ingrauen about a mitred bishop of plate, placed in the same hard marble stone:

Hospes sanctorum, decus & pie Christe tuorum,
Cœtibus ipsorum prece iungas hunc precor horum,
Simon Isleppe oriens, vir bina lege probatus,
Vt nascens moriens, sic nunc iacet ante locatus,
Arcem qui tenuit, hîc quondam pontificatus,
Clero quique fuit, regno toti quoque gratus,
Mil. tricenteno sexageno quoque seno,
Eius septeno pastoratus quoque deno,
Hic kal. Maij seno rupto carnis nece fræno,
Flos cadit e feno, cœlo peto qui sit ameno,
Princeps pastorum fac Simon apostolorum,
Simon vt iste chorum per eos vt attingat eorum.

At his death he bequeathed one thousand sheepe to the monasterie of Canturburie, his golden garment with a rich cope and siluer vessell, which was six doozzen of siluer dishes so manie salts, twelue siluer basons with his armes: commanding further that he should be buried without anie assemblie of the people, auoiding in all things much magnificence or great cost. Of whom there be onlie extant two prouinciall constitutions to be holden in his time. 1366 In the fortith yeare of Edward the third.

Simon Langham was archbishop of Canturburie, and chosen after this maner. When Simon Islep was dead, the moonks of Canturburie required to haue William Edinton bishop of Winchester chancellor and treasuror of England to be their archbishop; but he denied their election. Wherevpon at the kings request, pope Vrban the fift did translate Simon Langham sometime abbat of Westminster, chancellor and treasuror of England to the see of Canturburie by the waie and title of prouision. After which he was made a cardinall also, who as he sat at his collation at after dinner, was suddenlie stricken with a palseie and lost his speach: and liuing foure or fiue daies after, died on the daie of Marie Magdalen: whose bodie was buried at Donezere neere Auinion amongst the Carthusians in a new church, which he builded from the foundation. After which, in processe of time as he had before ordeined, his bones were brought into England to Westminster, where is a statelie toome made ouer him; he sat archbishop two yeares and somewhat more. Simon Langham. *Steph. Brichinton. Catalo. episco. Eliens. Ro. Malueme. Monach. Wigorn. in continu. Randulph.* 1376, or rather 1368.

William Witleseie, the kinsman of Simon Islep archbishop of Canturburie, by whome he was not onelie liberallie brought vp in learning, but also promoted to diuerse honors; who in his yoong yeares followed the studie of the lawes by the persuasion of his vncle therein; proceeding doctor of both lawes, and being procurator for all his vncles affaires at Rome. After which, he was aduanced to be vicar generall and officiall to the said Simon Islep, then likewise was he made deane of the arches, hauing therevnto also adioined the archdeaconrie of Huntington, and the rectories of Croidon and Cliffe. From these degrees he was raised to the bishoprike of Rochester, then to Worcester, next to London, and lastlie was translated by Vrban the fift to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, the fift ides of October (when Simon Langham was made cardinall and went to the popes court) hauing in the Hilarie terme next following his temporalties restored to him at Westminster. At this time there were certeine Englishmen in Rome well seene in the ciuil and canon lawes, amongst which *Steph. Birch. Ex archinit.* 1368 In the two and fortith yeare of Edward the third.

there were foure especiallie noted therefore, which were Thomas Paxton Robert Stratton, Iohn Shepdam, and Simon Sudburie, being afterward bishop of Canturburie: to these men which were of great authoritie in the church of Rome, did this archbishop giue authoritie procuratiue, to require of the pope and to send vnto him the pall, which was giuen him at Lambeth in the kalends of Aprill by William Wickham bishop of Winchester.

1369 In the three and fortith yeare of Edward the third. *Steph. Brich.*

The sixteenth daie of Iune following, he was inthronised at Canturburie without anie shew or pompe, therein following the example of his predecessor Simon Islep. The next yeare he held a synod in Paules church of London the one and twentith of Ianuarie, in which he made an eloquent, learned, and Latine sermon. In which this synod, Robert Thorpe, Iohn Kneuet, and Thomas Ludlo the kings iustices, did in the kings name demand a tenth for three years of the cleargie, towards his charges in warres. But after much talke thereabouts, they hardlie granted the tenth for two yeares. After which, the king not contented therewith, Iohn of Gaunt duke of Lancaster the kings son, the earle of Arundell, the earle of Warwike, and the lord Guy Brian entring into the synod, required instantlie that three yeares tenth might be granted, to answer the charge whereat the king had beene in his continuall warres for the glorie of his countrie. Which tenth the cleargie might well paie, and ought not to denie, because they were free and not troubled with anie personall labor of those warres: vpon the which (without contradiction of anie) the whole tenth was granted. In which yeare also, pope Vrban the fift did sharplie command this William the archbishop, that he should dissolue all vnions of ecclesiasticall benefices, with their impropriations made to monasteries, and not permit anie to be made hereafter. But this precept was soone forgotten by the popes death, and neuer after renewed.

1370 In the foure and fortith yeare of Edward the third.

Charter house built in London.

In the time of this archbishop, the monasterie of the Carthusians began in London, at the charges of Michaell Northburge bishop of that citie, and Walter Mannie or Mennie knight, about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and fiftie, being the foure and twentith yeare of Edward the third; and was in the yeare one thousand three hundred threescore and ten, being the four and fortith yeare of the said Edward the third, finished by the said Walter Mennie. This doone, the king remoueth all spirituall officers, placing temporall men in their roomes: but their gouernment being found far woorse than that of the spiritualtie (as was by some, fauoring and following the cleargie, put into the kings mind) they were restored to their former offices. The king held a parlement, during which there was a synod of the cleargie kept at London in Pauls church the foure and twentith daie of Aprill, to which were sent by the king, Robert Thorp chancellor (perhaps the same Robert Thorp, which before is called the kings iustice) and sir Richard Scroope treasuror (whome a learned man somewhat miscalling, dooth name Thomas Scroope) both succeeding after the clergie was remoued. These men required a subsidie of fiftie thousand pounds, to be granted by the cleargie, to such the kings excessiue charges of the warres. But the cleargie shewed that the church was drawne drie by the infinit charge of those warres, and that therefore they were not able to giue anie more, for which cause the kings messenger went awaie that daie, who a few daies following, returned with a more prepared tale, but profited not anie whit the better thereby.

1371 In the fiue and fortith yeare of Edward the third.

Polybro. continuat. Ex archiuis.

Wherevpon this archbishop William, following the minds of the king and nobilitie, did proroge the synod from Paules church to the chapell of the Sauoie the duke of Lancasters house, commanding euerie one to be there present. And although manie were absent at the time appointed, yet by the laboring of the duke of Lancaster and of the nobilitie, but especiallie by the speeches of Edward the kings

sonne

sonne called the Blacke prince (who promised to procure of his father manie liberties to the cleargie) they which were present condescended to the paiment of fiftie thousand pounds. This doone, the archbishop William increasing in yeares, was so weake and sickelie of bodie, that he did nothing for the space of two yeares, but rested sicke at home. But in the sixt yeare of his translation by the kings procurement, he called a synod in the church of Pauls in London, where going vp into the pulpit he made a Latin sermon vpon this theame: Veritas liberauit nos. Which when he had ended, he was through infirmitie inforced to depart the synod, and in his place to substitute the bishop of London. In which synod there was a subsidie required of the cleargie for the king: but they complained that they were so impouerished and weakened but few yeares past, by their charges to the king, and that the more also, because they were no lesse euerie yeare called vpon by the king than by the pope, that they were not able to succor them, vnlesse his intollerable yoke might be taken from their necks; and that they might with more ease relieue the kings necessitie: with which condition, a yearelie tenth was granted to the king. But William Courtneie then bishop of Hereford, being afterward archbishop of Canturburie, vsing the nobilitie of his kinred, for he was sonne to the earle of Deuonshire, did stoutlie offer himselfe in the middest of the senat, and said with a lowd voice, that neither he nor the cleargie of his diocesse would giue anie thing, before the king had remedied those calamities, which the cleargie had so long suffered. The synod thus passed ouer, there were ambassadors sent from the king to the pope, to deale with him, that he should not hereafter make anie prouision or reseruation of the void benefices, that such as were bishops, should fullie inioie the cathedrall and conuentuall churches after the old maner and custome, be confirmed of their metropolitan: and besides, that they should further open to the pope the greefes wherewith the church of England was ouercharged. To whome the pope gaue answer inclosed in writing; wherevnto the king would haue written againe by the opinion of the cleargie and of the nobilitie, intreating the pope that he would determine of his requests, but they did not. Wherevpon this answer receiued from the pope, it was decreed in parlement, that the cathedrall churches should freelie inioie their elections, and that the king should not by anie meanes hinder the same with his power or praier vnto the pope: but that he should to the vttermost further them with his helpe and authoritie. Which necessarie statute did after but little profit, nor was long kept, although at the first beginning it was receiued in the example of Thomas Arundell chosen bishop of Elie: whose election this William the archbishop did confirme the sixt kalends of Aprill in his chapell at Otford, consecrating him on the same daie. In which yeare, the fift ides of October, the archbishop being of great yeares and fallen into great sicknes died at Lambeth, when he had gouerned six yeares, eight months, and fourteene daies, and was buried in the bodie of the church of Canturburie betweene two pillers, against the toome of Simon Islep, whereof at this daie I cannot perceiue anie monument of him. In whose life, and at whose request, the vniuersitie of Oxford was by pope Vrban the fourth exempted from the iurisdiction of the bishop of Lincolne, and such free power giuen to the scholers to choose their chancellor, that the chancellor forthwith vpon his election, might and did execute his office, without the further admission or confirmation of anie other.

1374 In the eight and fortith yeare of Edward the third.

1375 *Matth. Parker.* 1374 *Hist. Eliens. episco.*

Oxford exempted from power of the bishop of Lincolne.

Simon Sudburie was made archbishop in this sort. After the death of William Witesleie the archbishop, the moonks chose a certeine English cardinall at Rome, that had forsaken his countrie; which the king receiued with such displeasure, that he tooke aduise for the banishment of them, aswell out of the kingdome, as out of the monasterie. But pope Gregorie the 11, to reconcile the king and the moonks, reiected that election; and by the kings consent gaue the archbishoprike

Simon Sudburie. *Steph. Birchin. Archiui.*

to

to Simon Sudburie then bishop of London, who by proper name was called Tibold, receiuing that surname of his parents, and the other name of Sudburie from the place of his birth; his fathers name being Nigellus Tibold, of Sudburie in Suffolke, borne of gentlemanlie familie in the parish of saint George. This Simon Sudburie from his youth was brought vp in learning, by means whereof he receiued the degree to be doctor of the lawes, which he studied in France and Italie, being sometime domesticall chapleine to pope Innocent the sixt, and (as saith Matthew Parker) Causarum in Romana rota auditor. By which Innocent he was made chancellor of Salisburie by waie of prouision, but after the death of Michaell Norburgh, by like prouision of the pope, made bishop of London, and in the end atteined to be bishop of Canturburie, receiuing (for that last translation to Canturburie) his buls at London the sixt of Iune. This archbishop a worthie and liberall person, a man of great fame, was most wickedlie vpon Tower hill, with manie other great estates, beheaded by those execrable Kentish rebels, Wat Tiler, and his wicked followers. This bishop doing manie good deeds, repared the wals (fallen downe for age) about Canturburie, and first built the west gate thereof, with a college of secular clearks at Sudburie, inriching the same with inheritances when he was bishop of London, and before that he was aduanced to the archbishops see of Canturburie.

1375 In the nine and fortith yeare of Edward the third.

1381 In the fourth yeare of Richard the second.

Archiui. Sta. Brichinton.

William Courtneie.

William Courtneie, borne of a noble house of the Courtneies, being the sonne of Hugh Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, did in his youth applie the ciuill and canon law, and so became a clerke, obteining three prebends in the three churches, of Bath, Excester, and Yorke. After this, in the reigne of Edward the third, and the rule of Simon Islep bishop of Canturburie, he was made bishop of Hereford, from whense he was translated to London, after that Simon Sudburie was remooued from that see to Canturburie, and from London, following the said Simon, he was after the death of that Simon Sudburie aduanced to the see of Canturburie, being translated thither by Vrban the sixt, through the authoritie of his prouision, not knowing that the moonks of Canturburie had chosen him therevnto: who being thus translated, the pope by like prouision gaue the bishoprike of London vnto Robert Braibrooke, the bull of translation of which Courtneie to Canturburie, being publikelie read the ninth of Ianuarie in Christs church of Canturburie. After which, receiuing his temporalties of the king, and dooing his homage therefore, he went to Lambeth, whither came a moonke vnto him sent from the prior and couent of Canturburie, with the archbishops crosse, who the twelft of Ianuarie deliuered it vnto the archbishop, sitting in his chapell, with these words: Pater reuerende, nuntius sum summi regis, qui te rogat, mandat, & præcipet, vt ecclesiam suam regendam suscipias, eámque diligas & protegas. In cuius signum nuntij summi regis vexillum tibi trado ferendum. Which when the archbishop had receiued of the prior, he cast this doubt, whether it were lawfull for him to beare his crosse, before that he had receiued the pall from the pope or no: and vpon that question arose another doubt, which was about the coronation of the queene, belonging to the archbishop, whether he might also doo it before he had the pall: of which woonderfull doubt he desired not to be resolued of the lawyers, but of the moonks of Canturburie who easilie dissolued the same, alleging custome therefore, and bringing foorth example of others which had vsed the same. And although the archbishop thus persuaded, went with his crosse borne before him; yet he did it not but subtilie, with this caution, that the same was not borne in contempt of the church of Rome: and so on twelft daie after, he crowned the queene at Westminster. The next spring following, he dispatched Thomas Cheineie a woorthie knight vnto the pope, to whom and to Iohn Trefhault an Englishman, and maister

Steph. Brich. Walsingh. Ex archiuis.

1381 In the fourth yeare of Richard the second.

Verba Archiui.

of

of the popes palace, he gaue power as his procurators to demand the pall of pope Vrban: which obteined, Thomas Cheineie returned, brought the pall, and first gaue it to the bishop of London: who the sixt of Maie in a great assemblie of people, did with accustomed pompe and solemnitie deliuer the same to the archbishop sitting in the chapell of his manor of Croidon. These things thus solemnelie doone, he first in the administration of his bishoprike did by ecclesiasticall censure appease the baliffes of Canturburie by laie power, chalenging the punishment of adulterie, and such like crimes belonging to the clergie; he held a synod in the Frier preachers of London, in which he damned manie of the assertions of Iohn Wickliffe as hereticall and full of errors; whose opinion had not onelie entered into the learneder sort, but also into manie of the common people, and compelled Robert Rig chancellor of Oxford, and Thomas Brigwell professor of diuinitie, being suspected of Wickliffes doctrine, to recant and abiure the same. At what time also by publike sentence he condemned of heresie, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Repinton, professors of diuinitie, and Iohn Ashton maister of arts, because they would not be remooued from Wickliffes opinions: but they appealed to the pope from that sentence, all which notwithstanding, the archbishop (reiecting their appeale) did then excommunicat them. At what time the doctrine of Wickliffe began here to be commanded to be denounced hereticall, and the followers thereof to be called heretikes, by the appointment of this bishop at Oxford and at London: for the king ioining himself to this spirituall seueritie, gaue authoritie by his letters written to the archbishop, to his suffragans, and to the chancellor of Oxford, to apprehend and imprison all such as were suspected for those opinions: by which means there was great crueltie shewed to such as professed the euangelicall doctrine, and were followers of Wickliffe. Besides which there was also another synod of the cleargie held at Oxford, in which a subsidie was granted to the king by the demand of the lord Hugh Segraue the kings treasuror: at what time the said Nicholas Hereford, Philip Repinton, and Iohn Ashton by oth renounced the opinions of Wickliffe, and were absolued from the excommunication. But Iohn Wickliffe (as hath Matthew Parker, deseruing well for his great skill and trauell in furthering the renewing of antiquities for the benefit of his countrie) hiding himselfe here and there, and auoiding the persecutions, was at length on saint Thomas daie taken with the palseie: who continuing some long time in sicknesse, vntill the feast of saint Siluester, constantlie died in those opinions which he had dispersed abroad. This archbishop did excommunicat one Richard Ismonger of Ailesford in Kent, because he brake the liberties of the church (as they were then termed) in that he punished such offenses, as were of right to be corrected by the prelats. But he humblie requiring to be absolued, by oth promised neuer to breake the iurisdiction of the church, and to receiue what punishment soeuer the archbishop would laie vpon him for his rashnesse. Wherevpon he had penance inioined, first that he should at Westmalling on three market daies be beaten with cudgels in the assemblie of the people, and that doone, receiue the like punishment at Maidstone, and at Canturburie, in which last punishment he should go barefoot into the church, and offer a taper of wax of five pounds weight to the toome of S. Thomas, all which if he did not performe, that then he should run into the danger of his former excommunication. The archbishop which before had molested the Wickliffeans fell now at variance with the erle of Arundell, whose servants had emptied a poole of the archbishops in his manor of Southmalling, in the diocesse of Chichester, taking awaie the fish thereof. With which the archbishop greatly mooued, commanded the bishop of Chichester to excommunicat the theeues, whom he termed sacrilegers and spoilers of the church of Canturburie, wherevpon the earle went to the king, and required that he would take the matter into his hands, whereby he might auoid

1382 In the fift yeare of Richard the second.

Matt. Parker.

Of these articles and for all the proces, see *Registr. Courtneie. fol. 25. Tho. Walsing. Henrie Knighton* canon of Leicester.

1383 In the sixt yeare of Richard the second.

Ex archiuis.

Richard Fitzallen erle of Arundell.

the execution of that excommunication. For which cause the archbishop wrote to the bishop of Chichester to reuoke the same sentence, when he understood that the king had taken the matter to himselfe. Not long after there was a parlement held at Cambridge in the Carmelit friers, at what time also in the church of saint Maries, there was a synod celebrat by the procurement of the king, who had a tenth granted vnto him on this condition, that himselfe before the kalends of October next should passe with an armie into France. In this yeare sir Iohn Triuet the kings chiefe iustice fell from his horse, and brake his intrals. After this the archbishop determined to make a metropolitane visitation in his prouince: wherefore without contradiction he visited the diocesse of Rochester, Chichester, Bath and Wels. But when he came to Excester, and had begun his visitation, he prorogued the same from daie to daie, from place to place, suspending and hindering the iurisdiction as well of the bishops as of all other prelats of the diocesse, by his metropolitane iurisdiction, as Simon Mepham his predecessor would haue doone before. The bishop of Excester offended therewith, gaue commandement through all his diocesse, that they should not obeie the archbishop in his visitation, and that they should not demand anie ordinarie law or right in anie cause belonging to the clergie, to be ministred vnto them of him or his inferior prelats; further excommunicating all others that did the contrarie; which prohibition and excommunication the archbishop did vndoo by contrarie edict. Wherevpon the bishop of Excester did foure times appeale vnto Rome, and fixed his appellations in writing vpon the church doores of Excester. But the archbishop after one sort reiecting them all, went foorth in his visitation, citing the bishop by certeine edicts to answer to certeine articles laid against him. Wherevpon one of the bishop of Excester his seruants did in the town of Topsham, or Toxsham, take Peter Hill the archbishops messenger, made him eat and swallow down the parchment and sealed wax, wherein was compreliended the archbishops mandate to cite the bishop of Excester. For the apprehension of whom and punishment whereof (as though they had beene rebels) the king wrote to Edward Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, and others, that they should search them out, and forthwith lead them to the archbishop. Which being so doone, they were in this sort punished by the archbishops appointment; first, that they should in the churches of Canturburie, S. Paules of London, and of Excester (on certeine appointed festiuall daies therefore) go in their shirts before the crosse, in the time of procession, with burning tapers in their hands; then that they should susteine and nourish a preest dailie to saie masse at the toome of the earle of Deuonshire; and lastlie, that euerie one of them should paie twentie shillings to repare the wals of Excester; of the execution whereof the deans of Canturburie, London, and Excester, should certifie the archbishop vnder their seales.

1588 In the twelft yeare of Richard the second.

Registr. Courtnei. fol. 86.

The bishop of Excester disobeied the archbishops visitation.

This doone, the archbishop proceeded in the affairs of his bishoprike, and remooued both from his place and order William Bid doctor of law aduocat of the arches: bicause he had counselled the bishop of Excester against the dignitie of the church of Canturburie. During which the bishop of Excester did still pursue his appeale to the pope against the archbishop; but when he saw his cause both inferior and weaker, and that the king fauoured the archbishop, he left his appeale and submitted himselfe to his metropolitane; and acknowledging his rashnes against the archbishops, craued pardon and obteined it. At which time also the bishop of Salisburie did take the like courage vpon him, when he was to be visited, determining to resist the archbishop: but he as a man more temperat, thought to proceed more warilie therein according to law, than the bishop of Excester did. For when he supposed that the archbishop was onelie supported (for his strength of visitation) by the power of pope Vrban: this bishop of Salisburie after the death of Vrban, procured from his successor pope Boniface a priuilege for himselfe and his diocesses, that they should

Archbishop of Canturburie visiteth the diocesse of Salisburie.

should not be visited by the authoritie of Vrban, supposing that the archiepiscopall and metropolitane dignitie had not beene of value, vnlesse it had beene vnderpropped by the buls of pope Vrban. But the archbishop being more skilfull in the law, more grounded by vse and experience and more fauoured both in the English and Romane court, did (when the bishop of Salisburie came to him vnto Croidon, thinking to be exempted by the popes priuilege from visitation, by shewing pope Boniface his buls) by a decree gaue foorth that he would visit the bishop of Salisburie by his metropolitane authoritie: further by edict commanding the bishop of Salisburie to obeie his visitation, and at a certeine daie to appeare in the church of his bishoprike of Salisburie. At which daie the bishop of Salisburie so trusting to the hornes of his weake bull, was absent, often appealing from the archbishop, and complaining of the iniurie that he did vnto him, and to his diocesians. But the archbishop neither fearing nor forbearing the contumacie of this man (with such like moderation as he did the resistance of the bishop of Excester) foorthwith excommunicated the bishop of Salisburie, and further accused him of periurie and contempt, bicause that he had departed by appellation and buls of priuileges, from that subjection which he sware to the see of Canturburie at the time of his consecration. Whervpon the bishop of Salisburie (feared with this continuall seueritie, and the example of his brother in function the bishop of Excester) was receiued againe into fauour, as appeareth by these words of Matthew Parker: Cùm iure succumbendum sibi fuit (which was the bishop of Salisburie) appellationibus renunciauit & clarissimo viro comite Sarisburiensi alijsque nonnullis exhortantibus cùm se subiecisset archiepiscopi in gratiam receptus est. Which doone, the archbishop did quietlie performe the remnant of his visitation. This yeare after that the archbishop had kept the place fifteene yeares eleuen moneths and two daies, he died at Maidstone the daie before the kalends of August. In which towne (plucking downe the old worke) he founded and built a college of secular preests: besides which he renewed the church of Mepham (fallen downe) to the vse of the sicke brethren, next vnto which he built foure new houses, bequeathing to the reparations of the church of Canturburie, with the cloister and wals thereof one thousand marks, and further gaue to that church an image of the Trinitie of siluer and guilt, and six apostles standing about it of the weight of an hundred and sixtie pounds, beside manie books which he left to the same house: he was buried in the church of Canturburie next to the shrine of Thomas Becket on the south side.

Contention betweene the archbishop of Canturburie and the bishop of Salisburie, about the visitation of the archbishop.

Regist. Cant. fol. 1146.

1395

A college of preests founded in Maidstone.

Thomas Arundell (the sonne of the earle of Arundell) when he was a yoong man applied himselfe to diuinite became a spirituall man, and was made archdeacon of Tanton. Who being then but a subdeacon, was made bishop of Elie, from thense remooued to Yorke, and at length by the popes prouision aduanced to Canturburie, hauing beene also chancellor of England, of whom it is written that he died for hunger: for being striken with death, he laie long and could neither speake nor swallow, whereby in the end he perished with famine. This man being bishop seauenteene yeares and one moneth, was buried in the north part of the church of Canturburie, who at his entering into the bishoprike, did build the steeple of Canturburie, and placed in the same fiue bels, consecrated More pontificio, with these names; the first was called the holie and vndiuided Trinitie; the second, the virgine Marie, the third the angell Gabriel, the fourth S. Blase, and the fift saint Iohn the euangelist.

Thomas Arundell.

1396

Thom. Caietj. in dictionario theologico.

Bels consecrated.

Henrie Chicheleie bishop of saint Dauids, being chosen of the moonks of Canturburie (by the kings licence) to the see of Canturburie, would not yet accept the same, nor yet disagree therevnto; but referred the whole matter to the popes determination. Wherevpon pope Iohn the three and twentith, by waie of prouision made the said

Henrie Chicheleie.

Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie, vnder which title he entered into the bishoprike. This man was borne in Higham Feris in Northamptonshire, and was instructed in the ciuill and canon law in the new college of Oxenford built by William Wickham bishop of Winchester: after which being made doctor of both lawes, he was accepted into the archdeaconrie of Salisburie by the bishop of that see. Which Henrie in processe of time wiselie dispatching manie affairs for the king, and performing manie ambassages, was by the kings precept aduanced to the bishoprikes first of saint Dauids, and then of Canturburie, receiuing the pall the nine and twentith of Iulie by the hands of Henrie Beaufort bishop of Winchester, which doone, he redeemed
1415 the halfe yeares reuenues of the see of Canturburie due to the king during the vacancie of the bishoprike, for the summe of six hundred markes, and held a synod, in
1416 which the daie dedicated to S. Iohn of Beuerleie was instituted to be holie or festiuall.
S. Iohn of Beuerleie his daie appointed holie daie. After the synod he consecrated bishops, Iohn Wakering to Norwich, Edmund Lacie to Hereford, and Iohn Chandler to Salisburie.

1417 This bishop shortlie following called another synod at London, in which there was order taken for the prouision and necessarie sustentation of scholers, as writeth the
Prouision for the scholers of Oxford and Cambridge. graue man Matthew Parker in these words: In hac synodo Robertus Gilbert sacræ theologiæ professor Mertonensis collegij Oxoniens. præses, longa & diserta oratione egit, vt scholaribus, quorum in literarum studijs industria viguit, attribuantur, & ad victum interim necessaria & proponantur maturis præmia: hunc sequutus Thomas Kingston legum doctor, & aduocatus curiæ de arcubus pari facundia pro Cantabrigiensibus intercessit. Quibus suadentibus decretum est, vt ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum patroni, ea vacantia, his qui graduum dignitatibus ab academicis donata sunt deinceps conferant, gradus & possessionis ratione iuxta beneficiorum census & valores habita. Hoc saluberrimum decretum ab artium magistris atque professoribus, qui sua multitudine reliquos in vniuersitatibus regentes superabant, cùm in scholarium congregatione de eo approbando ageretur, temerè tanquam iuuenili multitudine reiectum & repudiatum est, non alia sanè ratione quàm quòd doctoribus, aliisque, quibus ordine & loco essent inferiores, in adipiscendis beneficijs pares esse non poterant. Thus
1419 much Matthew Parker, after which in the sixt yeere of his consecration, this Chicheleie did hold an other synod at London, wherein amongst other things Richard Walker a priest of Worcester being giltie of witchcraft, did publikelie at Paules crosse in London doo penance therefore, and abiure the same, openlie burning his books and
1421 instruments of such arts. Then in the eight yeare of his consecration he assembled another synod at Paules in London; in which the clergie granted to the king a tenth, in consideration whereof the king bestowed on them this priuilege, that no purueior of his house should touch the goods, or enter the possessions of the clergie, with manie other things set downe by Mat. Parker, which were: Vt clerici in foro regio capitalium criminum postulati datis fideiussoribus iudicio sisti carceribus liberentur: tertiò ut presbyteri castrati felonum id est homicidarum pœna afficerentur. Tum in eadem synodo Gulielmus Tailor liberalium artium professor, qui in Wigorniensi diocœsi neque sanctos neque Christum Iesum ratione humanitatis esse pro salute christiana inuocandos docuit, quoniam eadem & similia dogmata ante coram Thoma Arundel Cantuariens. archiepisc. confessus & detestatus est, tanquam in hæresim relapsus, clericali ordine atque gradu priuatus, & laicali potestati traditus est. Ad hanc autem synodum Iohannes Rikinghal Cantabrigiensis vniuersitatis, cancellarius quoniam abfuit, ab archiepiscopo citatus venit, qui se cum Iohanne Castel Oxoniensi cancellario coniunxit, illúdque de conferendis beneficijs Cantabrigiæ vel Oxonij studentibus decretum, quod ab artium (ut diximus) professoribus ante receptum & admissum non fuit, renouari impetrauerunt. Hinc autem doctis viris concesso à synodo præmio, impuri indoctique fratres diu restiterunt. Sed Henricus quintus rex literarum

studio

studio ductus, contra petulantẽm fratrum instantiam, ad synodum de eo interponendo decreto scripsit, idque in parlamento postea confirmauit. So farre Matthew Parker in the life of this Henrie Chichelie archbishop of Canturburie. Another synod was holden by this archbishop, wherein it was decreed, that none should exercise ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, vnlesse he had taken some degree of the ciuill or canon law in the vniuersities of Oxford or Cambridge. Beside which, in a synod after holden, it was enacted, that the feast of S. Frideswid should be kept holie daie. Wherevnto we will adde an other like synod held at London by this archbishop, being the last except one which he kept. In this synod was question touching bearing of the charge of the bishops going to the councell of Basill by all the clergie; but the inferior prelats would not impart anie thing therevnto, for it was no charge to be laid upon them, because that bishops and abbats had onelie places in generall councels; wherefore there was foure pence of the pound onelie leuied of all bishops and abbats to defraie the expense of such as went vnto that generall councell. To which synod thus held at London did Eugenius the pope direct his letters, wherein he declared, that he had given the bishoprike of Elie by waie of prouision to Lodouike archbishop of Rone. For (as saith a writer) Fuit tum Philippus Morgan senex egregie cordatus Eliensis ordine 23, qui vitam in senectute tam diuturnam produxit, vt papæ commendationem, quam tota tunc synodus execrata est, morte Lodouici qui ante eum obijt irritam frustraret. But trulie sauing correction (which I speake in reuerence to that learned booke) I suppose it was not so: for in the catalog of the bishops of Elie, Lodouike Lisburne archbishop of Rone succeeded Philip Morgan in the said bishoprike, and held the same after the death of Morgan six yeares, and so manie moneths, if the records be true which I haue seene of that see. To this archbishop did William Lindwood dedicat the archiepiscopall constitutions which he did gather togither, digest in good order, and expound with learned comments; this William Lindwood being first officiall of the court of the arches, after lord keeper of the priuie seale, and at length aduanced to the bishoprike of saint Dauids.

1430

1434
1438

William Lindwood made the archiepiscopall constitutions.

This archbishop Chicheleie, desirous to leaue some memories of charitable works, did in Higham ferries, where (as is beforesaid) he was borne, build a statelie college, in which he placed secular clerks and prebends, indued with benefices and ecclesiasticall dignities. Beside which also in the same towne, he erected an hospitall for poore men, and procured much land and releefe to be given therevnto, which after was augmented by his brethren Robert and William Chicheleie citizens of London. With the finishing of which building, the bishop did not yet rest as one satisfied therewith, for he did also in Oxford erect a famous college for learning called All-soules college, and an other college there also called saint Barnard, which was afterward increased and augmented with liuings and lands by sir Thomas White knight citizen and maior of London, and S. Iohns college. Moreouer, he repared the librarie of Canturburie, and furnished the same with books of all sorts, who during his life builded his owne toome wherein he would be buried in the church of Canturburie by the consent of the moonks; and first commanded the procurators of the court of the arches to be apparelled (whilest the iudge did sit) in that attire which the bachellors of art doo vse in the vniuersitie. This worthie archbishop died the twelfe daie of Aprill, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fortie and three, being the one and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt, after that he gouerned the same see nine and twentie yeares and one moneth, being buried in the north part of the presbyterie or chaire of Canturburie in that toome which he had made in his life time, with this epitaph, which is there yet to be seene: Hic iacet Henricus Chichelee legum doctor, quondam cancellarius Sarum, qui anno octauo Henrici quarti regis Anglorum ambassiator transmissus, in ciuitate Senense per manus eiusdem papæ in Meneuensem episcopum consecratus est: hic etiam Henricus

Chicheleie built a college and hospitall where he was borne.

Chicheleie builded All-soules college, and saint Barnard college, now saint Iohns college in Oxford.

Chicheleie repared the librarie of Canturburie and builded his toome.

anno

anno secundo Henrici quinti in hac sancta ecclesia in archiepiscopum pastoraliter à Iohanne papa 23 ad eandem translatus est, qui obijt An. Dom. millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo tertio, mensis Aprilis die 12.

Cœtus sanctorum concorditer iste precetur,
Vt Deus ipsorum meritis sibi propitietur.

Iohn Stafford. Iohn Stafford, sonne of the earle of Stafford, was borne at Abbatsburie in Dorsetshire, did follow the studie of the lawes, who being in the end made doctor thereof, did vse the office of an aduocat in the court of the arches, whom Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie did substitute to be his vicar generall in spirituall causes, and hearer of matters perteining to the ecclesiasticall court: adding further to these publike functions, the deanrie of saint Martins in London, and the prebend of Merton belonging to the church of Lincolne. Whereupon this Stafford being knowne vnto king Henrie the fift, was called to the priuie councell, and had the keeping of the priuie seale. Then was he made tresuror of England, deane of Wels, and canon of the church of Salisburie, being after the death of king Henrie the fift aduanced to the bishoprike of Bath (by waie of prouision) by Martine the pope. Which doone, he
1443 was chancellor of England, and by Eugenius the pope translated from Bath to the archbishoprike of Canturburie. Who receiuing the buls of his translation in the bishops house of Bath, went the next daie to the king at Eltham, where he did his homage for his temporalties, and receiued the pall the three and twentith of August sent from the said Eugenius, and deliuered vnto him by the bishop of Rochester. But because I will speake more of this man in another large booke of the liues of the chancellors of England, as I will also all other archbishops of Canturburie, which haue possessed that place, I will saie no more of him in this discourse; but that being taken with an ague in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fiftie and two, at Lambeth, he went to Maidstone, where (after that he had beene bishop eight yeares, ten moneths, and fifteene daies) he departed the world. Two daies after whose death his bodie was caried to Canturburie by the moonks clothed in white, being after laid in the ground, neere to the place on which happened the martyrdome of Thomas Becket before the new chapell of the virgine Marie, about whose image and vnder whose feete are written these verses in manie places defaced the brasse being stollen awaie, as is yet to be seene in the church of Canturburie: which epitaph although it be vnperfect, yet I will not refuse to set it downe to perpetuate the same, least in following time it might be all spoiled, as some part thereof alredie is. About the toome are these verses:

Aurea lux modico præsul iam conditur isto,
Ecclesiæ splendor, gloria, lumen, apex,
Stafford vt sidus Anglos sua lumina sparsit,
Regni dum celsis fungitur officijs,
Nam cancellarius fuit ac theasurarius æquus,
Heu nequeo———————

Linea ductæ indicant nonulla desiderati.

———————dolet,
M. quingenteno quater hunc dempto duodeno,
Hic anno Domini morte ruit celeri,
Vrbani festo, sibi Christe quies precor esto,
Defunctus mundo viuit & ille polo,
Nosce te ipsum.

Vnder

Vnder whose feet also are these following verses placed, being a dialog betweene the grauestone and the passenger, expressing his person and honor:

Cuias fuit nunties, quem celas saxea moles?
Stafford antistes fuerat dictusque Iohannes,
Qua sedit sede marmor quæso simul ede,
Pridem Bathoniæ regni totius, & inde
Primas egregius, pro præsule funde precatus,
Aureolam gratus hunc det de virgine natus.

John Kempe.

Iohn Kempe borne at Wie in Kent, being doctor of the law, was made archdeacon of Durham, after which, in the second yeare of Henrie Chicheleie archbishop of Canturburie, he was made deane of the arches: then, as saith Matthew Parker in the life of this Kempe, Normaniæ ducatus præfectus prætorio fuit. From thense he was chosen bishop of Rochester, who sitting there three yeares was translated to Chichester; which he casting behind also, was in the yeare following remooued to London, where when he had remained four yeares, he was made archbishop of Yorke; and lastlie by the popes prouision and the moonks election aduanced to the see of Canturburie; being also made cardinall first of the title of saint Balbine, and then of the title of saint Rufine, by which he had as manie ecclesiasticall honors and promotions as might be, vnlesse that he had beene pope. He died at Lambeth, after that he had beene bishop of Canturburie one yeare and fiue and twentie weeks, the eleuenth kalends of Aprill. After which in the kalends of Aprill his bodie was caried to Canturburie, where his funerals were performed by the bishops of London and Rochester and the moonks of Canturburie, and was buried betweene the archbishops seat and the toome of Iohn Stratford, at the south doore of the chaire. In whose funerall almes, euerie one of the church of Canturburie that was in holie orders, had thirteene shillings and foure pence giuen vnto him, and the others but six shillings and eight pence. Which his benignitie and liberalitie is recorded to none other end, but to shew that he did in these manie yeares and manie remooues to so manie honors, gather great riches, wherewith he aduanced his kinred, preferring some in Kent to the order of knighthood, and others to other dignities. Of this man shall be more spoken in my large booke of the chancellors of England, at this time concluding this discourse of him with this epitaph, being yet extant on his toome in Canturburie: Hic iacet reuerendissimus in Christo pater & dominus Iohannes Kemp, tituli sancti Rufini sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ presbyter cardinalis, qui obijt 20 die mensis Martij anno Domini 1453, cuius animæ, &c. 1453

1453 1454 as saith *Onuphrius*. See the cardinals.

Thomas Bourchier.

Thomas Bourchier bishop of Elie, vpon licence for that cause obteined of the king, was chosen archbishop of Canturburie by the moonks the ninth kalends of Maie in the feast of saint George; the same being knowne to the pope in the kalends of Iune, who forthwith by his buls confirmed him in the same: of whom I haue spoken in my treatise of the cardinals, who died in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and six, after that he had beene bishop of Canturburie two and thirtie yeres, and was buried in a sumptuous toome of marble and alabaster, situat on the north side of the high altar of the church of Canturburie, with this epitaph: Hic iacet reuerendus in Christo pater Thomas Bourchier sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, tituli sancti Ciriaci in Thermis, presbyter cardinalis, archiepiscopus huius ecclesiæ, qui obijt 30 die mensis Martij, anno Dom. 1486, cuius animæ, &c. He gaue to the vniuersitie of Cambridge one hundred and twentie pounds. 1484

John Moorton.

Iohn Moorton borne at Beere in Dorsetshire, did applie his studie at Oxford, who increasing in the ciuill and canon law, was after an aduocat in the arches; then he was by Thomas Bourchier archbishop of Canturburie endowed with manie spirituall

liuings, and commended to king Henrie the sixt, who made him of his councell. After the death of which king, he was also in like sort preferred to the councell of Edward the fourth, who made him bishop of Elie, and one of his executors. But after, being committed to the tower by Richard the third, and then deliuered to the custodie of the duke of Buckingham, from whom he fled beyond the sea, he returned to England in the first yeare of the reigne of Henrie the seuenth, and was made chancellor of England, and then archbishop of Canturburie, being translated thither from Elie by pope Innocent, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred
1486 foure score and six. In whose first yeare of the archbishoprike he held a synod at London. Then (after that he had ruled the same archsee of Canturburie thirteene yeares) he died, and was buried in the place which he had builded therefore in his
1499 life time. After the death of this Moorton the moonks of Canturburie (by licence therefore obteined of the king) required Thomas Langton bishop of Winchester, to be their archbishop of Canturburie: but he was consumed with the pestilence
1500 (which in one yere deuoured thirtie thousand in England, amongst which was Thomas Rotherham archbishop of Yorke) before he had receiued his confirmation from the pope. After whose death, Richard Fox was aduanced to Winchester, Thomas Sauage bishop of London was translated to Yorke, and William Warham obteined the see of London.

Henrie Deane.

Henrie Deane, being a moonke and ruler of the monasterie of Langton, was (when Perkin Warbecke the counterfet king and rebell, supported by the Irishmen, did seeke to inuade England, and to displace Henrie the seuenth) by especial choise therefore sent into Ireland by the said Henrie the seuenth, and made chancellor of that Iland. Who going thither with sir Edward Poinings then lord deputie, did driue Perken Warbecke into the boggie and inaccessible parts of Ireland amongst the wild Irish, and speedilie brought the other part of the Iland to obedience. During the time of which his office in that realme, he was in his absence created bishop of Bangor for the neerenesse of that place vnto Ireland: which bishoprike he did almost restore to his full perfection, and to all such lands as manie by force and other waies had taken from it, which see being by such means but poore and maimed of hir liuings, caused the kings of England alwaies to endow the bishops thereof with some wealthie abbeie for the better maintenance of his estate. Wherevpon when the bishops of that see for more profit were absent from the bishoprike, and remained alwaies at such abbeie, neglecting the bishoprike, the gentlemen neere vnto it did by little and little chalenge and hold part of those lands to themselues, whereby in time this bishoprike became verie small, and so continued when this Henrie Deane came vnto it. But this bishop being verie wise and carefull, and one that looked further into matters than his negligent predecessors were accustomed, did find out what lands were so deteined, who held them, by what right, and how long they had so doone. Wherevpon in conclusion he got almost all the same lands to the see againe, by the helpe of the common people which supported him therein, for the declaration whereof I think it not vnfit to set downe the maner thereof, somewhat after this sort.

The decaie of the bishoprike of Bangor.

He restoreth the bishoprike of Bangor to the lands lost

There is on the north part of the Ile of Mona or Mon (now called Angleseie, but falslie in Polydor made to be the Isle of Man) an Iland placed betweene the promontories of Corneti, and that head which is called Caput sanctum, or Holie head: this Iland is in the old British toong termed ymr i. Moylr Honnicit, that is, The Iland of porpasses or other beasts and sea foules, and obteining that name because of the great plentie of sea beasts and birds that were taken there. Now this Iland being sometime, and that ancientlie belonging to the bishoprike of Bangor, this Henrie Deane found possessed with vnrightfull owners. Wherevpon, when the inhabitants would not restore the same, but did with force resist him: he setting vpon them by sea and land, did with strength recouer the same, and redeliuer it to the bishoprike of Bangor,

Matth. Parker in vita Henrici Denei. pag. 346

gor. Besides which, he bestowed great charge in that place in reparing the church and bishops palace there: both which long before in the time of Henrie the fourth were destroied with fire by the rebell Owen Glendor. After which, this Henrie Deane was moued from Bangor to Salisburie, who departing from that bishoprike of Bangor, did yet leaue there the miter, and the pastorall crosier to his successor Peneus, with this condition, that he should proceed in the reparing and restitution of the church of Bangor as he had alreadie begun, which was accordinglie performed by the successor.

After that this Henrie was translated to Salisburie, he remained not long there, but was after the death of Morton aduanced to the see of Canturburie, in which yere 1500
pope Alexander did at Rome celebrat the yeare of iubile; which iubile and the
yeare ended, the same pope sent the pall to the archbishop of Canturburie by Adrian 1501
of Castilia his secretarie, which the bishop of Lichfield and Couentrie (hauing power therefore from the pope, did deliuer unto the bishop at Lambeth. Besides these things, there happened nothing worthie the remembrance in the time of this archbishop: who after that he had gouerned the see of Canturburie two yeares, died at
Lambeth the fifteenth daie of Februarie, from whense his bodie was brought along 1502
by the riuer of Thames (with three and thirtie mariners all clothed in blacke) vnto Feuersham in a barge, adorned after the moorning fashion, with burning torches and wax lights: which bodie was from Feuersham also by the same men, with like funerall manner caried in a coffin to Canturburie, where he was buried by the same place on which Thomas Becket was killed, as the said Henrie had before appointed by his testament; in which he bequeathed a siluer image of saint Iohn the euangelist, of one hundred fiftie and one ounces, which at this daie after fiue shillings the ounce amounteth to the summe of two and thirtie pounds fifteene shillings: further bequeathing fiue hundred pounds towards the charges of his funerall. In the performance whereof, Thomas Wolseie (who was then his chaplen) with Richard Gardiner (another of his chaplens) both were by his executors appointed ouerseers for his said buriall, which they executed verie sumptuouslie, setting this epitaph vpon him.

Sub hoc marmore iacet copus reuerendissimi in Christo patris & domini, domini Henrici Deane, quondam prior prioratus de Langhtona, deinde Banchorensis, ac successiuè Sarum episcopi, postremò verò huius almæ ecclesiæ metropolitanus archiepiscopalis, qui diem suum clausit extremum apud Lambith, 15 die mensis Februarii, anno 1502, & suæ translationis ad hanc sedem anno secundo, cuius animæ propitietur Deus.

William Warham borne of a gentlemanlie familie in Hampshire, was brought vp William Warham.
in Winchester schoole, who being after sent to Oxford to a college of Wickhams foundation, did there in his adolescencie applie the ciuill law, and atteining to the degree of doctor therein, was after maister of the rolles, chancellor to Henrie the seauenth, and ambassador into Burgundie to Margaret duchesse of that countrie, about the remouing of hir from the defense of Parkine Warbecke. Next he was made bishop of London, chosen to that place (as saith a record of that see) in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and three, and after remoued to Canturburie in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred and fiue, as a booke belonging to that bishoprike of London dooth affirme. But Matthew Parker saith, that after the death of Deane he was remoued to Canturburie in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue 1503
hundred and three, who receiuing his pall of the pope, was the ninth of March, which fell in Lent, inthronised in Canturburie, after the most statelie and pompous 1504
maner that might be, the whole order whereof was in a roll set out and printed by Matthew Parker bishop of Canturburie. 1532

This bishop going to Canturburie, tooke vp his lodging in the personage house of S. Stephans, belonging to Warham archdeacon of Canturburie, and brother to this

archbishop: vpon which the archdeacon Warham had before bestowed great cost, which house comming afterward to sir Christopher Hales knight, who added somewhat therevnto, is now in the yere one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six, in the possession of sir Roger Manhood knight, chiefe baron of the excheker, who hath not onelie there built certeine almeshouses, but also greatly augmented the said house with statelie buildings, as well of places of necessarie offices, as also of state and interteinement of strangers. At this house (I saie) did this archbishop rest himselfe, where he was taken with a deadlie disease, and being now verie old, did there (after he had gouerned the church of Canturburie eight and twentie years) depart this life, leauing his bodie to be caried to Canturburie, and there to be buried in a small chapell which he had built in his life time, besides that place where Thomas Becket was slaine in the church of Canturburie.

Thomas Cranmer.

Thomas Cranmer borne in Notinghamshire, of an ancient and woorshipfull familie of the Cranmers, was by licence obteined from king Henrie the eight (whose chaplen he was) chosen archbishop of Canturburie. But Clement the seuenth then pope of Rome (who much doubted the kings mind and fauor towards that see) was vncerteine what to doo, either to receiue or reiect Cranmer for archbishop of Canturburie. At length, writing more mildlie to the king than he was accustomed, he besought him to defend Cranmer chosen to the see of Canturburie: but this labor succeeded with no good effect. For the king minding to abolish the authoritie of the pope, did determine to nobilitat the church of Canturburie, and to restore the rights of the English prouinces without anie subiection to Rome. But yet the pope carefull of Cranmers obedience, and of the kings fidelitie to that see, easily granted vnto Cranmer, that he should be consecrated of what three bishops he would; in which grant he inserted the old oth that the bishops made to the pope; which if he did not performe, he both excommunicated Cranmer then to be consecrated, and the bishop which should consecrat him. But he in his consecration before faithfull witnesses (as saith Matthew Parker) and publike notaries, did protest that the same oth onelie grew by a custom of Rome, and not of christian necessitie, and that he would not fall from the faith of a subiect due to his king by force of that oth; for which cause the oth being slightlie read ouer, he receiued his pall and consecration of the bishops of Lincolne, Excester, and Assaph; which doone, taking an oth of due obedience to the king, he receiued his temporalities, paieng nine hundred duckets for his buls.

Registr. Cranm. fol. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

1535

This Cranmer thus made archbishop, did (beyond the opinion of manie men) by his authoritie enter the synod begun in the time of his predecessor Warham, and continued after his death by the moonks of Canturburie, which had appointed Stokeslie bishop of London to be president thereof, during the vacancie of the bishoprike of Canturburie. At whose comming thither, the kings mariage with the ladie Katharine was againe called in question, which was, whether it be a prohibition of the diuine law vndispensable by the pope, that the brother shall not marie the wife of his brother carnallie knowne, he dieng without issue. Which matter was caried to the lower assemblie of the synod to debat: in the which, fourteene did affirme, and seuen did denie the same conclusion. One doubted of it, and another said it was not a thing ordeined by the diuine law, yet dispensable by the pope. Amongst the superior part of the synod (in which the iudgements of the vniuersities of Bononia, Pauia, and Paris, touching that matter were recited) that controuersie moued (betweene the bishops Stokeslie of London and Fisher of Rochester) touching the same, did win all the fathers (which were two hundred and sixteene, either personallie, or else by their procurator) nineteene onelie excepted to agree to the iudgement of the vniuersities, as hath Matthew Parker.

But to the end this matter might be void of all controuersie, aswell of right as of fact:

fact: an other question did arise, whether the carnall copulation betweene prince Arthur and queene Katharine were sufficiently proued: but that was referred to such as were skilfull in the lawes and the canons; who all (except fiue or six) did allow the copulation, being after embraced by all the synod, except by the bishop of Bath and Wels: which doone, both the parlement and the synod were for a time proroged. After which, the king sent messengers to the ladie Katharine, to persuade hir willinglie to depart from the king, considering the determination of the vniuersities, and the opinions of the diuines and lawiers of England, and to be contented with the dower of prince Arthur. But she continuing stedfast in hir determination, answered that she would not be dissolued from that band, which was knit by the pope through the procurement of hir father Ferdinand. Which message inforced the king, considering the league betweene the pope and the emperor, more speedilie and vehementlie to abrogat the popes authoritie out of England; least they two ioining against him, the one in taking the part of his aunt, and the other in defending the dispensation granted from the see of Rome, might take occasion to molest the king of England therefore. Wherevpon king Henrie the eight, to ioine in strength with some one great estat, that they two might equall the pope and the emperor, made a new league with the French king; and that the rather, because he heard that the pope and the king would meete the next summer at Marselles.

For which cause more fullie to vnderstand the mind of the French king, it was concluded betweene the legats of both nations, that the kings shuld talke togither on the borders of both their realms, betweene Calis and Bullongne, for so a stronger amitie might be ioined betweene them. Which doone accordinglie, K. Henrie after that he had declared some detracting dooings, and the popes delaies, would haue persuaded the French king to haue abolished the popes authoritie out of the dominions of France; and that if he could not safelie doo it (being hindred by the iniurie of the time) that then he would faithfully obserue this begun and continued league betweene them, and not ioine with the pope and emperor against him. Wherevnto the French agreed, in respect of the obseruation of the league, shewing also a desire in himselfe to banish the popes authoritie, which he would performe as soon as he might, considering that the power of the confederat pope and emperor was not to be feared, so long as they two continued in this amitie. For if the pope (said he) be banished England, France, and Germanie, we shall driue him to that streict, that he must of necessitie serue as the chapleine of the emperor; which speech ended, they went to Bullongne, where they were banketted; from whense the French king brought the king of England to Calis, where the next daie the league was againe confirmed, and the French returned to Paris, and the English to London. At whose returne the parlement and synod did againe begin, in which queene Katharine was by the law of the land separated from the king, and after by the bishops of Canturburie, London, Winchester, and Lincolne diuorced from him at Dunstable. Wherevpon the king maried the ladie Anne Bullen, mother to the most woorthie queene Elisabeth. In which yeare also, both by decree of parlement and synod, the popes authoritie was wholie banished out of England and a question mooued in the same synod, whether the bishop of Rome hath greater iurisdiction ouer England giuen to him in the scripture than anie other strange bishop hath. At what time it was agreed vpon by all the fathers in the higher synod, that the pope had not by the word of God anie authoritie in England: wherevnto all the inferior synod consented in like maner, except one which doubted thereof, and foure which did attribute to the pope vniuersall power in the ecclesiasticall administration. After which it was by the same synod decreed, that the archbishop of Canturburie should not be called the legat of the apostolike see, but in place therof

Whether the bishop of Rome hath greater iurisdiction ouer England than any other strange bishop.

should be named the primat and metropolitan of all England: of all which dooings the archbishop did certifie the king by publike instrument, written by a notarie. Wherevpon it was decreed in the parlement, that no appellations should be from thensefoorth made to Rome: after which, the parlement and synod were proroged vntill the next yeare.

1535 And because manie bookes were by the pontificall authoritie (being banished) printed and dispersed abroad, the synod first censured them, and determined to request the king that the bible might be turned into English, whereby it might easilie be discerned what was consonant to the word of God. Against which Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, being of the kings priuie councell, did secretlie labor as much as in him did lie. But by the fauor and intreatie of queene Anne, it was obteined that the English bible should be printed, and placed in euerie church in some conuenient roome, whither the people might come to read it at their pleasure: which bible was the first time printed in Paris, at what time Edmund Boner bishop of London was then in France for the king: to which Boner the charge and ouersight thereof was committed. But these proceedings of the king tooke not such effect then, as they did in the following time of king Edward, because that the ladie Anne Bullen, who mightilie fauored these causes, was shortlie after beheaded. Vpon which putting the bible in English, the higher synod of England decreed (to the end that all strife and contention might be auoided which should rise in disputation vpon diuine matters) that none of the vnlearned multitude should dispute of the catholike faith, the like whereof was by parlement established with these lawes, that the king ought to be supreame head of the church of England, that the clergie of England should be subiect to the king, that nothing hereafter vnder anie pretense should be paied out of England to the pope or to the court of Rome, that bishops should be consecrated within the realme, that all other things should be doone here which were vsed to be doone at Rome, and that the first fruits and tenths of ecclesiasticall benefices should for euer after be paied to the prince. At which time the popes authoritie, which had before continued in England nine hundred yeares and more, being thought inuincible, was easilie reiected and ouerthrowne. But yet all the relikes of the Romane lawes were not fullie taken awaie, vntill the time of king Edward the sixt, who being borne about this time, had to his godfathers, and godmother, this Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, the duke of Northfolke, and the princesse Marie his sister the kings daughter. Now vpon these things thus by parlement established, there arose a great iar amongst the members of the Romane church, and the professors of the kings supremasie touching the same. Wherfore was assigned Thomas Cromwell, a man of great wit through much experience, to be his vicar generall, who with Thomas Cranmer, gouerned the church of England, then tossed with so doubtfull doctrine, that the Romane power could not in his time take hold thereof. At what time Cromwell was placed by the king, to sit in the conuocation house, because he suspected the fidelitie of the bishops, least they would call backe their minds, concerning the supremasie, whereto they were so hardlie drawen to consent. But afterwards, some willing to cleare themselues of that slacknesse in admitting the kings supreame power, there stepped foorth Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, which set foorth a booke of true obedience, wherein he was most far from the pope; and attributed the chiefest power to the prince, to gouerne the church of England next vnder God. Also Tunstall, Stokesleie, and Longland, bishops of Durham, London, and Lincolne did stronglie defend the same in their publike sermons before the king. And Edmund Boner after bishop of London, but then archdeacon of Leicester, that made the preface to that booke of Gardiner, was sent to Rome as the kings ambassador, to renounce the popes authoritie, for which

The bible turned into English.

That none of the vnlearned multitude should dispute of the catholike faith.

1536

Thomas Cromwell vicar generall of the king.

Boner sent to Rome to renounce the popes authoritie.

which cause he was deare vnto the lord Cromwell, vntill that he was after made bishop of London.

The chief disposing of all ecclesiasticall causes thus committed to these two, the archbishop Cranmer, and the lord Cromwell, there was one other synod called in the nones of Iune, in which the lord Cromwell as the kings vicar generall required to haue a place assigned vnto him, to whome the archbishop gaue the roome next vnto himselfe. In which synod also there was a booke composed by the cleargie, assigning manie causes wherefore the king should not be present in generall counsels of the cleargie, which booke subscribed by all them, the lord Cromwell did approoue by the sentence of the king. And because the abolishing of the popes authoritie grew in the time of this archbishop, it shall not be vnfit in this place to shew where this Cranmer (before he entered into the gouernement of the church, and of the common wealth) was borne, and how he was bred vp. This Thomas Cranmer therefore was borne at Arslecton, a towne in Notinghamshire in the prouince of Yorke, of a gentlemanlie familie, for there is yet in Lincolneshire a place called at this daie of his name, Cranmer hall, which belonged to his ancestors, the ensigne and armes of which familie doo shew (as saith Matthew Parker) that he came out of Normandie with the conqueror, which was prooued in the reigne of king Henrie the eight by a certeine noble man of France, called also Cranmer, being with others sent ambassador hither into England, bearing the same armes, whom Thomas Cranmer the archbishop of Canturburie did inuite to a statelie banket, to the end that he might of him inquire out the originall of his gentilitie and armes: and vpon inquisition made by the heralds, it was found that they both had one root and originall of gentilitie, and that their armes were not different in anie point.

The king not to be present in the generall counsels of the cleargie.

The birth of Cranmer.

The armes, antiquitie, and pedegree of Cranmer.

This Thomas Cranmer the archbishop, being the sonne of Thomas Cranmer of Arslecton, and of Agnes his wife, daughter to Lawrence Hatfield of Willoughbie esquier (this second Thomas being son of Iohn Cranmer of Arslecton, and of Iane his wife, the daughter of Iohn Marshall of Musleham esquier; that Iohn being the sonne of one other Iohn Cranmer, which maried Isabell the daughter and heire of William Aslenton or Aslecton, the sonne of Simon the sonne of Reginold Aslenton knight) was by the especiall care of his father diligentlie brought vp in his yoong yeares in learning. Whose schoole maister (by his ouer much seueritie) did in his childish age so feare and daunt his flexible and gentle mind, that all his life after he felt his memorie and readinesse of wit to be much weakened. But his father, to the end that he should not vterlie cast awaie studie (as one that lothed not learning) did permit him to mingle hunting hawking, shooting, riding, and other exercises of pastimes with his learning. With which when he being archbishop would recreat his mind from grauer matters, he so vsed the same, that none of his familie could manage his horsse, or hunt or hawke more cunninglie, who (although he were weake eied) would yet in bending his bow artificiallie strike a wild beast. From this his information in his yoong yeares, he came to Cambridge to Iesus college, where he was made master of arts. Now bicause he had maried a wife, he was inforced to leaue the college, in respect that the statutes of the house did allow none to be maried. But he not yet forsaking his studie, did frequent the publick schooles, disputations and lectures in an other house of Cambridge called Buckingham college, and for that cause considering his learning and life, he had the salarie of a reader appointed him, whereby he taught for publike reward, and releeued his wiues necessitie. All which notwithstanding, bicause wealth did not sufficientlie abound, he was constreined to prouide food and lodging for his wife in an inne there in Cambridge called the Dolphine, for the mistresse of that house was of kindred vnto him, to which place he did often resort for his wiues sake, which was the cause whie his enimies reported that he was vnlearned, and brought

Cranmer maried his first wife.

Cranmer hath the salarie of a reader in the vniuersitie of Cambridge.

brought vp in an inne and not in the schooles. But the next yeare after the mariage, his wife died in childbed, after whose death he was restored to his old place in Iesus college, being then accounted so learned, as writeth Matthew Parker, that when cardinall Woolseie began to build that goodlie college at Oxford called Christes church, and determined to furnish the same with lerned men gathered out of all the realme, he required Cranmer to make one of the societie of his college. But Cranmer when he was now vpon his iorneie towards Oxford, was admonished by some of his freends that met him, that sith he had giuen over all other sciences, and onelie bent himselfe to diuinitie, that he ought in the same rather to follow humilitie than magnificence, and for that cause should not depart from Iesus college, as a more commodious place for his purpose. Wherefore turning backe, he was shortlie after made diuinitie lecturer, then doctor of diuinitie, and appointed one of the three, which had the examination of all such as were to take degree in the studie of diuinitie.

Cranmer made diuinitie lecturer in Cambridge.

These things thus passing forward, he was brought to king Henrie the eight, about the matter of the kings marriage (before spoken of) with queene Katharine. And being the kings ambassador to pope Clement the seauenth, and to the emperour Charles the fift, he was made by the pope generall penitentiarie of England, and by the king archdeacon of Tanton. But when (as we said before) the affaires about the validitie of the said marriage of the king was laid vpon him, he taried at Norimberg (where he fell in companie with Osiander, and where he maried his second wife) so long as the emperour was in the warres against the Turke besieging Vienna. After which, when the emperour had put the Turke to flight, and that Cranmer was to follow Cesar into Spaine, he left his wife with hir kindred in Germanie, vntill he returned into England. When he was come into England, he was vpon the death of Warham (as is before said) made archbishop of Canturburie. Then Cromwell, who was the kings vicegerent, wrote to Cranmer to call a synod, into which when Cromwell had entred, he declared that it was the kings pleasure, that all matters should be reduced to the rule of the scripture, and that all things should be taken out of the church, which were not supported by the authoritie of the word of God. Whereupon they began with the sacraments, touching which Cromwell demanded of Alexander Alesius a Scot, whome he had brought into the councell to speake his mind, what his opinion was: who concluded, that by the appointment of God there were but two sacraments, baptisme and the supper, against whome Stokesleie bishop of London did earnestlie contend, approouing seauen sacraments. Wherupon the archbishop of Yorke, the bishops of Lincolne, Bath, Chester, and Norwich did follow the opinion of Stokesleie. To answer whom Cranmer had a speech of the sacraments of human traditions, of sole life, and other things, affirming that nothing ought to be determined in synods, but things prooued by scriptures, and that such hunting after words and mens opinions, was to be left to sophisters in the schooles. To whom Fox bishop of Hereford, who was late come out of Germanie (being sent thither ambassador by the king) did ioine himselfe with the bishops of Salisburie, Elie, and Worcester. By which discourse of this synod, Cranmer and Cromwell found out who were bent to the Roman religion, and who would imbrace the contrarie.

Cranmer sent ambassador to the pope and to the emperour.

Cranmer marieth his second wife at Norimberg.

1537

Controuersie in the synod about the sacraments.

Wherevpon the king by the councell of this prelat Cranmer, tooke awaie all pilgrimages, and ouerthrew their chapels. And bicause authoritie was giuen to him both by synod of the cleargie, and parlement of the temporaltie for visitation and correction of the church of England, he appointed visitors through the realme, which should search out the state, condition, and maner of the moonks and monasteries, who in the next yeare certified the effect of their inquisition. In the meane time the pope appointed a generall councell at Mantua, which occasioned the king to set

Visitors appointed through England.

foorth

foorth a booke, that not the pope but the emperor and kings had authoritie to summon generall councels, and that the place was not conuenient for such as would obiect anie thing to the pope, and lastlie that it was verie dangerous for the king of England to come thither, especiallie sith the emperor and the French king were in wars, into one of whose hands he must needs fall by the popes deceits, who being cast out of England had excommunicated the king, and for reuenge had stirred vp other kings against him.

The king setteth out a booke, that not the pope but princes ought to summon councells.

The next yeare Reginald Poole, a little before by pope Paulus the third made cardinall, was (bicause that he being ambassadour to the emperour, the French king, and other princes had persuaded them against king Henrie the eight) condemned of treason, and for euer banished England. After which, in the yeare following, the whole companie of professed votaries, moonks, nuns, and friers, were vtterlie ouerthrowne; which so long as it indured, the pope did not despaire of recouering himselfe in England, and yet was not wholie hopelesse thereof, bicause that he perceiued certeine of his ceremonies to be yet obserued For although in the next parlement Cromwell was created earle of Essex for ouerthrowing the pope and the moonks; yet was the masse and ceremonies thereof, with sole life, confession, and such things made treason and banishment, the same law being called the six Articles. Against which though Cranmer and Cromwell did resist all they could whilest the matter was handled in the parlement, yet Gardiner bishop of Winchester (of late returned from the dispatch of two weightie ambassages, the one to the emperor, the other to the French king) by fauour, policie, and power, obteined of the king to grant vnto it, against the kings mind, as saith Matthew Parker. Which might appeare by this, that when the law was made touching preests mariages, he called Cranmer vnto him, then sorrowful for himselfe, his wife, and his children; who praising his doctrine and grauitie, and declaring the causes of his consent to that law, he willed him to go home and liberallie to receiue such gesse as he would send vnto him. Wherevpon the archbishop of Canturburie departing, the king called vnto him the dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, the earle of Essex and other councellors, and spake to them verie honourablie of Cranmer. Who though he yeelded to that law, yet he seemed in learning and in the thing it selfe to go beyond them all. Wherefore the king would that they should go to that reuerend father and his metropolitan, to comfort him, and bid him be of good cheere. But in the meane time Cranmer fearing this law, had sent his wife into Germanie.

1538

1539 Monasteries dissolued.

The law of the six articles established.

Cranmer sendeth his wife into Germanie.

These noble men comming accordinglie to the bishop, and being by him interteined with great bankets, did according to the kings mind (to the end that they might deliuer him from all feare and care) laie before him the fauor which the king bare vnto him, the eloquence, grauitie, and learning that were in him: all which they commended, with all such words and deeds as he vsed in the parlement, shewing vnto him, that there was no cause whie he should feare those that were against his opinion, so godlie, learnedlie, and eloquentlie vttered, though it did not preuaile, sith by that dissention and contrarietie in opinion he had woone them to him. For although cardinall Woolseie by his obstinat mind did withdraw the minds of his freends; yet he in diuine matters did with his pietie, clemencie, and gentlenesse ioine his verie aduersaries vnto him. And further, that he should not mislike the king, the nobilitie, or anie other of that law, or for his owne opinion, although it were contrarie. This message being thus appointed for the comfort of Cranmer, was in the end turned to the reproch of Cromwell. For when Cromwell had said, that Cranmer was a happie man in this, that the king would neuer admit anie complaint against Cranmer were it iust or vniust; but if anie matter were against himselfe, or anie other councellor, the king would then diligentlie inquire out the matter: one of the two dukes said; No man knew better what difference was betweene Woolseie and Cranmer than

Cromwell

Cromwell did, sith he knew them both, and was the seruant of Woolseie. With which Cromwell being touched as if it had beene some disgrace to him, answered, he neuer alowed or fauoured Woolseies conditions, although he sometime were one of his familie. For when Woolseie sought the popedome, and had determined to make Cromwell his admerall, if he were chosen, he did refuse the same, and would not forsake his countrie. Which answer of Cromwell the duke affirmed by oth to be false, obiecting other reproofes against Cromwell. So that this speech, which at the first began for comforts cause, did at length end in bralles and deadlie enmities. But this iarring being for the present wiselie pacified by Cranmer, they arose from the table with outward faire words, but with inward fierie and greeued harts. Vpon which beginnings of these small euils greater did after follow; sith those things fell out (to the destruction of Cromwell) which he onelie did by sound aduise, which was, that he procured Bonner, whome he falslie beleeued to haue abhorred the Romane ceremonies, to be promoted to the see of London. Wherfore, when by that law of the six articles manie that went vnder suerties were committed to prison and burned; the kings councell was diuided into factions, not vnknowne to the king. The chiefe of the gospellers were Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, and Thomas Cromwell earle of Essex, which did as much as in them laie to mitigat the seueritie of that law. On the other side, the duke of Norffolke and Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester did vehementlie incense the king against all the gospellers. Wherevpon Bonner (when he saw the cause of the euangelicals begin to stagger) both by the said law, the kings fauor, Gardiners freendship, and the dukes power, he (thinking to take the surer side) fell from Cranmer and Cromwell, and ioined himselfe with the other part euen vntill his last gaspe. Now by force of this law of the six articles, manie were touched in the diocesses of the bishops, yea in the kings court, where the nobilitie was not spared; all which the pontificals or catholikes (as they termed themselues) turned against Cranmer and Cromwell, by whose death the moonks which were nourished with pensions allowed to them, did hope to returne to their cloisters. Wherevpon Cromwell was shortlie accused of treson by the other side, and was the first (sith there was no other president thereof) that was condemned without anie answer, and that iustlie, according to the saieng of Dauid, speaking, that he falleth into the pit which he made. For this Cromwell had before procured a law, that a noble man, vpon the euidence of the kings learned councell and some others, might be condemned without comming to his answer.

Woolseie seeketh the popedome.

1540 The councell diuided into factions for religion.

For the death of which Cromwell, Cranmer being in great griefe, did not thinke himselfe anie time free from his aduersaries; notwithstanding which he neuer changed countenance, or was the more abashed, because with his constancie and grauitie he alwaies conteined the king (almost caried awaie by the Romanists) in the defense of the gospell; in such sort, that the king would not consent to anie euill against him, but would preserue him safe when his life seemed in most danger. For when as Gardiner vrged Cranmer to disputation in diuinitie, in which he affirmed by certeine paralogisms, that the constitutions of the apostles were of equall authoritie with the scripture, Cranmer disprooued the same before the king (as hath Matthew Parker) that the king said in the presence of manie, that Cranmer being a beaten soldior therein was not to be wearied by nouices. Yet Gardiner the bishop of Winchester not so leauing, stirred euerie one that he could against Cranmer; because the Romane religion might be restored, if he were taken awaie. Wherfore at Canturburie in Kent manie were appointed by Gardiners procurement which should accuse Cranmer of other quarels than of heresie. At what time also in the parlement sir Iohn Gostwike a knight of Bedfordshire affirmed, that all the seed of hereticall sedition came from Cranmer.

The constancie of Cranmer.

Gardiner prouoketh Cranmer to disputation in diuinitie.

Cranmer accused of other things than heresie.

Wherevpon

Wherevpon some of the nobilitie and councell dealt with the king, that Cranmer might be excluded from the councell, and committed vnto the Tower, vntill further inquisition of the truth might be made of such things as were obiected against him. For so long as he sat present in the councell, euerie one there would be afraid to speak what they knew against him. Whervpon rumors were spread, that Cranmer by the secret iudgement of the king should be condemned, and loose his hed, as Cromwell had doone: which was so thought by all men as well freends as enimies, wherfore Cranmer secretlie with tears bewailed the times, though outwardlie he shewed a merie countenance. The king perceiuing wherevnto tended this drift of the pontificals, (which fauored the Roman religion) after supper, for recreations cause tooke barge to row vp and downe the Thames, and so commanded the stiersman to bend his course to Lambeth. Which being perceiued by some of the archbishops men which stood on the bridge, they hastened and told the archbishop thereof; who speedilie came to the bridge to salute the king either passing by, or else to receiue him on shore, and to lead him to his house. But the king commanded him to come into his bote and to sit downe by him, with whome he had long and secret talke, the watermen stil houering with the bote on the riuer; amongest which talke the king complained that England was greatlie troubled with hereticall factions and diuisions since the death of Cromwell: and that it was greatlie to be feared, that if these contentions were long fostered vnder the pretense of religion, there would more inward euils grow, and ciuill warres arise. Wherfore the dissentions in religion were speedilie to be appesed. For performance wherof the nobilitie and the councell had aduised to search him out, who was the cheefe heretike and author of all these euils, who being found, should be punished and burned for the example of the residue of the multitude. At the length the king asked of Cranmer what he thought of this aduise, and of the principall heretike. Wherevnto Cranmer (although he was in great feare) answered with a good countenance that the same councell pleased him well, being verie glad to hear thereof, because by the punishment of that archheretike the rest of the flocke of heretikes would be bridled. But with this speech he did yet with a certein fatherlie reuerence toward the king, modestlie admonish the king, that he shuld not iudge them to be heretikes, who with the word of God striued against mens traditions. Wherevnto the king said; It is rightlie spoken by you, for you are declared to vs by manie to be that archheretike of all our kingdome, who in Kent and in all your prouince doo so withstand vs, that the beleefe of the six articles established in parlement be not receiued of the common people; wherefore openlie declare vnto vs what you thinke, and what you haue doone of and in the same. Cranmer replied, that he was still of the same mind which he openlie professed himselfe to be at the making of that law, and that yet he had not offended anie thing since the same was made. Then the king somewhat leauing this graue talke, merilie asked of him, whether his inner and priuie bed were free from those articles. To which Cranmer (although he knew it dangerous by that law for priests to haue wiues, and that he certeinlie vnderstood that the king knew that he was maried) answered, that he contracted that marriage before he was archbishop, when he was ambassador to the emperor and the pope in Germanie: but now because he would not offend so rigorous a law, he had not touched his wife since the making thereof, because he had presentlie sent hir vnto hir freends in Germanie. By which plaine answer he wan such fauor with the king, that the king incoraged him to be of good comfort, and that the same articles were made for his cause, and so declared to him who were his cheefe accusors. Which when Cranmer knew to be false, and deuised by the * pontificals enuie, he required that there might be inquisitors and iudges for the matter, sith he feared not the danger of the law. Wherevpon the king appointed himselfe to be inquisitor for the searching out of his owne cause. But Cranmer said the same would seeme verie vniust

The king secretlie talketh with Cranmer in his barge.

The king speaketh vnto Cranmer who were his accusors.

*Papists.

Cranmer appointed by the king to be inquisitor in his owne cause.

vniust vnto his aduersaries, that he should be appointed the censuror and examiner of his owne actions, and so required an other iudge. All which notwithstanding, the king carieng that mind of Cranmer, that he would speake the truth, were it good or euill, he would appoint no other to haue the examination and determination thereof but himselfe, and so suffered him to depart home.

Wherevpon Cranmer sent doctor Coke his vicar generall in spirituall matters, and Anthonie Husseie notarie his publike scribe and messenger, to enquire out these things at Canturburie; who detracting time in the same (about some two moneths, after that they had begun) were suspected to fauor the * pontificalles. In the meane time the enimies of Cranmer requested that he might be committed to the Tower, to answer those matters of heresie laid against him. To which importunitie the king in the end granted, if it should plainlie appeare that he had offended the church or the common wealth; for now the duke of Norffolke (Cromwell being dead) and all the others being the followers of Gardener, did seeke to haue him committed to the Tower. Whervpon they determined to send him to prison the next daie. All which the king suffered, meaning yet in the end to protect him: for much about midnight the king sent from the court sir Anthonie Denie (one of the priuie chamber, an enimie to the * pontificals, and a freend to Cranmer) to Lambeth, to will Cranmer to come to the king; at what time Cranmer came accordinglie, to whome the king declared his mind in these words; All the councell are earnest with me, that sith the prouince of Canturburie and almost all England is defiled with hereticall sects, the original whereof was come from him, and certeine learned strangers which he reteined amongst his familie, that he might be committed to publike prison during the time of the inquisition therof; which if it be not doone, they cannot enter into the ground thereof with sufficient witnesses and proofes; which their desire we haue granted, but whether well or no doo you iudge, and to morrow is the daie appointed therefore. Wherevpon Cranmer first gaue the king thanks, because he would giue him warning of that seuere decree; affirming further, that he did not refuse the prison, or flee the iudgment; for hauing a cleere conscience he had rather to trie the effect of iudgment than the euent of vniust suspicions: onlie he required this, that sith his doctrine and faith in matters were brought in question, that he might haue vpright and learned iudges in diuinitie appointed vnto him. Which said, the king called him foole, that he would so easilie enter prison, and giue himselfe to the iniurie of his enimies. For (said the K.) if you shall not onelie be taken from your dignitie, but also from the sight of men, and clapt in prison, manie false and periured persons may be brought foorth, which will not shew themselues in your presence, or dare to speake one euill word against you. Wherefore, sith you neither prouide for your safetie or dignitie, I will prouide you shall not be ouercome by your enimies. To morrow they will call you before them, and obiect certeine heresies vnto you, and meane to send you to prison; but then you shall require, that sith you be one of the councell, that they deale with you in that sort as they themselues would be dealt withall if they were in the like danger; that is, that they would bring foorth your accusors; and if you cannot disprooue them, that you will willinglie suffer imprisonment. And if they will not grant you this, but proceed to the execution of their determination, you shall appeale to me to haue the hearing of the matter; and then deliuer to them this token, to surcease to deale anie further with you. Wherwithall the king tooke a well knowen ring from his finger, gaue it to Cranmer, and sent him awaie.

Papists.

The king protecteth Cranmer from going vnto the Tower.

* Papists.

The kings speeches to Cranmer.

The next daie in the morning messengers were sent from the councell to bring the archbishop, who brought him, but could not be admitted as then to come into the councell chamber, but staied without doores amongst the pages and others. Which being declared to doctor Buts the Kings physician, he mooued therewith, came to

Cranmer waiteth at the doore of the councell chamber.

the

the archbishop to keepe him companie, whereby his disgrace might seeme the lesse. After which, Buts being called vnto the king, he left the bishop, and told all the order thereof to the king. What (quoth the king) is it so? Doo they so contemptuouslie handle the cheefe person of the councell? Wherewithall the king being mooued, sent a messenger, to will them to let Cranmer into the councell chamber. Which being doone, the councell declared vnto him, that the king and councell vnderstood by fame, that all England was infected with heresie, and drawne from the catholike faith, which euill came from him and his familie; wherefore they would commit him to the Tower, and without delaie make inquisition of the report and truth thereof. Wherevnto the archbishop answering, he required the witnesses and accusors to be produced openlie, to defend himselfe; because it was sounding to iniustice, that the primat of England, and one of the councell, whose credit was neuer doubted or called in question, should be slandered by reprochfull reports, and committed to prison, to the preiudice of his cause; adding further manie resons wherefore they should deale more fauorablie with him. But when they could neither be woone by intretie, nor persuaded by reason, Cranmer said that he greatlie sorrowed, because he was inforced to appeale to the king from them, with whome he had so long liued in fellowship and societie of the councell, and whose equitie he alwaies hoped to find in anie danger. Wherevpon deliuering to them the kings ring, he brought the matter to be determined before the king. Which doone, the lord Russel, which was after created earle of Bedford, said: Did I not tell you before, that the king would neuer suffer Cranmer to be committed to prison, vnlesse that he were greeuouslie accused of treason against his maiestie? In the end, they with Cranmer doo come before the king, at what time the king did sharplie rebuke the councell, desiring greater wisedome and grauitie amongst them, in that they would permit Cranmer to be excluded from his place of the councell, and that he stood at the doore amongst a companie of seruing men; asking moreouer, if anie of them would haue permitted such an iniurie: and therevpon striking his hand vpon his breast, he affimed with an oth, that he was so much bound to Cranmer as he was not to anie other; and had made such triall of his truth and integritie, as more could not be in anie prelat towards his king; adding further, that whosoeuer loued him, should esteeme and loue Cranmer. Which being said, all his aduersaries were for feare silent, except the duke of Northfolke, which answered; It was not our purpose anie waie to hurt the archbishop, but that hanging the same inquisition, he should be kept in publike prison, to the end that his innocencie and the falsenesse of his accusations being knowne, he might come foorth with greater credit. To which the king said; I will not haue Cranmer or anie such as be deare vnto me, to be handled with this danger, or with such kind of credit: but I perceiue there is certeine priuie and old hatred amongst you, stirring these tragedies, which vnlesse they be well suppressed, I will be an vmpier betweene you, and appease the same my selfe: and with those speeches the king departed angerlie. Wherevpon the councell sought fauour at Cranmers hands, and so to returne vnto his friendship, whereof he was neuer squeimish, but remitted all displeasures.

The words of the councell to Cranmer.

Cranmers answer to the councell.

Cranmer appealeth to the king.

Cranmer commeth for the triall of his cause before the king.

The councell seeke the fauor of Cranmer.

Now, as is before touched; when doctor Cox the vicar generall in spirituall causes, for Cranmer, with Anthonie Hussie his register, remained long at Canturburie about the inquirie of the archbishops behauiour; the king did priuilie send a doctor of the law, to know what they had found either for or against Cranmer. Which doctor speedilie comming to Canturburie, inquired of certeine reformed men (which Cox and Husseie did not call before them) from what fountaine all this infamie grew to Cranmer. At what time they laid all the matter vpon the priests, whose houses he caused to be searched at midnight, where were found certeine letters written by one Gardiner, as hath Matthew Parker, secretarie to Gardiner bishop of Winchester,

Letters in which is conteined a conspiracie against Cranmer.

which secretarie was after hanged for treason: in which letters was conteined all the conspiracie against Cranmer. Which when the king saw, he began more and more to leaue the companie of the *pontificals, warning Cranmer of their intent, and commanded those letters of Gardiners to be read in the parlement house, but Cranmer persuaded the king to the contrarie. These things doone, the *euangelicals (for so I terme them after Matthew Parker, which professed the reformed religion) began now more and more liberallie to shew themselues, being before oppressed by the Romanists or pontificals, for so in like sort after the same author I name them that defended the Roman religion and the popes doctrine. For in the parlement latlie called, Cranmer did persuade, that the law of the six articles should either be vtterlie taken awaie or mitigated. In which matter although he was promised to haue bin supported by the bishops of Worcester, Chichester, and Rochester; yet by the importunat labor of Stephan Gardiner, he was forsaken and left alone, whereby his intent did not sort to his desired effect, to haue it wholie taken awaie. But yet he alone standing in the matter, was for his fastnesse therin both commended and furthered by the king and the nobilitie, whereby he obteined some moderation thereof, and therewith notwithstanding anie thing the pontificals could do, the archbishop grew daily more and more into the kings fauour. Whereby Cranmer gathering stomach, did (as he had often before) persuade that the bible might be turned into English, and distributed vnto euerie church, which Gardiner and the other catholike bishops did withstand a long time. But when the king had granted to Cranmer all moderation and determination of ecclesiasticall matters in that synod, which (as before said) began with the parlement, Cranmer afresh did vse persuasions for translating of the bible, the Lords praier, the apostles creed, and the ten commandements, into the vulgar toong or English: and further, to haue portasses of the Romane vse to be abolished, that mariage should be permitted to the vicars generall of bishops, that lawes should be made for the state of the church of England, and for the granting of a subsidie to the king: wherevnto the pontificals knowing the kings mind, durst not openly resist, but secretlie laboured what they could against it: in such sort that it was a long time doubted who should haue the translating of the bible. For some would haue it committed to the vniuersities of Oxford and Cambridge, and others would haue certeine lerned men chosen out of the synod to take the same vpon them. Then it was disputed about the maner of translating and signification of certeine words: as Dominos, whether it should be Englished the Lord or our Lord: Ecclesia whether church or congregation: and Charitas, whether it were to be called charitie or loue. And at the end of the second commandement (Thou shalt not make anie grauen image) Gardiner and the pontificals would haue added vnto it this sentence, To the intent to worship it. All which notwithstanding, the intent of Cranmer was brought to effect; for the English bible was placed in euerie church, the people had licence to read it, and power was giuen to two and thirtie of the parlement house to be named by the king, to make ecclesiasticall lawes for the church of England: where it was also decreed, that ecclesiasticall iurisdiction might be exercised by such married persons as had knowledge in the ciuill law, and had receiued the degree of doctor in anie of the vniuersities. And the better to strengthen the euangelicals, as hath Matthew Parker, a mariage was contracted betweene king Henrie the eight, and the ladie Katharine Par (a woman much fauoring the gospel) the sister of William Par marquesse of Northampton and the widow of the lord Latimer.

* Papists.
* Protestants or gospellers.

Cranmer increaseth in the kings fauour.

The bible translated into English.

How certeine words of the bible should be Englished.

1542 High commissioners appointed for ecclesiasticall causes.

King Henrie the eight mariet. the Ladie Katharine Par.

After this, warres being had against the king of England both by the French and Scots, the king labored the emperor, that ioining their power, they might set vpon the French. The issue of which warres (although they were both beneficiall and honorable to the king and kingdome, because Bullogne was then ouerthrowne and taken)

taken) yet by the emperors authoritie, Gardiner and the other pontificals did afresh creepe againe into the kings fauour, who preuailing, there was persecution vsed against the euangelicals. In which perhaps (as saith Matthew Parker) if they had kept a meane, they might haue made their cause to haue seemed better with the king; but they went so farre, that they spared not the kings bed, neither could the kings mariage be clere from danger of the six Articles. For Gardiner did not onlie accuse those of the kings chamber, but also the kings wife of heresie: which deed so offended the king, that he could neuer after well awaie with Gardiner, and did commit the duke of Northfolke, with his sonne the earle of Surrie prisoners to the Tower for suspicion of treason, wherof the one which was the sonne was after beheaded, and the other remained in prison for seuen yeares, vntill the reign of queene Marie, who deliuered him. King Henrie the eight hauing now banisht the popes authoritie, and dissolued the religious houses, died the third kalends of Februarie, and was buried at Windsor: at what time appointing sixteene persons, to whom he committed the yoong king Edward, onelie two bishops, this Cranmer and Cutbert Tunstall were of that number, Gardiner at that time being out of fauour, and therefore excluded from the priuitie of the kings will. After this, on the fourth kalends of March, was king Edward the sixt crowned by this archbishop, at what time doctor Cox before named and sir Iohn Cheeke, were appointed his schoolemaisters, to instruct him in the euangelicall doctrine. But in the end, to auoid further inconuenience, which might grow by reason of the multitude of gouernors appointed by king Henrie the eight to gouerne the yoong king, one man by the aduise of the lord Paget was chosen in place of the rest, to take the office of protectorship vpon him, which was Edward Seimor erle of Hertford, after duke of Summerset. Who altering the forme of religion, as it was left in the time of king Henrie the eight, did take from it such ceremonies of the Romane church as king Henrie had yet left within England.

1543
1544
1545

Queene Katharine Par accused of heresie.

1546

Cranmer and Dunstall appointed by king Henrie the eight to gouerne king Edward the sixt.

The duke of Summerset altereth religion.

At what time a parlement being called, and a synod also, Cranmer in that synod made an oration to abolish such rites as king Henrie the eight had left; and therewith found meanes in the parlement to abolish the law of the six articles. Besides which, in that parlement, the cleargie exhibited an other petition; for they considered that all the force and authoritie of the synod was not onelie diminished, but wholie broken and ouerthrowne, after that the cleargie in the word of priesthood, had promised to king Henrie the eight, that they would not decree anie thing in their synod without the kings authoritie: which power of ecclesiasticall lawes being banished, the burgesses in the parlement began to establish lawes for diuine matters, without consent or knowledge of the cleargie, and by little and little, to take awaie the immunities of the absent cleargie, and to make harder lawes wherewith to tie the spiritualtie, the which to suffer, seemed hard vnto the cleargie, sith the parlement was accustomed onelie to treat of matters touching the common-wealth, and not of the church.

1547

Matt. Parker, pag. 398.

Wherefore they required, that as the prelats in the higher house of parlement were ioined with the nobilitie; so in the lower house, that the prelats and procurators of the cleargie might be ioined with the burgisses togither, with them to consult of the state of the church. But the determination of that request was turned ouer vntill an other time. A little after which, all the ceremonies of the Romane church, masse, dirge, inuocation of saints and other things, with the seruice in an vnknowne toong, and the multitude of worshipped saints were taken awaie and abolished. In place whereof, the seruice in the English toong, and the most holie sacraments by Christ onelie instituted, were then set vp through England. And for the better establishing thereof visitors were sent through the realme, which so set forth the matter, that they left no relikes or suspicion of the contrarie religion: against which, yet manie of the pontificals did resist with such feruencie as they

The inferior cleargie desire to be admitted as part of the lower house of the parlement.

1548

Visitors sent through the realme.

could. For Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Boner bishop of London, Tunstall bishop of Durham and Heath bishop of Rochester tooke it greeuouslie, that alr e-
1549 likes of Rome in generall should be so abolished, pretending that no alteration in
Bishops defending the Romane religion. religion ought to haue beene had during the kings minoritie. Wherevnto they did stand the faster, because the ladie Marie king Edwards sister had masse, with the appurtinances in hir house: whose example (because she was after the death of king Edward next heire to the crowne by hir fathers testament) did conteine and hold manie in the same religion.

But Gardiner, Boner, Tunstall, and Heath, persisting in their opinions, they were remooued from their bishoprikes and committed to the Tower, at what time the emperors ambassador intreated for the ladie Marie (the emperors neere kinswoman) that she might still vse the Romane seruice in hir house; which king Edward would not allow: but burst out in teares (when Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, and Ridleie now bishop of London in the place of Boner did require the same) and said that she should be by law restreined thereof, whereat the bishops were greatly
Cranmer called diuerse out of forren nations. ashamed of their request. This doone, Cranmer called out of forren nations certeine diuines to read in the vniuersities of England, and to inlarge the euangelicall doctrine, which persons were Peter Martyr, and Martin Bucer: whereof the first was placed at Oxford, and the other at Cambridge, with whome in that vniuersitie Paulus Fagius another stranger did at Cambridge vse and teach the Hebrue toong. Moreouer, this archbishop did nourish beyond the seas, Tremelius, Ochinus, Alexander, and Valerand, with their wiues and children, and sent for Melancthon, and Musculus: who not permitted by their countrie to come into England, excused themselues by letters.

Cranmer writeth against Stephan Gardiner. Cranmer thus succoring learned men, wrote a booke for the supper of the Lord. Against which, Stephan Gardiner being in the Tower, wrote another booke intituled Marcus Constantius, refuted by Peter Martyr, as hath Matthew Parker. Few yeares
1551 after, died king Edward of the ptisicke (as saith the same Matthew Parker) though
1553 Osorius (by what reason or authoritie I know not) obiecteth to doctor Haddon that he was poisoned: against which (if my memorie faile not) maister Fox hath written in answering to Osorius after the death of the same Haddon. King Edward the sixt being thus dead, his sister Marie obteined the crowne, made alteration of religion, set the before imprisoned bishops at libertie, restored them vnto their see, and displaced others appointed therevnto in hir brothers time. Which bishops hauing now the sword in their hand, and full authoritie, stretched the same to the execution of their lawes, burning some, banishing others, and imprisoning the third sort: whereof, some were in life reserued untill the gouernement of queene Elisabeth, and after aduanced to places of great honor. Amongst which that were so pursued by
Cranmer would not flie the realme the pontificals Cranmer was one, who being persuaded to flie the realme, would not: affirming that if he were guiltie of treason or murther, he would imbrace and follow their councell: but being otherwise, he would not: who being verie stout in mat-
Cranmer offereth the combat to a nobleman. ters of religion did challenge a noble man to fight with him in king Edwards daies, because he did oppugne the ecclesiasticall ceremonies reformed by Cranmer his counsell, who had abolished the Romane sacraments.

Now when Cranmer was thus persuaded by others to flie, a certeine kind of prophesie (as it may be termed) came to his mind, in which king Henrie the eight did
The armes of Cranmer altered. foreshew his death. For when Cranmer did beare the ensignes and armes of his ancestors, quartered with three cranes: the king taking awaie the cranes, placed in lieu thereof three pellicans to be borne in his armes, as a signe that he should after shed his blood for his children: but to leaue that, let vs go forwards with the historie.

Queene Marie was the daie before the kalends of October crowned at Westmin-

ster

ster by Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, against all law and example (as some haue) because the same dooth onelie belong vnto the metropolitane, as most ancient histories affirme: but we find manie examples to the contrarie, both in ancient and moderne times: whereof these few come to my mind. That Alredus bishop of Corke crowned William Conqueror, Maurice bishop of London crowned Henrie the first, Peter bishop of Winchester and Ioseline bishop of Bath crowned Henrie the third, and Oglethorpe bishop of Carlill crowned queene Elisabeth. Which I speake not to impech the priuilege and honor of that see: for it is most reason that the best should be serued with the best; and that the best subiect should doo the best honor to the best and cheefe gouernor: but I haue onelie brought in this, because that some saie, that Winchester (not hauing example therefore) did crowne queene Marie. And yet notwithstanding (to saie the truth) these bishops did alwaies crowne the princes vpon some reasonable cause; as when the metropolitan was vnlawfullie gotten into that see, as Stigandos, who intruded himselfe therevnto; or was beyond the seas, as was Anselmus, when Mauricius bishop of London crowned Henrie the first; or as Stephan Langton was, when Peter bishop of Winchester, and the bishop of Bath crowned Henrie the third; or else in the vacancie of the archbishoprike, as when Oglethorpe crowned the worthie queene Elisabeth.

The metropolitane onelie to crowne the prince.

But to leaue this, let vs returne to Cranmer, who was after accused, and by the iudges condemned of treason: which Cranmer tooke to be an vnkind recompense for all the kindnesse which he had bestowed vpon queene Marie. For when hir father would haue committed hir to prison for standing in hir religion, this Cranmer pacified the king; and when she should haue beene disherited by the testament of king Edward, he did with a long oration persuade the contrarie, although it tooke not effect. But the remembrance of hir mothers diuorce, Cranmers religion, and the subscribing of his name to the proclaming of queene Iane, put those things out of mind. Wherevpon being condemned, he with Nicholas Ridleie, and Hugh Latimer, bishops of London and Worcester, were sent to Oxford to prison. After this, queene Marie married king Philip at Winchester the seuenth kalends of August, and cardinal Poole (of whom we will speake more hereafter) being called hither by queene Marie, came into England with power legantine from pope Iulie the third, and in parlement released the interdict and excommunication of the land, which had continued almost twentie yeares.

Cranmer condemned of treason.

In the mean time, Weston the prolocutor, with manie other professors of diuinitie, came from the synod to Oxford, publikelie to dispute with Cranmer, Ridleie, and Latimer, about the carnall presence of Christ in the sacrament. But in the end the matter was so handled, that Cranmer and the others were condemned for heretikes; first by the uniuersitie, and by the synod of London: the long declaration whereof we leaue to others, who haue of purpose treated thereof, amongst whome is Iohn Fox in his booke of the Acts and monuments of the church: for it is beside my purpose, to treat of the substance of religion, sith I am onelie politicall, and not ecclesiasticall; a naked writer of histories, and not a learned diuine to treat of mysteries of religion. Wherefore leauing that, let vs hasten to the hastened death of Cranmer. Cardinall Poole being the popes legat, was in honor and fauor preferred before all men, who although he sought the archbishoprike of Canturburie, and did by his legantine power take the fruits thereof from Cranmer, conuerted them to his vse by colour of sequestration, and dwelled at Lambeth; yet he would not beare himselfe as archbishop so long as Cranmer liued.

A disputation about religion in the time of queene Marie.

Iohn Fox.

But Stephan Gardiner (after the fashion of court prelats, desirous to be equall in honor with cardinall Woolsele (whom he sometimes serued) priuilie labored with the pope to be cardinalated, and to haue power legantine bestowed vpon him; for

Matt. Parker. for the obteining whereof he conceiued a certeine hope, because pope Iulie the third being dead, Iohn Peter Carafa,* which was called the cardinall Theatin, was aduanced to the popedome: betweene whom (being now called Paule the fourth) and cardinall Poole, there was old and capitall enimitie which could not be pacified by anie meanes. Wherefore Gardiners request to be cardinall, to take awaie Pooles authoritie, and to call him to Rome, was acceptable to the pope. For which cause it was supposed, that Gardiner prolonged the life of Cranmer, to the end that Poole might not haue the bishoprike of Canturburie. In the meane time, Gardiner falling sicke of the gout, or paines of his ioints; the same grew so much, that his physicians affirmed that he could not liue. At length lieng in his bed, his bodie yeelded such a lothsome sauor (as saith Matthew Parker and Iohn Fox) that none could scarse abide it; who dieng in that sort, did in the verie instance of death saie: I haue erred with Peter, but not wept with Peter.

The pope and cardinall Poole enimies.

1555

Brookes bishop of Bristow appointed to giue sentence vpon Cranmer.

When he was dead, the legat Poole appointed Brookes bishop of Bristow to be the popes delegat to giue sentence vpon Cranmer, who comming to Oxford (togither with Iohn Storie, after executed at Tiburne, and with Thomas Martin doctor of the law now liuing, associats to the said bishop by the queenes authoritie) called foorth Cranmer, at what time with a long oration Brookes laboured to bring home Cranmer to the Romane religion. But he not remooued from his maner of christian profession and persisting in his former doctrine, was summoned to be at Rome within fourescore daies to answer before the pope; which Cranmer promised to doo if he might haue licence therefore of the queene. But the pope, before the twentith daie was past, sent letters to king Philip and queene Marie to condemne Cranmer, and to commit him to the secular power. Whervpon, a little after, new authoritie was by the pope granted to Thomas Thurlebie bishop of Elie, and to Edmund Bonner bishop of London, to depriue Cranmer from all preestlie and archiepiscopall dignitie, and to commit him to the secular power to be burned, which was doone the fourteenth daie of Februarie. But Cranmer yeelding to the frailtie of the flesh, lacking the comfortable letters which one was woont to write to another at the going to their death, there entered him by the persuasion of one frier Iohn, and of the pontificals, a certeine temptation, in that they laied before him hope of life, thereby to auoid the terror of death, if he would by writing recant what he had before said and written touching religion. Whervnto Cranmer yeelding, and they obteining the same, yet they were not contented: for when Cranmer hoped most for life, then by the decree of cardinall Poole was his death hastened. For doctor Cole came to Oxford, and preaching in S. Maries church, he there affirmed that God could not be pacified (being offended with the death of sir Thomas Moore sometime chancellor of England, and of Iohn Fisher bishop of Rochester, who were beheaded in the time of king Henrie the eight, for mainteining the popes supremasie) but with the death and sacrifice of this Cranmer: who being brought foorth of prison betweene two friers in an old gowne, was exhorted by Cole in his sermon that he should with liuelie uoice confirme that recantation which he had made by writing. But he denieng that, terming the pope antichrist, and hating the bishops, was after burned in that towne; first burning his hand which made the recantation, and then standing vpright in the flame, and crauing mercie of God, to whome he committed his soule, he was consumed to ashes: a death not read before to haue happened to anie archbishop, who as he was the first that publikelie impugned by established lawes the popes authoritie in England, so was he the first metropolitane that was burned for the same.

The pope giueth authoritie to the bishops of London and Elie to depose Cranmer.

After his death the see of Canturburie being now void, there was a synod called by the commandment of the king and queene; in which it was decreed that the daie wherein England was by cardinall Poole reconciled to the church of Rome, should

cuerie

euerie yeare be kept holie daie, and called the daie of the reconciliation of the church of Rome. But that lasted not long, sith the death and end of queene Marie set end vnto the same: besides which, because queene Marie had remitted vnto the clergie the first fruits and tenths before granted to king Henrie the eight, they granted hir a large subsidie. In which synod also manie other things were required, but not obteined. Besides which, queene Marie was of that mind (as not being satisfied in giuing those tenths to the clergie) that she also thought vpon the restitution of the houses of religion, and to bring to them the lands taken awaie in the time of king Henrie the eight; for manie supposed that they could not keepe the same with a safe conscience. Wherefore calling togither the marquisse of Winchester treasuror of England, and others of the councell, she declared vnto them how that she was daie and night troubled with the lands of those monasteries; whose restitution although it be hurtfull to the crowne, as weakening the reuenues therof, yet she would not keepe anie other bodies goods, no not the kingdome it selfe with a troubled conscience. Wherfore she willed that cardinall Poole, the popes legat, to whom this matter was by the pope committed, should be consulted therevpon, to the end that hir vexed conscience might safelie be deliuered from all care thereof. But king Henrie the eight, when he did dissolue the monasteries, by the exchange of those lands, and by other grants thereof, did so diuide the same into seuerall mens hands (a deuise proceeding from Cromwell earle of Essex, who first also sought the dissolution of those monasteries) that he had nothing so much left in his possession, as he had distributed to the noble men and others, who feeling the sweet that came thereby, would not so easilie depart with the same againe; insomuch that when the pope (as hath Matthew Parker) by the queene and cardinals procurement had thundered sentence of excommunication against all those which possessed land belonging to monasteries, and that the same bull (as it was said) should haue beene declared in England, there was such sudden hurliburlie raised here amongst vs of all sorts, aswell noble men, gentlemen and others, yea of such as most fauored the pope, as vnlesse that bull had beene sent backe to Rome, and the sentence reuoked, it was thought the popes authoritie would haue beene againe banished England; for they plainelie said, that they would not obeie him if he touched their freeholds. By reason whereof the clergie vtterlie despaired of generall restitution of the religious houses, although in some few places, monasteries and such other houses began againe to be builded, and religious persons to be brought into them; as at Westminster, great S. Bartholomews besides Smithfield in London, Greenewich, and Dartfoord in Kent, and others more.

Reginald Pooles life being with such high praise written by manie learned and eloquent Italians, and many declamers of the vniuersitie of Venice, is set foorth with such beautie, and eloquence of stile, as nothing can be more desired therein. But therwithall (as saith Matthew Parker) they fauoring him ouer much, did in their praises of him not spare the dispraise of king Henrie the eight: so that they rather seemed flattering and rhethoriticall schoole declamations than true commendations, worthilie deserued for virtue and vpright actions. The which is not therefore spoken by vs, because we doo enuie his commendation. For what can be more glorious vnto our kingdome, than that the Italians, who after a certeine sort glorie of the inheritance of learning and eloquence, should so highlie commend a man of our nation? But because we are chieflie to set down such things as he did being archbishop of Canturburie, we will omit whatsoeuer might else be said of him, and brieflie passe ouer his life, craiuing pardon although we omit or somewhat dissent from that immoderat commendation, which others haue throwne vpon him; for mine intent is onelie plainlie to set downe things as they were doone, without aggrauating,

ing, diminishing, praising, misliking, or anie waie else inferring vpon the outward action.

This man (as saith Matthew Parker) Patre quidem Richardo equestris ordinis viro, Henrici septimi regis fratre consobrino, matre verò Margareta Eduardi quarti Anglorum quondam regis nepote, Georgij Clarentij ducis filia atque comitissa Salisburiæ natus est. Of which his descent I haue alreadie spoken in my former discourse of the cardinals, who by the care of his parents, perceiuing him of a deintie wit, and of a gentle behauior, was brought vp in learning in Magdalen college in Oxford, whome king Henrie the eight in his youthfull yeares did greatlie fauor, not onelie because he was kin vnto him by the father and mothers side, but also because that he hoped that his learning should beautifie the kinglie race, and might be a great helpe vnto him in the gouernement of the kingdome. Wherefore he augmented the stipends of this Poole with the deanrie of Excester, and with other large allowances, to the end that following the studies of good letters beyond the seas, he might there learne both the depth of the sciences, and the maners and languages of those outward nations. Wherevpon he goeth to Pauie a citie belonging to the dominion of Venice, where he found learned men in all sciences. In which place Poole gaue his mind to the studie of eloquence and philosophie, where he profited so much, that he was no more knowen to those strangers for the nobilitie of his birth than he was for the fame and report of his learning. Wherefore when he was thus had in admiration in Italie, aswell for his parentage as his excellencie of learning he ioined himselfe with the magnificos and noble men of Venice, wherby vnthankefullie he departed from the loue of his countrie, and the dutie of so liberall a prince as king Henrie the eight was to him. For (as we said) when the same king determined to abolish the popes authoritie in England, he louinglie sought to call this Poole home into his countrie, but he refusing to returne, making manie delaies and excuses, the king caused Stokes bishop of London, and Tunstall bishop of Durham, to write vnto him against the popes authoritie, whose works are yet extant. But Poole not mooued thereby, ioined with the Italians, famous as well for their birth as for their learning and eloquence, amongst which were Aloisius Priolus, Gasper Contarenus, Peter Bembus, and Peter Carafa, archbishop Theatin, borne at Naples, but then for feare of the emperor fled vnto Venice, where he remained in a monasterie. To these were also ioined in one knot of amitie for likenesse of studies and maners, Iames Sadolet bishop of Carpentoract in France, and Cosmus Gherius bishop of Fauens; and of the commoner sort in the vniuersities of Pauie and Bononia, M. Antonius Passerus, surnamed Genua, Lampridius Cremonensis, Lazarus Bonamicus, Bassianus, and manie of that sort which seemed to excell in philosophie, Greeke, and all kind of learning: and therefore not onelie famous in Italie but through out all the other parts of Europe. All which for eloquence and flowing in the Latine toong gaue place to this Poole, as by the letters often times sent betweene them, and of late by the witnesse of the most eloquent Paulus Manutius is well prooued. But if those their praises had neuer beene giuen of him, yet Poole himselfe may be a most plentifull witnesse in that matter, being importunatlie laboured by Sadolet (who had then written a learned and eloquent booke of philosophie) to deliuer his iudgement thereof. Whereunto Poole with long letters did answer, that he greatlie allowed all that he had written in philosophie: but on the other side, he did as much maruell, that a cardinall of the church of Rome would place the end and cheefe of all his studies in philosophie, which although it sometime held the price aboue all other studies and arts, yet now (as he writeth) that is cast downe by the comming of the word of God, for the which cause he compared it with these verses of Virgil:

Poole refuseth to returne into England.

Insula

Insula diues opum Priami dum regna manebant,
Est in conspectu Tenedos notissima fama,
Nunc tantùm sinus statio & malefida carinis.

Wherefore sith the ethnike superstition is now ouerthrowne, diuinitie and not philosophie ought to be set before a christian man as the cheefest hauen whervnto he should with all his sailes hasten to direct his course and rest. Which epistle of Poole if it be diligentlie compared with the answer of Sadolet, we shall find Poole (as saith Matthew Parker) to go beyond Sadolet both in argument and sweetnesse of stile. In which place the said Matthew in his booke of the liues of the bishops of Canturburie, hath also set downe these words of this Poole: Sed iuuenis ingenij fœcunditate cum rerum verborumque frequens copia ei siue dicenti siue scribenti succederet, Asiaticam redundantiam sequi visus est. Quam vt ex libris eius iam cernimus siue studio siue flaccessente oratione sic tandem decoxit, vt senex in dicendo scribendóque redundantiam omnem & affluentiam a stilo resecuit, sæpe etiam sine vbertate, peneque succo ieiunus existimitur. But leauing the commendation of his learning and eloquence, let vs returne to those things which this Poole did.

When Henrie the eight had expelled the pope, and would not suffer Poole to returne into England, first this Poole was bereaued of his deanrie of Excester, and of all other stipends which he had by the king. But he greatlie esteemed not thereof, bicause he was honorablie and plentifullie interteined by the cleargie of Italie, with whom he liued so much the more honourablie, and with greater freendship, bicause he was banished England. For pope Paule the third being dead, Clement the seauenth succeeding, and Peter Bembus, a most familiar freend to Poole, being secretarie vnto Clement, brought Poole in continuall and great fauour of the pope, who after made him cardinall; at that time also aduancing to the purple hat Bembus, Contarenus, Sadolet, and Peter Carafa, archbishop Theatin, of which number Theatin tooke part with the French, and Poole fauoured the emperour and his imperials; a thing (as after shall appere) that brought foorth vnquenchable enimitie between Poole and Carafa. Which choise of these cardinals was made the eleauenth kalends of Ianuarie, at what time Poole was intituled cardinall of S. Maries in Cosmeden. Now, when it was secretlie consulted at Rome to support the falling authoritie of the pope, to restreine the Lutherans in Germanie, and to banish the gospell out of England; these delegates were appointed therefore: Theatinus, this Poole, Cortesius, abbat of S. George, and Matheus Gibertus bishop of Verona, who taking aduise among themselues, committed those things to writing which might be profitable to the common cause of the pontificals, whose said aduise and counsel touching the same, is yet extant and published in Italie. But upon the setting foorth thereof, onelie Poole was admitted into the popes palace and familiaritie, bicause he stood in doubt of himselfe, and suspected some laieng of wait for him by the English. Poole being thus in the popes fauour, and framing himselfe to all the popes determinations, was after sent to the king of France, and to the low countries of Germanie, in two dangerous ambassages. In which though other causes were outwardlie pretended, yet, (as hath Matthew Parker) he had giuen him in charge by the pope, that he should in the name of the church of Rome, solicit the emperor and the French king to warre vpon the king of England. But king Henrie the eight wiselie auoided the same, for neither the emperor nor the French king (then in sharpe wars for the limits of their dominions) durst stir the king of England, least that he inclining to anie one part, might ouerthrow the other. At which time Poole did write to his freends and kindred in England, that they should stand fast in the Romane faith, and expect the end of his ambassage.

The liuings which Poole had in England taken from him.

Poole protected by the pope.

Poole persuadeth princes to warre vpon the king of England.

The king of England hauing knowledge of all this deuise, did (when h evnderstood of Poole his comming into France) deale with the French king by his legats, that he should send Poole into England to receiue punishment, as guiltie of treason to the king of England. But the French king denieng it, and affirming the same to be against the law of armes, to yeeld the ambassador of anie man (especiallie of the pope) to receiue punishment, would not doo it. And yet, bicause he would not offend the king, he did not admit the ambassage of Poole; but speedilie commanded him to depart out of his kingdome. Wherewith Poole being sore perplexed, speedilie spead himselfe into the low countries to the emperour, where he was also by the emperour repelled; bicause the king of England had a little before sentenced Poole, his mother the countesse of Salisburie, his other confederats and freends to perpetuall banishment. Wherefore this cardinall Poole hasteth to * Leige, being inuited thither by Eraidus à Marchia, cardinall and bishop of that citie, where he for a time remained, but not long, for the king of England vnderstanding by his espies of his abode there, sent his ambassadors, and required of the Belgians in respect of the ancient leagues betweene him and the duke of Burgundie, that they would deliuer to his ambassadors his enimie, and one condemned of treason, and not suffer him to wander vp and downe amongst them. Which being opened in a publike councell, holden in the low countries, where the said Erard was present, it was declared to Poole that he should presentlie hasten himselfe to Rome through Germanie, whereby Poole departed without bringing anie of his ambassages to effect. Yet notwithstanding, after this they obtrude vnto him an other most dangerous ambassage: for when the emperour had ordered all his affaires in the low countries and in Germanie, he went into Spaine, whither by the popes commandement Poole was sent vnto them, and from thense to the French king to deale with them, to breake the league with the king of England, that they should both set vpon him, and that Poole should remaine in the low countries or on the borders of France, to expect the end thereof, in the meane time assertening the pope of all things which happened.

Poole hasteneth out of France to the emperor.

* Leodium.

Poole inforced to depart the low countries.

Poole sent by the pope into Spaine.

With this commandement cardinall Poole changing his habit, did with a few persons hasten his iorneie, and with a speedie and readie course came to the emperor then remaining at Toleto in Spaine. But the emperor, which meant to keepe the king of England in league with him, gaue such audience to this cardinall Poole, that he answered, there was no time now to execute his request. And to rid him of that matter, he willed Poole to go into France, to consult thereabouts with the French king. With which answer Poole perceiuing how the emperor had shifted him awaie, obteining leaue, departed from Spaine, and came to Auinion; from whense he went to his familiar Iames Sadolet archbishop of Carpentoract and cardinall, where for a while he rested himselfe in great safetie, vntill he might vnderstand the popes pleasure. But in the end being called home by the pope, although his ambassage had not the desired effect: yet for that he had much trauelled in the same, the pope made him legat of Viterbo, as a reward for his paines. Wherevpon finding no better successe in such things as he attempted, he gaue them ouer, and wholie applied himselfe vnto diuinitie; wherein it seemeth he had no settled iudgement (as saith Matthew Parker) but sometime fauoured the * pontificals, and sometime the * euangelicals, as may be gathered by their often coming vnto him, but especiallie by the continuall companie of Antonius Flaminius (the most exellent orator and poet that translated the psalmes of Dauid into Illyricall verses) and of Tremelius, a most learned person which turned the bible into Latine, and was conuerted from the Iewes doctrine to christianitie when he was in the house with Poole, and baptised by the said Poole and Flaminius within the walles of the house of this cardinall Poole. Besides which, his house was a receptacle

Poole made legat of Viterbo

* Papists.
* Protestants.

Poole fauoureth the go pellers.

of

of friers and moonks falling from the pope and flieng out of Italie into Germanie. Againe, when manie were accused vnto him in Viterbo, that they were Lutherans, he neuer punished them either by the inquisition or other seuere paine, but remained there certeine yeares, as a man wholie buried in studie, and one vtterlie separated from worldlie matters, of whome the same Parker writeth thus: Verùm nescio quomodo Poli castitas in qua una virtute omnes Romæ cardinales facilè superabat, dum Viterbij contemplaretur diffamata est. Nam papæ castello vbi Polus habitabat adiunctum est monialium cœnobium sanctæ Claræ dicatum. His monialibus suis vicinis vt in castitate retinerentur, sedulò dicitur prospexisse Polus, earúmque abbatissam quæ nobilis Perusina fuit ad se vocasse sæpius. Ex quorum frequenti congressu Pasquillus Romanus qui nullius famæ aut dignitati parcit, sæpiúsque vera quàm falsa narrat, Latinis Italicísque carminibus Romæ diuulgauit eam è Polo peperisse bis, primò masculinam deinde fœminam prolem. But touching that matter, this Poole heard more thereof when he was in election to be pope, as after shall appeere, when he cleared himselfe. In the meane time, whilest the warres were hot betweene Cesar and the French, Paule the third summoned a generall councell at Trent, to which he sent the cardinals Poole, Moronus, and a third to be his legats there. But the same councell did shortlie after cease, being interrupted by the heat of the warres (betweene the emperor and the French) in Heluetia, Germanie, France, and Spaine. At length those warres being intermitted for a time, the councell at Trent was againe renewed, and this Poole with the cardinals de monte and of the holie crosse were appointed the popes legats, at what time Poole did write and publish a booke of the same councell. In the end the councell being turned ouer to Bononia, the emperor found himself greeued therewith, and complaining thereof by Hurtaldus his orator in a little booke published to all men, he further described a forme of religion in that booke which he called the Interim: both which Poole being placed in the popes presence did with publike answer rebuke.

Poole appointed one of the popes legats in the councell of Trent.

Now when Pope Paule the third was dead, the cardinals (after the maner) came into the conclaue to choose a new pope. In which there was great contention amongest them being diuided into two parts, the one taking the part of Cesar and the other of the French king. Poole himselfe being imperiall drew vnto him all such as were on that side, and those also that were neuters, amongst whom was Alexander Farnesius, nephue of the deceased pope, whose authoritie aboue the rest was verie great, and led the cheefest part of the other cardinals to choose Poole to the popedome. But they which followed the French causes obiected that they should beware, lest Poole hauing atteined the triple crowne, would ouermuch fauour the emperour: wherefore there was consideration to be had of the voices of the other French cardinals, which were not then come. But notwithstanding all that the French could doo, the next daie when the voices were taken out of the scrutinie, such and so great number of them was found to incline to Poole, that the French could not resist it. But Poole without cause found an other delaie, whie he would not then take it vpon him; which being perceiued by the cardinall Theatin, hoping to obteine the papasie if Poole were reiected, obiected against Poole the note of ambition, heresie, and incontinencie: of ambition, in that he ouer hastilie sought the papasie; of heresie, because that in Germanie, and in the councell of Trent, he did ouer familiarlie vse the companie of the Lutherans, that he kept Flaminius in his house, and inriched him with manie prebends and ecclesiasticall dignities, and thirdlie, that being legat at Viterbo, he spared many guiltie of heresie, and punished a few with small paine, but none with death; of incontinencie, in that he had placed his daughter to be brought vp with the nuns of Rome. All which defamations this cardinal Theatin did spred amongst the people, to the end that Poole being defamed, might not receiue the popedome. Whereunto Poole did answer grauelie and aptlie, as he could well

Poole chosen to be pope.

Poole refuseth the popedome.

Poole accused of heresie, ambition, and incontinencie.

well doo, for he alwaies caried such grauitie in his countenance, that he neuer changed the same for anie iniurie or reproch, or for anie aduerse or prosperous succesſe. In which his answer he declared, first that he did esteeme the charge of the popedome to be so great, that it rather mooued a feare than a desire to possesse it: secondlie, that he was to be iudged free from all note or suspicion of heresie, which for the Romane religions cause had run into the hatred and offense of his king and countrie. And lastlie touching the little one which he norished in Rome, he prooued hir to be daughter of an English woman which died in Rome, whom he had presented to the nuns to nourish and instruct vertuouslie, to the end that she might not applie hirselfe to euill trades; hauing further provided for hir a dowrie of one hundred crownes, in the publike banke of Rome, which they call Fidei montem, lest in hir age she might for need be constreined to be cast out to vncerteine mishaps. Which kind of liberalitie being knowne to be vsed by Poole to manie others, ought (as saith Matthew Parker) to be of all good men esteemed rather offices of charitie and pietie, than tokens of incontinencie. Which slanders when Poole had thus washed awaie, he was the next night chosen pope. Wherefore cardinall Farnesius, and the rest which were of that mind, speedilie run to Poole, intreating him that he will take it upon him, and permit himselfe to be honored as the maner is, with the same honor that is due to the pope, and to be saluted by the name of the most holie father. But he excused the matter in that it was doone in the night; for saith he, God dooth hate darkenesse, and things well doone ought to be performed in the daie: wherefore he would deferre the matter till the morrow. Which words greeuing those cardinals, they did call it most foolish delaie.

Poole cleareth himselfe of all things obiected against him.

Poole the second time chosen pope.

Poole the second time refuseth the popedome.

Wherefore the next daie all things being changed, and the minds of the cardinals turned from Poole, they inclined an other waie. For when Poole was gone out of the conclaue (or place where the pope is elected) because he felt himselfe sicke, it was contumeliouslie answered by cardinall Theatin, called Carafa, to such as demanded Poole to be pope, and complained of his slacknesse, that nothing could happen more unprofitable to that see, than to declare him pope; because that he had now shewed himselfe a blocke to all men, in that he would not accept the papasie offered, nor yet could aptlie refuse it, but suffer it so to hang in suspense. During which delaies, came the cardinall of Guise out of France, whose authoritie was greatest amongst the French cardinals. With whom Farnesius forsaking cardinall Poole, did ioine himselfe, to the end to win fauour of the French. Whervpon when these two vsed the helps and voices of the other cardinals at their pleasure, the cardinall de Monte, the associate of cardinall Poole in the councell of Trent, was declared pope, and called Iulius the third. After which, Poole (although of some he was accused of dastardlinesse, and faint hart) did not yet laie aside the tranquillitie of his mind, or the constancie of his toong; but set foorth a booke of that delaie of choosing the pope in the conclaue, and in a most eloquent epistle did write to one Paceus a Spaniard and bishop, touching his refusall of the papasie. This new pope Iulius did the more courteouslie intreat Poole, because by his delaie he obteined the popedome. Wherefore he inforced cardinall Theatin, (who as is before touched, had slandered Poole) before the open assemblie in the conclaue, to call backe that which he had said, and to aske Poole forgiuenesse. The hatred whereof conceiued by Theatin, was manifestlie shewed against Poole, when the same cardinall Theatin came to be inthronised pope. This doone, Poole (growing in some mislike with the Italians, because that he would not be pope) obteining leaue of the see of Rome to depart, went to Verona to a house of Benedictine moonks, of which order he was patrone at Rome, in which he determined to haue passed ouer his whole life in silence. But all Italie ringing of the death of Edward the sixt king of England, and of the succession of queene Marie,

Poole by publike booke defendeth his refusall of the popedome.

The slanderers of Poole aske him forgiuenesse.

1553

Marie, the same did greatlie comfort the mind of Poole before abased, and called him againe to shew himselfe in the world. For he now hoped to haue an honorable returne into his countrie, for that he certeinlie knew that the queene would banish the religion of hir brother, and induce the Romane ceremonies; for which cause he was fed with double hope when he was returned into England, either to obteine a most rich and honorable ecclesiasticall liuing, which in truth he did; or else to haue married the queene, which he neuer did. To which second hope he was erected, because that queene Marie (when he was a child vnder his mother Margaret countesse of Salisburie, sometimes daughter of George duke of Clarence) was committed to his mother (by queene Katharine, mother to queene Marie) to be brought vp and instructed. At what time it was supposed, as saith Matthew Parker, that queene Katharine had in hir mind a determinatiõ to marrie them two together, to the end that the right of the kingdome might be more stronglier knit in one line of hir children, if king Henrie the eight had died without heire male. For this ladie Margaret was then the onlie liuing heire which might pretend anie title to the crowne, by reason of the house of Yorke. Wherefore being now onlie a deacon (from whense by the popes licence he might easilie be disgraded) he conceiued a hope in his mind to marrie the queene, and obteine the kingdome. But sauing correction of that author, which I speake with all reuerence, vnto so learned an antiquarie and graue person, I suppose that cardinall Poole did, or at least might thinke himselfe hopeles to marrie the one, or to be lord of the other. For although the pope might disgrade him, and that there might be some such meaning in queene Katharine and the countesse of Salisburie, when queene Marie and cardinall Poole were verie yoong, and that for the reason before rehearsed; yet me thinketh it somewhat strange that a man so spent in yeares, being continent all his life, giuen to contemplation, a spare and leane bodie withered to nothing, more like a ghost than a man, should in his old age, heat failing, nature decaieng, his lims weake, and his mind studious, should plaie the wanton, or follow the delights of loue and mariage. Besides which, vnderstanding that king Philip should marrie queene Marie, and that the onelie drift of the emperor, as after shall appeare, was to staie the cardinals comming into England, vntill the mariage was doone, he would not haue staid his iorneie to hurt himselfe, but would haue found meanes to haue stopped the emperors deuise and authoritie by the popes excommunication, and so to haue proceeded on his iornele into England, if he had meant to marrie queene Marie. And is it likelie that he was so ambitious of honor, in atteining of a kingdome, for which a man would violate all lawes, as that he would for obteining thereof marrie queene Marie, when he had refused a greater honor in earth, as the world stood at that time, than the wearing of a kings crowne, that is the wearing of a triple diademe, and obteining of the popes authoritie, by which he might haue kept his spirituall function, and haue ruled the queene of England, and all the other princes of Europe? Or would he for honors sake go against his profession, enter into mariage, returne to the world as a laie man, and submit himselfe to the cares of a kingdome, which might haue had the greatest honor on earth without dooing anie of these things? Or can not princes or great persons be brought vp together, but that their childish loue must end in doting mariage? But admit that this hot humor should so contrarie to my reason haue taken place in him, how might he hope that queene Marie, a woman of great zeale in hir kind (and desiring mariage for hope of issue) would seeke to marrie with so weake an old man, and a man of the church: whereof I doo not remember that I haue read anie example.

Poole hoped to marrie queene Marie.

But leauing my yoong iudgement and lesse experience in the affaires and policies of obteining and keeping of kingdoms; let vs allow that determination and hope to be in cardinall Poole, and follow on the historie as it is in some part set downe by others. Cardinall Poole harboring this double hope, either of the kingdome

or

or of some great ecclesiasticall liuing; and being called home by queene Maries letters, and receiuing legantine power from the pope, set foorth to come into England. But the emperor did greatlie withstand those conceipts of Poole, whilest he both vnderstood his deuise, and further determined to marie his sonne and heire Philip to queene Marie, thereby to make his part stronger against the Frenchmen. Wherevpon the emperor consulted with cardinall Dandine the popes ambassador, sent to compound a peace betweene the emperor Charles the fift, and Francis the first the French king. At what time the emperor earnestlie desired the cardinall to staie Poole from comming out of Italie: with which persuasion, Dandine speedilie sent one Francis Commendune with letters vnto Poole, in which he persuaded him not yet to take his iourneie into England: because that legacie was taken in hand without the emperors knowledge: and the Englishmen, especiallie the Londoners, did as yet in some part hate the name of the pope and his legats; adding further, that they were not yet to haue anie legantine power amongst them, vntill by persuasions they were made apt therefore.

The emperor withstandeth cardinall Poole.

When cardinall Poole had receiued these letters in the monasterie before said, he determined not to go anie further before he knew the popes pleasure. But the bishop of Rome, because he would not haue the emperors part against the French increased by that mariage, called home Dandine (in that respect that he was by his letters the staie of Poole) to the end that Poole might be legat into England, to the emperor and to the French king, for to establish the peace betweene them. Wherefore Poole armed with double legantine power, taketh his iourneie; and when he came to Trent, sent his messengers to the emperor, and to the French king, to let them vnderstand of this legation, of his departure out of Italie, and of his comming vnto them. The which message was so vnfortunat to Cesars attempts, that he sent the lord Iohn Mendoza (being a little entered into another iourneie) with all speed to meet cardinall Poole with letters. In which the emperor declared that it would be verie acceptable vnto him, if he did staie there, and come no further, vntill the emperor had dispatched some weightie affaires, which might be hindered by that legation; and then (if need were) the emperor would accept of him: but if he would needs come forward, the emperor was willing that he should go to Liege; but there (of necessitie) he must remaine, vntill he were sent for by the emperor.

Cardinall Poole staied in the low countries.

Poole hauing receiued these letters, returned to Dilinga a towne not far from Trent, where he aduertiseth the pope of all that was doone, and sendeth expostulating letters to the emperor, shewing what a heinous thing it was to haue the popes ambassador (comming for peace and religions cause) to be staied in the middest of Germanie (with great shame and contempt of the pope) in the eies of all heretikes, and that especiallie by the emperors commandement. Notwithstanding which letter, Poole could not obteine anie leaue to passe further into the low countries, before the mariage was ended, and by parlement ratified betweene king Philip and queene Marie. For the emperor knew how much the queene had made of cardinall Poole from his youth, and for which cause he thought that he would be a hinderance to that mariage, and therefore must seeke to haue that impediment auoided.

But because king Philip (whose comming was earnestlie looked for in England) was not yet alanded in that nation out of Spaine, and so that mariage not consummated: cardinall Poole did verie hardlie obteine licence to come to the emperor to Bruxels: where yet there was a condition of abode limited him, vntill king Philip was arriued and maried in England. During which time, he dealt (but all in vaine) for establishing of a peace betweene the emperor and the French king, for the long and inueterat hatred betweene them could not be so suddenlie appeased. This doone, Matthew Parker goeth forward with the historie thus, writing:

ing: Itaque Philippi & Mariæ congressu, omnibus ceremonijs peractis, & absolutis nuptijs, cùm Polus iam nihil impedire suam in Angliam profectionem amplius posse existimaret, cùmque spe regni frustratus, tamen in sacerdotalis culminis possessione sibi esse videretur, occultis invidijs apud reginam & Philippum, necnon Cæsarem atque papam, pene subplantatus, & à legatione reuocatus est.

Wherevpon Poole being thus maimed of authoritie, had no cause now to come into England, but onelie to see the queene, who was offended that Poole was so long kept backe. Wherefore when she vnderstood the cause of his staie, she sent ambassadors to the emperor, to giue him leaue to come into England, and wrote also to Poole to hasten him hither; which he did by the emperors licence, but he was first admonished by such as fauored the gospell, to haue care of the church of England. Well, at length he commeth into this realme, more accompanied and attended on by Italians than English, where he admitted few into his societie, but such as did earnestlie defend the church of Rome. Now this cardinall hauing legantine power, and so admitted by the king and queene, the crosse and other ensignes of the popes authoritie were borne before him: at what time there was a parlement held at Westminster, whither Poole being most honorablie brought, Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England made an oration to the people of his acceptable comming.

Cardinall Poole commeth into England.

This doone, cardinall Poole made a long oration in his mother toong; wherein these things were conteined, being the substance and order thereof: which is, That he gaue great thanks to the noblemen and the people, because by their great benefit (after the abrogation of all the lawes which tended to his banishment) he was restored home vnto his countrie. Wherefore he thought it his part, both in respect of his dutie and thankfulnes, so to recompense this desert, that where of late they had by schisme fallen from the apostolicall see, and by that means from the vnitie of the church and so banished themselues from the kingdome of God; that he through the authoritie giuen to him by the pope the vicar of Christ, had reduced them to the see of Rome as to their celestiall inheritance. That the chiefest cause why he was made legat, was to restore the nobilitie and glorie of this Isle, whereof (before all other prouinces) the church of Rome had principall care and consideration; because that this was the peculiar and proper praise thereof, that it first of all other nations did wholie embracethe faith of Christ. That the Britains, although they were subiect to strangers and to the Romane emperors, yet when they had receiued the christian faith, they did spread it ouer all the Iland, not as other nations did, by little and little, but almost at one and the selfe same moment. That although the Saxons had banished the faith of Christ, with the inhabitants of those parts of the Iland which professed it: yet God so loued this place and the Ile, that the light of the gospell did also at length lighten their minds blinded with superstition. That the glorie and nobilitie of this Iland ought to be imputed to the glorie, prouidence, and benefit of and from God: but yet the meane and waie whereby this nobilitie and glorie was gotten, was first and alwaies shewed and opened vnto vs from the church of Rome. That we haue alwaies since that time remained in the vnitie of the Romane faith, that our subiection to the church of Rome hath beene most ancient, and that the same hath with great reuerence and dutie beene obserued by the kings of this realme, as appeareth by the examples of king Offa and Adulphus, who with great charges thought Rome (although by long iourneies) to be visited, because they had first receiued the seeds of truth from them. That Charles the great, when he ordeined the vniuersitie of Paris, called out of England Alcuine the great and eloquent diuine to laie the foundation of all learning at Paris. That pope Adrian the fourth was an Englishman, who first conuerted Norwaie to the christian faith; and that he, led with the loue of his countrie, gaue the gouernment

Cardinall Poole maketh an oration in the parlement house.

Pope Adrian an Englishman.

of Ireland which belonged to the pope, to Henrie the second, king of England. That he would ouerpasse not onelie the infinit multitude of benefits, which the English had receiued before other nations from the church of Rome, but also the calamities and reproches which it hath receiued from the time wherein it fell from that see. And therefore that he would onelie laie before their eies Asia, Greece, and Germanie, latelie dispersed into so manie factions, and diuers religions, with the ruins and afflictions which had happened vnto them since they fell from the Romane faith. That the cause of falling from that see in them, was auarice the root of all euill; but in England onelie the cause was the lust and riot of one man, who although he obteined great riches by that change, yet he not onelie consumed them to nothing, but was also brought far in debt. That the church of Rome might with extreame force and the helpe of other nations haue subdued England; but she had rather wait the daie and time from God, which suddenlie happened, and was at hand, after that churches were spoiled, altars ouerthrowne, all holie things profaned, and vtter despaire of recouerie thereof. For religion, which laie buried in the queenes brest, as it were fire quenched, or a sparke raked vp in the ashes, did now become a great flame, and lighten all England. That she being disherited, reiected, weake, and beset with most strong enimies for the right of the crowne, yet being a virgin, did from heauen obteine victorie beyond mans expectation, and got power to gouerne, thereby to vnite England to the Romane vnitie. That strength did grow for the confirmation of that matter, by the mariage with the catholike prince the emperors sonne with the queene of England; which emperor of all the princes christian had bestowed most trauell in ioining togither the dispersed church; in which though it had not his happie and wished successe, by means of the turmoiles of the wars: yet that remained to be performed by his peacefull sonne king Philip, which his father had begun for the vnitie of that church, in building the house of God, after the example of Dauid and Solomon. To the ioining and establishing of which vnitie, there was two powers giuen by God, which were like vnto two swords, that is the ciuill or temporall, and the ecclesiasticall, whereof the one belongeth to kings to vse against rebels and stubborne persons, in punishing them by death, banishment, and other temporall paines; the other sword is the celestiall keies, which conteineth the binding or absoluing to and from eternall paines, which onelie belongeth to the pope and court of Rome, the vicar of Christ in earth. In the end he concluded with the authoritie granted vnto him by the pope, to reconcile England to the Romane faith: and therefore it was his dutie to impart it vnto such as might receiue it. But they were such as were not capable thereof, by reason of the established lawes made in their schisme from the court of Rome, which were impediments therevnto; wherefore the same were first to be abrogated, and that doone, the blessing of the church of Rome (which neuer shutteth hir lap against such as returne vnto hir) was there at hand, as it were of a deere mother to be bestowed vpon her children.

Two swords ciuill and ecclesiasticall.

This oration did Poole vtter with such eloquence and art, that it wrapt all such as were dedicate to the Romane ceremonies into such an admiration of him, as that they openlie said they were new borne that daie, although there were some in the same parlement (as saith Matthew Parker) which spake against the receiuing of the popes authoritie. But by the kings and queenes furtherance and power ioined with the multitude of voices, the authoritie of the pope was by speciall law established: a thing neuer doone before in England. Which doone, the cardinall absolued the queene and realme, and vnited them to the church of Rome: which absolution Gardiner bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England did declare at Paules crosse the next sundaie in a sermon there made. Of which returne of England to the church of Rome there was great reioising in the citie of Rome; and

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(as hath Matthew Parker) Amplissimus annus Iubileus à Iulio tertio papa promulgatus. Wherevpon the king and queene of England sent Thomas Thurlbie bishop of Elie, Anthonie Browne knight, Vicount Montague, and Edward Kernen or Kerne knight, ambassadors to Rome, to declare the same subiection of the church of England. But when these ambassadors were on their waie, they receiued intelligence of the death of pope Iulie, to whom Marcellus did succeed, who died the twentith daie after that he had receiued the popedome. Wherfore these ambassadors did make some delaie in their iourneie, vntill their ambassage were renewed in the name of the new pope, which was Peter the cardinall Theatin (of whom we spake before) called Paule the fourth, being a great enimie both to the emperor and Poole, and so studious of the French causes, that when fiue yeres truce was taken betweene the emperor and the French king, he procured (by the helpe of the cardinall of Loraine) that the same should be vndoone.

To this pope therefore did the legats of England offer obedience in the name of the kingdome. But Poole which vnderstood the old displeasure which this pope did beare vnto him, and doubting some danger that might thereby happen vnto him, did diligentlie labor with the king and queene, when the ambassadors were returned home, that he might obteine the bishoprike of Canturburie, after that Cranmer were executed for heresie, least that his legantine power being taken from him, he should be called backe to Rome, and be euillie intreated of the pope, who had fined and imprisoned manie of the cardinals which were imperialists. Now we said before, that Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, knowing the dislike that was betweene this pope and cardinall Poole, did seeke to obteine the honour of a cardinall, and the legantine power by secret drifts, and therefore laboured that Poole should not burne Cranmer, so long as Gardiner liued. But in this seeking for these honours, Gardiner died, and Cranmer was burnt. After which the king and queene did earnestlie desire of the pope, that Poole might be inuested with the archbishoprike of Canturburie, for the common consideration of the cause of England (latelie by the comming of Poole conuerted to the Romane faith) did somewhat mitigate the displeasure which the pope conceiued against this cardinall Poole. Wherefore the pope in the assemblie of the cardinals did (by cardinall Moronus, who was then called the protector of England in the Romane court) not onelie nominat Poole to be archbishop of Canturburie, but did highlie praise the man. And bicause Poole had not as yet receiued the order of priesthood, but was onelie a deacon, he receiued of pope Paule vnder the pretext of prouision, this generall title of the generall administrator of the bishoprike and prouince of Canturburie, vntill that he were made preest; which being had, the pope determined that the same title should cease and passe into the name of archbishop; and in the meane time gaue in the same bull of prouision, full authoritie, that Poole should lawfullie reteine with the archbishoprike, all benefices, dignities, and all pensions whatsoeuer, issuing out of ecclesiasticall liuings, for the maintenance of his honour of archbishop, cardinall, and legat.

Poole laboreth to be archbishop of Canturburie.

1555

After this, he being made preest in the conuent church of the Franciscane friers of Greenewich the two and twentith daie of March, he was by the popes authoritie consecrated archbishop of Canturburie by Nicholas Heath archbishop of Yorke, in the presence of the bishops of London, Elie, Worcester, Lincolne, Rochester, and saint Assaph; Poole swearing obedience to the pope, as other his predecessors had doone; which oth he tooke during the time of the masse, in the sight of the king, the queene, and manie other councellors. Three daies after, which was the daie of the annuntiation of the virgin Marie, being accompanied with Edmund Boner bishop of London, the earle of Penbrooke, and sir Edward Hastings knight of the garter, he went most honourablie vnto the parish church of the arches or Bow in

London (Vbi primo as saith Matthew Parker pontificia sacra fecit) with the ensignes of his cardinalship and legantine power, manie generall aduocats and procurators going before him. After whose comming into the said church, he placed himselfe attired in his cardinals weed, in a gilden seat, set about with golden carpets and cushins, at what time masse was celebrated by the bishop of Worcester, with vnaccustomed pompe. During which, Thurlebie bishop of Elie was present, to whom a certain papall writing with the pall was giuen by Dauid Powell archdeacon of Derbie, which being receiued, the bishops all mitred and clad in their pontificalibus, did put the pall vpon the shoulders of Poole with the accustomed speech and ceremonies: which doone, the cardinall goeth into the pulpit, where he discoursed of the signification, vse, originall, and matter of the same pall, but verie slenderlie, as was by manie supposed. These things thus doone, the archbishop tooke possession of his see, and was installed (without the accustomed shew and magnificence) by his procurator Robert Collins his commissarie of Canturburie, the first kalends of Aprill. After this to put in vse the authoritie giuen him by the pope for the maintenance of his estate, he taketh the profits of the bishoprike of Win-
1556 chester during the vacancie of that see; which when White bishop of Lincolne did desire, bicause that he was borne in that diocesse and was sometime maister of Wickham college in Winchester, he promised to giue to the cardinall a thousand
Ex archiuis. pounds English during his life, and one yere after, and so obteined the bishoprike of Winchester as hath Matthew Paris, for which couenants bicause they sauoured of simonie, both they were to be absolued by the pope. Now when queene Marie (as we said before in Cranmer) had remitted vnto the clergie the first fruits and tenths, which were before granted to king Henrie the eight, his heires and successors of the kingdome, she committed all that matter to Poole: to whome the cleargie (thinking themselues discharged of the burthen of these first fruits and tenths) did notwithstanding the queenes grant wholie paie the same. The cause whereof was pretended to be this. King Henrie the eight vpon the dissolution of the religious houses, did grant yeerelie stipends to manie of the moonks and other persons, all which Poole would haue to be paid out of the first fruits and tenths, least the queene might feele the hurt of this liberall grant, when hir treasure being greatlie weakened therewith, should not suffice to beare the charges of those grants of king Henrie the eight. Whereby it followed, that this grant of the queene did more hinder than profit the cleargie: for manie with the hope of this release of their first fruits, did put in no suerties to paie the same, which they ought to haue doone vnder a great paine set downe by that law, which gaue them to king Henrie the eight; for want of which suerties they were after called into the law, as writeth Matthew Parker in these words: Illi in ius de stipulatione ac fidei iussione de primitijs danda vocati, dum in iure contenderent, fisci procuratoribus ac ministris, cum consuetæ sportulæ essent pendendæ, miserè plectebantur, soluendáque tum dilationibus factis earum residua, quæ arreragia dicuntur, mortuis paulo post tam regina Maria quàm Polo cardinale, maximo ministerij detrimento regina Elisabetha regnante iterum repetita sunt, postquam pontificius clerus amotus & abdicatus fuisset.

That same yeare Poole deseruing well of the see of Canturburie, obteined of the queene that the patronage of nineteene ecclesiasticall benefices placed in Kent within his diocesse were giuen vnto that see. Besides which he procured not anie great profit vnto that chaire, but onelie, in building the long gallerie of Lambeth on the east side, with the inferior buildings and parlor ioined to the same: for the charge which he meant to haue bestowed upon the palace of Canturburie was neuer doone, by reason that he was preuented by death. This archbishop held a synod at London in S. Paules church, wherein he established all things which might

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strengthen the subiection of England to the church of Rome: all which he publisht in a book intituled; The reformation of the church of England, conteining twelue chapters, amongst which this was one, for frugalitie and moderat diet in England, as worthie remembrance, and to be followed by our now clergie, his words be these: Quia exemplum vitæ magnam authoritatem verbo adfert, estque velut quoddam prædicandi genus, ob id curandum est ijs, qui alijs præsunt, vt cæteris cùm morum probitate, vitæque sanctitate tum ea propriam domum rectè gubernandi laude, quàm in episcopis apostolus requirit, antecellant. Nullo igitur prælati fastu, nulla pompa vtantur, non vestibus sericis, non pretiosa suppelectile, sed eorum mensa frugalis & parca, non plus quàm tria aut ad summum quatuor (quod etiam magis pro huius temporis ratione, indulgendo quàm probando concedimus) ciborum genera præter fructus & bellaria, qualescunque hospites aut conuiuas habeant apponantur. Reliqua mensæ condimenta sint charitas, sanctorum librorum lectio, & sermones pij. Domesticorum & equorum numerosa & superflua multitudine abstineant, ac tot ministris contenti sint, quot ad curæ sibi commissæ administrationem, ac domus regimen, & quotiadianos vitæ vsus erunt necessarij. Thus much Poole.

A law made for frugalitie and moderat diet, to be kept of the cleargie.

Touching which sparing and frugalitie of diet, Cranmer before him, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fortie and one, did make somwhat a more large decree. For he appointed six dishes of fish and flesh to an arch bishop, fiue to a bishop, to deanes and archdeanes foure, and to inferior persons three; with foure dishes of fruit, or such like, for an archbishop, three for a bishop, and two for the rest. But neither Cranmer nor Poole with all their laws (the greater is the pitie) could restreine the inordinat and needles superfluitie of fare in England. For though these orders were for some small time obserued; yet within one month after they returned to their accustomed diet and banketing. But to returne to the course of the historie for this archbishop, we saie, that queene Marie to succor hir husband now entred into the warres of France, sent defiance vnto the French king, which did so much incense pope Paule the fourth, who fauored the Frenchmen, that his dailie mislike of cardinall Poole grew more great against him, and that the rather, because Poole had directed letters vnto the pope, and sent messengers, by whome he did with great reuerence and vehemence deale with the pope, that the same warres might be appeased, through the mediation of his holinesse, which Poole did know to haue furthered the same. Wherefore the pope taking awaie his legantine power from this cardinall Poole, did call him backe to Rome, and in that office did place William Peter (as hath Matthew Parker) one of the order of the Franciscans to be both cardinall and legat, if this name of William Peter in the printed booke be not mistaken for Peter Peto the frier Minor, being made legat and cardinall at this instant 1557, as appeareth in my discourse of cardinals. When the pope had called Poole to Rome, he was not satisfied therwith, but committed to prison cardinall Moronus the familiar freend of cardinall Poole. All which being knowen to queene Marie before they came vnto the eares of Poole, she (vnknowledging to this archbishop) commanded, that they which should come into England from the pope, should not land at anie hauen by the helpe of the English: adding moreouer, that if anie letters were brought, that they should be intercepted and deliuered to the queene, and not to Poole. For which cause she further sent vnto hir ambassador at Rome, to declare vnto the pope, that if this legantine power were taken from Poole and giuen vnto Peter, that the Romane religion new set vp in England would be in greter danger. Wherefore the pope with great heed ought to beware, that if he went foorth in this determination, that it would breed such turmoile in England, as would not easilie be againe appeased. Wherevnto the pope answered, that Poole by probable reasons of the court of Rome, was fallen into the suspicion

The pope incensed against England.

Poole a suspected heretike.

suspicion of heresie, and for that cause was commanded to come to Rome: Vt (saith Matthew Parker) suum cum Moroni cardinalis ac familiaris sui confessione iuncta habeatur de præsenti inquisitio, ne cui tanti momenti negotio absenti præiudicaretur. Which thing, although queene Marie meant to haue had kept from Poole, yet he vnderstood the same by other messengers, and therefore omitted to beare the siluer crosse, left the administration of the legantine power, and by post horsses sent to Rome to the pope one Nicholas Ormanet (called the popes datarie, whose diligence in that legantine power cardinall Poole did cheefelie vse) to defend Poole in all things, to render account of his orderlie vsing of the legantine power, and to open the state of religion in England. The pope gladlie receiued Ormanet, and gaue him hearing in the behalfe of Poole, but said, he greatlie maruelled by whose persuasion the queene of England made wars with the French, whereby a great slaughter and captiuitie of the French men was had at saint Quintins, from which warre he said that his legat Poole ought and might haue dissuaded the queene, wherefore he deemed his negligence or permission therein, and thereof vnworthie of legantine power. For as touching the other suspicions of heresie laid against him, said they, were wholie vniust and malicious, from which the holiest man that euer was, no not Christ himselfe could be free. Which said, the pope permitted Poole to keepe his legantine authoritie, vntill he should send cardinall Carafa his brothers son to set a peace between king Philip and the French, and so gaue leaue vnto Ormanet to returne into England vnto cardinall Poole, who was somewhat reuiued by the comming of Ormanet. But because he vnderstood through the talke betweene the pope and him that Carafa the new cardinall, Qui (as saith Parker) ex gregaria Galli miliatia ad id muneris nuper ab auunculo suo papa assumptus est, should come vnto the emperor, he expected that Carafa would be a sharpe censuror of all his deeds, in the administration of his legantine power. Wherfore this cardinall Poole proceeded verie streictlie against the euangelicals, and not onelie pursued the liuing, but also stretched his power vpon the bones of the dead. For first, visiting his diocesse of Canturburie, he after sent Iohn Christopherson bishop of Chichester, and Cutbert Scot bishop of Chester, with doctor Cole and Ormanet (whome he preferred in all things) to be his delegat iudges to visit the vniuersities of Oxford and Cambridge, and to reduce them vnto the rule of the Romane religion. Which commissioners amongst other things did at Oxford burne the buried bones of the wife of Peter Martyr, and at Cambridge the bones of Martine Bucer and Paulus Phagius, after that they were solemnlie condemned of heresie; at which time they scarse refreined their hands from the dead carcases of the kings, Henrie the eight and Edward the sixt.

The losse of Calis the death of queene Marie.

All things thus doone, and (as it seemed) in quiet, Calis was lost to the French, which thing greatlie greeued the people, and the queene so vehementlie, that she tooke it at the hart, and neuer after recouered it; being in such agonie, as that she neither could nor would be comforted by anie, sith king Philip hir husband was then also absent, whereby in the end she died. But before the queens death there was a parlement and a synod holden, in which synod Poole declared vnto the clergie how heauilie the queene did take the losse of Calis; wherfore to comfort hir, he persuaded the clergie, that they should willinglie promise to giue liberallie of their owne substance towards the maintenance of continuall warres against the French. Whereunto the clergie was led vpon condition, that they might be free from all other manner of charges of armour, horsse, and men, and other warlike expenses, the which was after obteined by the intercession of Poole; and yet the prelats entred into a priuat conference amongst themselues, to prouide all armor necessarie for their own defense (as they said

in that synod) against the force of the enimies. This doone, the queene did shortlie after depart this life (during this parlement and synod) vpon thursdaie, which that yeare was the seuenteenth daie of Nouember, in hir manor of saint Iames betweene the houres of fiue and six of the clocke in morning. Vpon whose death on that daie this is not to be ouerpassed in silence, that thursdaie was a fatall and funerall daie to three princes succeeding one after an other, being of one bloud and line; were Henrie the eight the father, king Edward the sixt the sonne, and this queene Marie daughter to the first, and sister to the last, but not by one woman.

A fatall daie to three princes.

In which yere a feuer quartane deuoured manie persons, and namelie of the clergie; which feuer at this time, and on the daie of the death of queene Marie, did twise giue two fits to cardinall Poole, which troubled him so greatlie, that he shortlie died on the same daie, or (as others haue) the next morning, when he heard of the death of queene Marie. Wherein seemeth to be no lesse sympathie and consent of minds, and influences of the heauens in them at that time of their death; than there was by birth, nighnesse of blood and consanguinitie, and by education and societie in their yoong yeares a consent in maners and religion in the time of their liues. The death of which cardinall occasioned manie then to saie, that he poisoned himselfe as one that hated to liue to see the change of religion, and doubting the mercie of the noble succeeding queene, whom he had secretlie offended. Which procuring of his owne death I cannot be led to beleeue for manie reasons, but speciallie for that Matthew Parker speaketh not thereof, who of purpose hath larglie set downe his life, and to the vttermost recited whatsoeuer touched him, either for dispraise, or opening of his euill actions. Which I leaue to the iudgement of others, not hauing at this present sufficient time to set downe euerie thing, which the same reuerend father and worthie author hath spoken or aggrauated with or against him. He died (as I saie) the same daie wherin the queene died, the third hour of the night, after that he had liued seuen and fiftie yeares and six moneths, had ruled in the archbishops chaire two yeares seuen moneths three weekes and fiue daies, and had exercised his legantine power foure yeares and six daies; whose bodie was first conueyed from Lambeth to Rochester, where it rested one night, being brought into the church of Rochester at the west doore, not opened manie yeres before. At what time my selfe then a yoong scholer beheld the funerall pompe thereof, which trulie was great and answerable both to his birth and calling, with store of burning torches and mourning weedes. At what time his coffin being brought into the church was couered with a cloth of blacke veluet, with a great crosse of white satten ouer all the length and bredth of the same, in the middest of which crosse his cardinals hat was placed. From Rochester he was conueied to Canturburie, where the same bodie (being first before it came to Rochester inclosed in lead) was (after three daies spent in his commendations, set foorth in Latine and English) committed to the earth in the chapell of Thomas Becket. The toome of which Poole is yet to be seene so plaine and base as maie be, the same being onelie a heape of bricke mortised together, with the top like to the ridge or couer of a house onelie plastered ouer with lime, besides which is set his armes and this deuise of his: A globe, round about which a snake did spirallie wind hir selfe, vpon whose head did stand a white doone, and besides the same this poesie written, Prudens simplicitas: which bearing manie, and those both wise and learned expositions, I leaue to euerie man to iudge as his humor pleaseth, especiallie sith he maie see the same deuise at this daie ouer the entrance into the defaced church of the knights of S. Iohns of Ierusalem neere Smithfield besides London. Which deuise standing there, prooueth that this cardinall had begun to repare that church, and thought fullie

Poole supposed to haue poisoned himselfe.

The pompe at Poole's funerall.

to

Restitution of the knights of the Rhodes.

to haue brought thither the knights of Malta, sometime known by the name of the knights of the Rhodes, and knights of S. Iohns of Ierusalem, in as ample number as that order possessed that house before the same was dissolued in the time of king Henrie the eight, which was not doone so fullie as he ment; for but some few were gathered thither vnder their lord and prior sir Thomas Tresham knight. At the time of the death of this cardinall he greatlie fauoured and trusted strangers, to whom he principallie gaue all that he had, making Aloisius Priolus a senator of Venice, the heire of all his substance, to whose trust he committed the disposition of his will, and the performance of his legacies, who did it accordinglie, giuing liberallie to all men, but speciallie to such as came out of Italie, or from other far countries with him into England. Which gratitude the Italians affirme that Poole vsed to them because he found honorable support amongst them when he remained there, and was banished his countrie. At what time of disposing of his goods, Priolus himselfe seemed so modest and temperate in taking or withholding anie of the riches of the cardinall, that he gaue to euerie man his due, and further reteined nothing thereof to his own vse, but two praier bookes, which were a breuiarie and a diurnall.

Matthew Parker.

Matthew Parker was made archbishop of Canturburie in this sort. After the death of queene Marie, and that the noble princesse Elisabeth obteined the crowne, who abolished all Romane ceremonies and altered the state of religion; shee had care first to place a most graue and wise person in the principall see of hir kingdome, to the end that he sitting at the sterne of the ship of ecclesiasticall gouernment, might direct the same according as the gospell required: wherefore she nominated to that place doctor Nicholas Wootton, a man of no lesse wisdome and experience than he was of great seruice imploied for the benefit of his countrie. But he refusing the same, as one who in his old yeares would not accept so heuie a charge, Matthew Parker was most worthilie aduanced to that place, of whose birth, education, desert, and learning, which brought him to that see, we will intreat as followeth, in some part taken out of a booke written of his life.

This Matthew was borne at Norwich on the sixt of August, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and foure, being about the twentith yeare of Henrie the seuenth, of honest parents being citizens of Norwich, wherof his fathers name was William Parker, and his mother called Alois or Alice; of which two, the first died the tenth of Ianuarie one thousand fiue hundred and sixteene, being about the eight yere of king Henrie the eight; and the second departed the world the twentith of September, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, falling in the first yeare of the reigne of queene Marie. These parents of this Matthew procured him to be brought vp in grammar, and such lerning at home with them, vntill he came to seuenteene or eighteene yeares of age; but when his father was dead, and he left in the custodie of his mother, he was sent to Cambridge, where he was mainteined by hir charge, and nourished in Corpus Christi college. But shortlie after his comming thither, when his good increase of learning was perceiued, he had (as one hath written of him) appointed to him Stipendium e collegij vectigalibus, vt sacram bibliam socijs legeret, cuius generis scolares bibliotistæ dicuntur. Wherevpon he thus made one of that number, and abating his mothers charge, did in saint Marie hall (belonging to Corpus Christi college) diligentlie applie his time in the studie of logike and philosophie, by meanes of which studies (after that he had consumed three yeares and somewhat more in the same) he was made bachellor of arts in the fourth yeare after his comming to Cambridge, and within three yeares following, a professor

Matthew Parker a Bible clarke.

fessor or master of art, and fellow of the foresaid college. After which his first training vp in these humane arts, he did (as he grew in yeares and riper iudgment) applie himselfe to higher studies, giuing himselfe to diuinitie, the onelie knowledge wherein the most excellent part of man receiueth cheefest comfort in this life. In which kind of studie he bestowed such diligent and painfull trauell, that he red ouer the doctors and councels in the space of fiue yeares; which being so spent, he then began to come foorth into the world to shew what he was, and to labour in the vineyard of Christ his church.

Wherefore hauing obteined the kings grant, and the licence of Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie to preach, he made his first sermon in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, preaching afterward in manie other famous places of England to his singular commendation; and at length by degrees was admitted in the Lent time amongst other learned persons, to preach before king Henrie the eight, king Edward the sixt, and queene Elisabeth. Whose fame thereby growing great, and king Henrie the eight liking of him, this Matthew was called into the court; and by the king made the chapline of queene Anne, mother to the now liuing renowned princesse Elisabeth, to whome God grant a long, happie, and peacefull life and gouernement, making hir enimies hir footstoole. When he was thus the queenes chapline, the king and she bestowed manie great gifts vpon him. For first he was made deane of Stoke, which is not far from Clare in Suffolke. Then after (being made bachellor of diuinitie) he obteined of king Henrie the eight to haue a prebend in the church of Elie, and by the intercession of the same king (for his learning sake) he shortlie after obteined to haue the degree of doctor of diuinitie, and to be chosen (by the fellows of that house) to be maister or ruler of Corpus Christi college, in which he had beene first brought vp, and which he did after increase with large gifts: besides the furnishing of the librarie there with manie rare and notable monuments and ancient histories of this realme.

The first sermon that Matthew Parker made.

See before.

After the death of king Henrie the eight, he was aduanced to be chapline to king Edward the sixt, by whose benefit he was made deane of Lincolne, and obteined the prebendarie of Coldingham in the same church, with the rectorie of Landbeech in the diocesse of Elie, foure miles from Cambridge, which was bestowed vpon him by the gift and patronage of the fellowes of his college. With which reuenues and dignities this bishop being thus indowed, he did not miserablie spend the same; but imploied it for the benefit of the common welth, and kept the college of Stoke (desired and obteined of the king by the laitie) vntill in the first yeare of king Edward the sixt it was prouided by parlement, that the same college should come to the kings hand, by reason whereof he was inforced to depart therewith, hauing yearelie fortie pounds allowed him out of the excheker for the same. The losse of which college he tooke the more greeuouslie, because he had there built a schoole, and appointed a yearelie stipend for the maintenance of a schoole maister there; which schoole he yet left, notwithstanding the taking awaie of the college, in such a state as he could by all meanes procure to haue it remaine.

After this, when king Edward was dead, and his sister queene Marie succeeded, and that in the second yeare of hir reigne all the maried cleargie were remooued from their ecclesiasticall liuings: this Matthew was also depriued of all his promotions, and so liued contented without them, during all the time of queene Marie. After the death of the same queene, when the noble and heroicall woman the queene Elisabeth obteined the crowne (remoouing all such Romane ceremonies as were renewed by hir sister Marie) manie such persons as were exiled in those seuere times of queene Maries reigne returned into England; and such as then had secretlie hidden themselves within the realme for their religions

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cause, began now to step foorth into the light, and openlie shew themselues in the world. Amongst which latter sort was this Matthew Parker, known to the queene and hir councell from the time of his youth, being by the iudgement of all men thought meet, both for his learning, grauitie and iudgement, to be aduanced to some spirituall promotion. Wherefore he was named to the archbishoprike of Canturburie, which offered dignitie the more he refused to accept, was the more vehementlie vrged vpon him; whereof there be manie witnesses liuing, and of them in the highest degree of credit with the queene, and of honor in the commonwealth. But at length, what by the commandement of hir maiestie, and the persuasion of his friends, he receiued the title and possession of the bishop and bishoprike of Canturburie: in which, how he behaued himselfe, we shall more liberallie hereafter discourse.

1559 Wherefore in the second yeare of queene Elisabeth, he was on the seuenteenth daie of December chosen to that place by the deane and chapter of that metropolitane see of Canturburie, and was consecrated in the presence of foure bishops: which were William bishop of Chichester, Iohn bishop of Hereford, Miles sometime bishop of Excester, and Richard bishop of Bedford. In whose consecration, this memorable thing happened vnto him; that being the seuentith bishop after Augustine, he was the first and the onelie man that obteined the same without the popes confirming buls, and without anie Aronicall ornaments of gloues, rings, sandals, slippers, miter, pall, or such like: Multóque rectiùs (as saith my author) & simpliciùs & puritati euangelicæ congruentiùs, auspicatus est à precibus, & spiritus sancti inuocatione, manuum impositione; pijs ab eo interpositis stipulationibus, indumentis verò archiepiscopali authoritati grauitatique consentaneis, habitóque per doctum & pium theologum pro concione de pastoris in gregem officio, cura & fide, gregisque vicissim in pastorem amore, obsequio, atque reuerentia diserta admonitione, eaque finita eucharistiæ à frequenti grauissimorum hominum cœtu perceptione, & ad extremum omnium communi & ardenti oratione, vt munus iam illi impositum maximè cedat ad Dei gloriam, gregis salutem, suæque conscientiæ lætum testimonium, cùm coram Domino gesti muneris rationem sit redditurus.

The maner of consecrating Matthew Parker archbishop of Canturburie.

Now to go forward with him, being in this sort consecrated archbishop, there was a law made in the first yeare of our queene Elisabeth, wherein it was appointed, that commissioners named by the prince, should haue authoritie to deale in ciuill
1558 and ecclesiasticall causes; least in such varietie and dissention of religion, the church of England might suffer some inconuenience and hurt. In which commission this Matthew as he was first placed for his office and dignitie, so was he most carefull in trauelling therin, and executing thereof: who in dooing the same, behaued himselfe with such modestie and vprightnesse, that he displeased none in correction of things not rightlie doone but certeine new fansied fellows, who puffed vp with vaine glorie, did first conceiue, set foorth, and defend (rather with rashnesse and will, than with iudgement and learning) certeine new opinions to trouble the ordered state of the commonwealth: whose vniust complaints and contumelies he tooke so moderatlie, that he neither left the mildnesse of his owne nature, nor went beyond the dignitie of his archiepiscopall calling, nor did maliciouslie punish their lightnesse and rash vnaduisednesse. For what his sufferance was, to regaine these degenerat persons to the publike religion; what his pietie was, in seeking to reconcile such of the nobilitie, as law controuersies had sundered in amitie; and what his patience was, in suffering all kinds of iniuries, whereby he brake and auoided the malice and boldnesse of manie, and bound vnto him the wise and better sort; all they knew which were dailie conuersant with him: which if by proofe they did not, yet the same might be more coniectured by others, vpon his mild and well ordered actions, than we can here presentlie write. Now be-

Registr. Matth. Parker.

side

side manie other things which he shewed for proofe of his patience and gentle nature, there were other good parts in him: for although he was manie times troubled with sickenesse, yet would he often ascend the pulpit and preach, both in his metropolitane church, and in other parishes. But leauing these and manie commendable vertues, wherewith he was indued, let us come to those things which happened in the time of his archbishoprike.

In the first yeare of hisconsecration, he did at Lambeth consecrat eleuen, and confirme two bishops in his prouince; and within the next two yeares did with the consecration of new bishops fill vp all the number of the bishoprikes of his owne prouince, except onelie the see of Landaffe, which still kept Anthonie the bishop, who possessed the same in the time of queene Marie. These bishops, which were by him so consecrated in that first yeare, were Edmund Grindall bishop of London, Richard Cox bishop of Elie, Edwine Sands bishop of Worcester Iohn Hewell bishop of Salisburie, Gilbert Berkeleie bishop of Bath and Wels, Iohn Beaton bishop of Lichfield and Couentrie, Rowland Mericke bishop of Bangor, Thomas Yoong bishop of saint Dauids, and Richard Dauid bishop of saint Assaph, all diuines; and such as being fled out of England in the time of queene Marie, were returned in the beginning of the reigne of queene Elisabeth. Besides which, he consecrated two other bishops, which secretlie remained in England in the daies of the same queene Marie: whereof the one was Nicholas Buslingham, brought vp in the ciuill and cannon lawes, who (being in the time of Edward the sixt vicar generall of the bishop of Lincolne, was remoued from thense in queene Maries reigne, and after in the beginning of this queenes time, appointed by the said Matthew Parker to be iudge of his courts) was now by him consecrated bishop of Lincolne. The other bishop was Edmund Ghest a learned diuine, and one of the familie or houshold of the archbishoprike and archdeacon of Canturburie, whome this Matthew aduanced to the bishoprike of Rochester. In which yeare also, this archbishop confirmed in their bishoprikes William Barlow bishop of Bath and Wels in the time of king Edward the sixt, now made bishop of Chichester, and Iohn Scorie bishop of Chichester in the reigne of Edward the sixt, now aduanced to the bishoprike of Hereford.

The next yeare he consecrated at Lambeth Robert Horne (sometime deane of Durham before his banishment in queene Maries time) bishop of Winchester. Iohn Parkhurst bishop of Norwich, Richard Cheneie bishop of Glocester, Thomas Dauid bishop of saint Assaph, and Edmund Schambler bishop of Peterborough, being his houshold chapleine. Besides these, he confirmed also in the same yeare Thomas Yoong, remooued from saint Dauids to the archbishoprike of Yorke, and Thomas Dauid bishop of saint Dauids being remooued from the see of Assaph to saint Dauids. When all the bishoprikes of his prouince were thus replenished, Anthonie bishop of Tauens or Landaffe departed the world, in whose place Hugh Dauid doctor of law did succeed, and was also consecrated at Lambeth. So that by this time all the number of bishops in his prouince receiued consecration at the hands of this Matthew. A thing woorthie the noting, because all histories haue set it down for a speciall thing, if anie archbishop had in his time consecrated three or foure other bishops, as Anselme is said to haue in one daie consecrated fiue bishops, and Plegmund his predecessor seuen bishops, a thing whereat antiquitie did maruell: but this Matthew in the first yeare of his consecration, did consecrat eleuen, and confirme two. And in the three first years of his archieposcopall dignitie he did fill vp all the bishopriks of his prouince; a thing which neuer happened to anie archbishop of Canturburie before the daies of this man. This doone, he appointed visitations, in which himselfe did visit his owne diocesse of Canturburie.

In histor. Ebor. episco. cap. 51.

At what time, to auoid all note and suspicion of gaine, he did not onelie willinglie remit to euerie parish their accustomed charges to be paid for those causes, but did further in all his iourneie defraie the expenses thereof vpon his owne cost. In the rest of his diocesses, either he did not visit, least he should greeue the people with the charge thereof; or else appointed that visitation to some other moderat person to be his procurator therein, which neuer demanded allowance therefore; or if he had anie allowance, the same was bestowed in his name vpon some bishop whose profits were but small: as on the bishop of Excester: or else it was distributed to the poore, as happened in the visitation of Norwich.

The marriage and issue of Matthew Parker.

Thus hauing spoken somewhat of his publike dooings, let vs now also saie somewhat of his priuat actions. This man liuing priuatlie at Cambridge maried his wife Margaret, whom he loued seuen yeares before the mariage contracted or celebrated, which time they had to procure mutuall consent betweene them: because king Henrie the eight had established a law, wherein it was treason for anie priest to marie. Wherevpon they were after maried in king Edwards time, in which band they continued two and twentie yeares. During which he had by his wife foure children, whereof two died yoong, and the other two were called Iohn and Matthew, whom he diligentlie brought vp in the vniuersitie of Cambridge; both which comming to mans estate, were after maried in the episcopall tribe. For the eldest Iohn did marie Ione the daughter of Richard Cox bishop of Elie, the other tooke to wife Francis the daughter of William Barlow bishop of Chichester. The domesticall traine of this bishop was honorable after his estate, to euerie one of whom this law was set, to be at the seruice in the time appointed, or else to be fined with the losse of his dinner. His hall was in orderlie sort kept, as it had beene in the daies of his predecessors. For on the right side thereof, his steward kept the table for the archbishops gentlemen, and such other strangers: and on the other side did sit the almoner with his clearks, and the rest of his houshold: whose tables were so well furnished, as these officers were appointed to interteine (with their diet) all commers (who might thinke themselues satisfied) which were vnder the calling of a knight. And thus this much shortlie touching that matter.

The order of his house.

Now, after that he had beene foure yeares archbishop, paied his first fruits, and furnished his house according to his degree, and established matters for religion; he determined to renew and build the ancient palace of Canturburie belonging to the bishop, being all ruinous, and a great part consumed with fire; which was a hard thing, and of great charge, considering the dearth of all things in these our daies, necessarie therevnto. Which in the end he brought to perfection, to the charge of one thousand foure hundred pounds and more. The charge whereof he was the willinger to susteine, because he vnderstood, that in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and ninteene: Charles the fift the emperor, when he came into England to king Henrie the eight, to visit his aunt queene Katharine, was fested in the same hall. In which feast, Charles and his people had the vpper end of the hall, and king Henrie the eight and queene Katharine kept the lower end thereof. But the chiefest cause, which mooued this bishop to vphold the buildings of his predecessors, was; for that manie kings and queenes had beene crowned, and manie archbishops at their inthronization had kept great feasts in the same hall: and that besides, in the same hall, manie dukes, earles, and noble men, hauing a yearelie pension, therefore, did execute the offices of steward and butler at the installation of the archbishops. As of late, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and foure; when William Warham archbishop of Canturburie did enter the possession of the bishoprike, and kept a sumptuous feast therefore in the same hall, Edward duke of Buckingham did there serue as steward and ruler of all the houshold.

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This hall thus repared, he also bestowed some costs vpon all those parish churches (which were in decaie) whereof exchange was made by king Henrie the eight with Thomas Cranmer, and whereof the queene Elisabeth had receiued the tenths (during the vacancie of the bishoprike) by a law established in the first yeare of hir reigne. Which bishop (albeit he bestowed no great charge vpon his instalment, as manie of his predecessors had doone before, and lastlie cardinall Poole, whome this Matthew succeeded) further considering that the cause of building this great hall, was for the maintenance of hospitalitie, and desirous after the example of the old liberalitie of his predecessors, to make an archiepiscopall feast (worthie such a hall) to the multitude of his parishioners of Kent, did (in the yeare after the reparing of the same hall) take occasion that the same might be replenished with the people of Kent, when all the shire (aswell gentlemen and others were assembled at Canturburie, to wait vpon the iustices of assise) determined there to hold the oier, terminer, and gaole deliuerie. At what time Iohn Soothcot, iustice of the kings bench and Gilbert Gerard then generall attourneie, and now maister of the rolles, were iustices of assise; and sir Thomas Kemp knight was shiriffe for and of that countrie, whome with the gentlemen of the shire this archbishop did inuite to a sumptuous feast.

He fested the iustices of assise, and the whole assemblie of the assises.

Wherevpon they granting to come therevnto, the bishop summoned the rest of the people by an officer and other messengers. On the daie of the appointed feast, the hall was decked with rich clothes, and furnished with much and rich plate and siluer vessell. At what time the iudges, the shiriffes, the knights, gentlemen, and all the whole companie of the bench, with lawyers and other officers attending on the court, togither with the whole multitude of the people, entered the hall, and were placed according to their degrees; no man seruing that daie, but such as were of the archbishops familie. But because the multitude was verie great, these ghests were faine to be set at seuerall times one after another; although in this publike time, when these iudges and other gentlemen were there, no woman was seene amongst them. For they being conueied into the innermost part of his palace, were committed to his wife, and this feast onelie consisted of the men: from whome the bishop receiued great thanks and commendations.

Which generall interteinement he vsed at other times, both there and in manie other places: but because that this was openlie doone in the shew of the whole shire; it seemed, and was reported, to be greater than anie other. For in the Whitsundaie before, when the archbishop had made a sermon to the cleargie and people of Canturburie, in the metropolitane church; and the sacrament was then distributed to the people: he was attended on to his house by the deane and cleargie, by the maior and citizens, and by diuerse gentlemen of Kent; whome he had that daie inuited to dinner. In which feast, (which continued three daies) the archbishop sat in his hall at the vpper end thereof. On whose right side sat the maior and the citizens; and on the other side ouer against them were placed the women. Which order was at the rest of the tables set along the hall, where the men were placed on the right side, and the women kept the other part. Which feast so ordered, was celebrated in honor of the queene, which had aduanced him to that see.

Other feasts made by the archbishop to the whole multitude.

This doone, he preached againe on Trinitie sundaie to the people, and administring the sacrament, he bestowed the like feast on the people of Canturburie, in the honor of king Henrie the eight, the last restorer of the church of Canturburie. But this ouerpassed, let vs returne vnto some other thing, least in the midst of all these bankets, I make but a hungrie description of such worthie praise and liberalitie, vsed by so honorable and graue a personage. In the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and six, he consecrated Nicholas Robinson professor of diuinitie, to the bishoprike of saint Dauids, an eloquent man in his mother toong: who com-

1566 Nicholas Robinson made bishop of saint Dauids.

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ming from Cambridge, where he suffered some troubles in queene Maries time, was then this archbishops chapleine. In the yeare following, he confirmed Henrie Curwine doctor of law, bishop of Oxford: who hauing beene archbishop of Dubline, and chancellor of Ireland, was verie skilfull in the ciuill law: which offices when he had worthilie manie yeares discharged, and did now grow in yeares; returned into his countrie, and was translated to the bishoprike of Oxford. After which, this archbishop consecrated Richard Rogers bacheler of diuinitie to be his suffragane, bishop of Douer.

1567 Henrie Curwine archbishop of Dubline, made bishop of Oxford.

1569

1570 The next yeare following, he returned vnto Canturburie, where on Ascension daie, in the metropolitane church, he fed the people with spirituall food; and the Whitsuntide after, for three daies togither, did abundantlie feed both men and women with materiall bread in the palace of Canturburie, after the same order whereof we spake before. In which yeare likewise he remoued the old example of his predecessors a long time pretermitted. For where of old time the bishops were woont to set their consecration at Canturburie; that order was now almost lost, to the preiudice of the right and priuilege of the church of Canturburie, which this archbishop did now restore. Wherefore, when Edmund Grindall bishop of London was to be remoued to the archbishops see of Yorke, and that Richard Curteis bishop of Chichester was chosen: he would haue the consecration of the one, and the confirmation of the other, to be doone at Canturburie in the metropolitane citie. For which cause, in the feast of Trinitie, in which Richard Curteies (which was his chapleine) was freelie consecrated without anie reward. This archbishop after a sermon ended, did make an honorable feast in the memorie of king Henrie the eight, which excluded the moonks from that church: which feast might woorthilie be called an archbishops feast, because the archbishop of Yorke was also inuited thither. At which time, besides the bishop of Yorke, there was Robert Horne bishop of Winchester, Edmund Ghest bishop of Rochester, and this Curteis also now consecrated bishop of Chichester, with all the cleargie of that citie, and other ministers of the church, both men and children. Besides all which, the outward tables of the hall were furnished through with poore people of both kinds, belonging to the hospitall of saint Iohn and Harbaldowne. The next daie following, being mondaie, this Matthew confirmed Edmund Grindall archbishop of Yorke, with the assistance of the bishops of Winchester, Rochester, and Chichester. The same yeare on the third daie of Iulie he began his ordinarie visitation, which with manie intermingled continuations he after deferred vntill the two and twentith of the same moneth. On which daie he published iniunctions for the people and cleargie of his diocesse to obserue: the same being the last session of his visitation, although that he had proroged the same to the feast of the purification of the virgine Marie.

Another feast at the consecration of Curteis bishop of Chichester.

On the eleuenth daie of which moneth, when the iudges were againe (with the whole traine of the shire) assembled at Canturburie to hold the assises, he did once more, as he before had doone, inuite the whole companie to another feast, appointed in all things as the other was. The thursdaie following, Edwin Sands bishop of Worcester, being to be translated to London, came to Canturburie to visit the archbishop: where after he had remained two daies, he had on the saturdaie, when he departed in the morning, his election confirmed at London by the procurators, which were there for him. After which, the archbishop commeth to Lambeth, at what time his wife died, whose bodie was buried in the wals of the porch church of Lambeth, in a chapell, whose right belongeth to those houses of the buildings of Norfolke, whereof by hir husbands sufferance she obteined the inheritance, whilest she liued. On whose toome this sentence grauen in golden letters (promising resurrection to him and to hir) is set downe by hir husband as followeth:

Qui credet in me non moritur in æternum.

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The same yeare the six and twentith of Ianuarie, he confirmed the election of Nicholas Bullingham bishop of Lincolne to the bishoprike of Worcester, in whose see at Lincolne was Thomas Cooper placed, and consecrated at Lambeth the foure and twentith of Februarie. And in the same yeare, the eighteenth daie of March, he consecrated William Bradbridge, professor of diuinitie, and deane of Salisburie, to the bishoprike of Excester. Then he new shingled his house at Lambeth, making there a new bridge into the Thames, and reparing the notable solarie or sellar in the garden built at the charge of Cranmer, and almost now destroied. Besides which, he further repared two water courses, one comming into the garden, and the other into the inner cloister, to serue the common vse of the houshold. Moreouer in the same yeare he procured the new street in Cambridge, directlie leading from the west part of saint Maries church, to the gates of the publike schooles, to be new painted, and to be walled on both sides with bricke. Next in the same yeare, in the month of March, he consecrated at Lambeth, Edmund Ghest (bishop of Rochester) to the bishoprike of Salisburie: but because the archdeacon of Canturburie, whose office is to put the consecrated bishops into the possession of their sees deceassed at this time, this Ghest was inducted of the archbishop, by the procurator. After which, in the same place, Iohn Freake professor of diuinitie and deane of Salisburie was made bishop of Rochester, and inducted therevnto by a procurator: at whose consecration were present the bishops Robert and Edmund, the first of Winchester, the second of Salisburie. But leauing this, let vs saie somewhat of his humanitie and courtesie vsed towards such as were committed to restreint vnder his custodie for matters of religion, who were Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Durham, Thomas Thurlebie bishop of Elie, Iohn Boxall secretarie to queene Marie, Richard Smith professor of diuinitie, doctor Tresham chancellor of Oxford, Edward Rice esquier, and Henrie Howard brother to Thomas duke of Norffolke; all which he vsed with great lenitie and honor, bestowing the charge of the honorable buriall of Cutbert Tunstall, and causing maister Rice, and Henrie Howard vtterlie to renounce the Romane religion, as saith the author of the life of this Matthew.

Solarium.

After this, on the twelfe daie of Aprill, was the yoong baron the lord Sturton committed also to this archbishop; who because the queene came that summer into Kent, went also thither with this archbishop. Of which the queenes progresse into that countrie (wherein my selfe was borne and bred, and wherein I haue both manie friends and kinred (whome this progresse toucheth) I must aswell (for the loue which I naturallie beare vnto it, as for the courtesie I dailie receiue in it) leaue some memorie to posteritie. Thus therefore I enter into hir maiesties progresse into that countrie. The fourteenth daie of Iulie being wednesdaie, the worthie queene Elisabeth departed from Greenwich, and went to Croidon, where with hir traine she remained in the archbishops house; from thense she passed to Orpington, to the house of sir Persiuall Hart, an old knight and ancient courtier, where she staied three daies, from thense remooving to hir owne house at Knouls. After whose abode there by the space of fiue daies, she passed forth to Burling, to the house of Henrie Neuill lord of Aburgauennie, which she vsed for three daies. And departing from thense on the kalends of August, she went to another house of the said lords, called Eridge; and hauing staied there six daies, hir maiestie taketh hir iourneie to Bedgburie, belonging to Alexander Culpeper, and the next daie came to Hampsted, where Thomas Gilford (after made knight) receiued hir into his house. In which, when she had remained three daies, she passed on to Rie, a towne of the sea costes of Sussex, belonging to the ports; whither the people affirmed that neuer king nor queene euer came before hir maiestie; the truth whereof I will not at this time either approoue or reprooue. 1573

In this place she rested three daies, and then spent other three at Sisinghurst, the house of Richard Baker, whome she made knight at hir departure. Next on the

seuenteenth daie of August, which was mondaie, she came to Bocton Maleherbe, to the house of that worthie gentleman Thomas Wootton, where she was two daies largelie interteined. For which, when hir maiestie would haue honored him with the state of knighthood, as manie of his ancestors had beene before, he modestlie refused the same, rather seeking honor by vertue of life, and benefit to his countrie, than by the fauor and persuasion of others. From this mans house hir maiestie kept on hir progresse to Hetfield, to the house of maister Tufton; in which also staieng two daies, she passed from thense to hir own house of Westinhanger, then in the custodie of Thomas Sackeuill knight, baron of Buckehurst, where she spent foure daies.

After this, as she hastened towards Douer, she dined in the castell of Sandwich, and then being ascended Folkestone hill, this Matthew archbishop of Canturburie (who at that time remained at Bekesborne) and the lord Cobham warden of the fiue ports (accompanied with three hundred knights and gentlemen of Kent, all well horssed and attended vpon with a large retinue) did meet the queene vpon the same hill; all which waited vpon hir to Douer. In the furthest parts of the liberties of which towne, the maior and the iurats thereof, with three hundred armed men receiued the queene, and in the night conducted hir to Douer, where she was interteined with a noble peale of ordinance discharged from the castell, and the ships riding thereabouts. All which meetings, and hir receiuing into Douer, was doone the fiue and twentith daie of August. Now hauing rested hirselfe six daies at Douer, interteined with delights answerable for the time, and for hir presence, she came to Sandwich, where she remained (being well receiued by the maior and iurats of the same towne, during hir abode there) by the space of three daies.

The next daie, which was the third of September, she tooke hir iourneie towards Canturburie, dined by the waie at Wingham, and then entered the citie somewhat after three of the clocke in the afternoone. Who presentlie going to the cathedrall church, and entring the same at the west gate, a yoong man, then scholer of the grammar schoole, receiued hir with a Latine oration. Which ended, and she kneeling at a deske, the archbishop, the bishops of Lincolne, Rochester, and of Douer, vsed praiers for hir comming thither. Then the deane with the prebends, canons, ministers, and the whole quier of the church of Canturburie, and manie other singers of hir chapell went before hir (hauing a canopie borne ouer hir head by foure knights) through the quier vntill she came to the place appointed for hir oratorie; from whense (after euening praier doone) she came along the street to hir palace of ancient time called saint Augustines: and the sundaie following, she went in her coch through the streets to the same church, and so returned home: on which daie the deane preached before hir. The next daie of which hir remaining at Canturburie (being the seuenth daie of September, and the daie of her maiesties birth, making vp the fortith yeare of hir age) she was with all hir traine inuited to dinner by the archbishop of that citie. The order of which feast being celebrated much about the houre of hir birth, was after this sort.

The noble men did onelie attend vpon the queene, who as soone as she had washed hir hands, came to the table set in breadth in the highest place of the archbishops hall; in the midst whereof, vnder a canopie or cloth of estate, hir maiestie did sit in a certeine old marble chaire, alwaies there fixed, and now decked with pretious cloths of gold. Then the erle Ritius the marshall of France (who a little before, being sent ambassador from the French king, was with a hundred gentlemen come vnto Canturburie) togither with monsieur de Mote the French kings orator, were placed at the end of the queenes table, vpon the right hand of the queene, with their faces to hir maiestie, and their backs towards the hall: to the end that they might more conuenientlie talke with hir. And at the other end of the boord on the left hand were placed foure ladies which were the marchionesse of Northampton, with the countesses of Oxford, Lincolne, and Warwike. At what time the pensioners

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serued the queene, and hir maiesties other seruants attended on the ambassador, the orator, and the ladies. The furniture of whose table consisted of two courses, of most delicat fish and flesh; and one third course of fruit and other banketting deuises. Hir maiestie thus placed, the other tables in the hall were also furnished; whereof, at the first (which stood at the right hand of the queene) were set the archbishop with diuerse counsellors and other noble men and women, of which the chiefe were such as came out of France. And at the table on the left hand of the queene were placed manie ladies and worshipfull women. At the tables somewhat further off were set the maior, the ancient citizens of Canturburie, and other gentlemen and gentlewomen of Kent, all which were serued with the archbishops retinue. Thus this solemnitie ended (whereof I haue omitted manie things, as well for order of seruice, as for musike and other delights) the queene went into the bishops gallerie, hauing long talke with the French ambassador, almost till night.

When her maiestie departed, after that she had imparted manie great thanks vnto the bishop for this sumptuous and chargeable feast, and for the rich gifts which the archbishop did moreouer bestow vpon hir (as well of horsses, as other iewels), amongst which was one salt of gold, which hauing two rich achats therein curiouslie carued, the one with the queenes image, and the other with saint George killing the dragon, and a long diamond in the couer, with French verses; it was valued at more than two hundred marks, besides the six portigues which were inclosed in the same salt, when he gaue it to the queene. Moreouer, the archbishop bestowed manie goodlie gifts vpon others of the councell, and of hir maiesties traine; with fiue hundred pounds, which he gaue amongst the officers of hir house. And yet not contented herewith, he kept open house for all commers, during the time that the queene remained at Canturburie.

The next sundaie also the queene came to the cathedrall church in hir coch thorough the street: and so returned againe, after morning praier and a sermon made by the bishop of Lincolne. Thus the queene remaining fourteene daies at Canturburie, she went on wednesdaie to Feuersham, where she remained two daies. Then on fridaie she passeth to Sitttingburne, and laie that night at the house of Iames Cromer esquier, a good member of his common-wealth. The next daie she came to Rochester, and rested foure daies there in an inne called the crowne, the onelie place to interteine princes comming thither; as in my time I haue seene both king Philip and the queene to haue rested themselues there. From thense she goeth to Dartford a house of hir owne, and so after two daies to Greenwich, where she ended hir progresse. In which hir Kentish progresse (which by the queene of all other countries is most commended, as well for the troops of gentlemen which continuallie attended on hir, as for the varietie of delights which were there shewed, the learned inuentions and orations, and the rich shewes of the countrie) the shiriffe with a goodlie traine of knights and gentlemen did continuallie attend vpon hir maiestie, from hir first entrance into that shire, vntill hir returne vnto Greenewich. This being spoken of, let vs returne againe to this archbishop. After the queene was settled at Greenewich, the archbishop commeth to Lambeth, where hearing the fame of this interteinement of the queene, he greatlie reioised that he had liued so long, that being the seuentie archbishop of that see, he should in the seuentie yeare of his age, receiue so honorable a prince as his souereigne was, and giue hir a feast the daie of hir birth.

After this, he did at Lambeth on the thirteenth daie of December consecrat William Hughes doctor of diuinitie, chosen by the queene to be bishop of saint Assaph; of whome he obteined that daie the accustomed fee for his consecration and confirmation: togither with the aduouson (which belonged to the archbishop by right of his prerogatiue) of the parish church of Llanduechen, in the diocesse of S. Asaph,

saph, then apperteining to the gift of the same bishop: which grant was confirmed by the consent of the deane and chapter, and signed with their common seals. The next moneth in Ianuarie came Peter Dathen, orator from the countie Palatine of Rheine, to the queene of England, to whome (after that the archbishop had greatlie feasted him) the archbishop gaue a guilt cup with a couer of three and fortie ounces of siluer: in the bottome whereof was the image of a citie grauen, hauing a serpent vnderneath it, lieng in a lake, and seeking to deuoure the same citie; about which were written these two Latine verses, expressing the proper sense and meaning of this hieroglyphicall image or portrature:

Vrbs ego sancta Dei serpentis fraude vetusti
Quassa, Palatini stabo potentis ope.

This bishop, liuing in all worldlie delights, did yet keepe such a moderation of gouernment in himselfe, and in the ordering of all things, that he seemed most rightlie to be indued with the vertue of temperance: and therefore not esteeming of the present pleasures of this life, he alwaies vsed this posie in his windowes and other places: Mundus transit & concupiscentia eius. Which he caused also to be printed in his archiepiscopall seale, with the figure of the daie of iudgement. And now hauing spoken somewhat of his posie, let vs not also forget to write somewhat of his armes. It is supposed by some, that the keis which he bare in these ensignes of his, were by long inheritance of ancient familie descended vnto him: which armes being gules a cheuron siluer betweene three keis; at the last, the queene commanded that three stars should be added therevnto, which the harolds placed in the cheuron, with the colour of gules: of which armes, namelie the three keies, and the three starres, doctor Haddon composed these verses:

Sunt antiquorum claues monumenta tuorum,
Venit ab augusto principe stella triplex:
Sic bene conspirant, virtus, doctrina, potestas,
Et placidæ pacis semina læta ferunt.
Sed tandem ad finem decurrunt gaudia vitæ,
Ac homo puluis erit, puluis vt antè fuit.

This man wrote in the English toong a booke of priests mariages; he composed manie homilies to be read in the church; he procured Matthew Paris and Matthew Westminster to be printed; he set forth the foure euangelists in the old Saxon, and now English toong; and wrote a booke in Latine of the liues of the archbishops of that see (as some affirme) which I haue vsed much in this discourse, of the liues of the archbishops of Canturburie. He departed this world the seuenteenth daie of Maie (about midnight) at Lambeth, where he was honorablie buried: on whose toome (being of blacke marble) is ingauen an epitaph, composed by the same doctor Haddon, and set downe before in this chronicle.

Edmund Grindall.

Edmund Grindall, descending of honest parentage (such as liued within the limits of good subiects, with the trade of certeine kind of merchandize; by which they neuer obteined the greatest wealth, nor by want felt the griefe of miserie) was borne in a towne commonlie called saint Bees, but rightlie saint Beges, standing in the west promontorie of Cumberlandshire. Which towne was so named of saint Bega, a godlie and religious woman borne in Ireland: who comming thither to liue a solitarie life in contemplation, as one estranged from the cares and troubles of the world, did there end hir daies, leauing a perpetual memorie of hir being there; in that the same place, after rising to a proper towne, did still reteine the name of that woman, being called saint Beges or saint Bees. Whereby his birth place being famous by

that

that woman, renowned for hir religion and priuat life, is no lesse famous now, in bringing forth this man, who for his religion suffering a kind of persecution in the time of queene Marie (as after shall appeare) was aduanced to the highest degree of ecclesiasticall honor in England. In which, for the fauor he bare vnto that place (as all men naturallie doo, by a certeine sympathie, which our flesh dooth participat of the aire and soile wherewith our life is first nourished) he did there cause (for a perpetuall monument of his good loue and fauor therevnto) a free grammar schoole to be erected (whereof we will speake more hereafter) in the same towne and place of his birth. Who being brought into the world much about the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred and nineteene (as I gather by certeine circumstances of his age when he died, which was past the great clymactericall yeare, for he was threescore and foure yeares of age at such time as he departed the world) was (after that he had spent his tender yeares in the first rudiments) conueied vnto Cambridge, there to be further instructed in learning, wherevnto by naturall inclination he seemed greatlie addicted. In which place he much profited in studie, to the comfort of his friends, and to his owne following aduancement and credit. For he not onelie there receiued degrees of schoole, as that he was called to be a maister of arts, but also was made fellow and maister likewise of Penbroke hall, where he had beene first brought vp and instructed. Besides hauing executed the office of proctor in that vniuersitie, which is not the meanest roome there; he afterwards rising to higher degree of scholasticall promotions, was made bacheler of diuinitie; hauing mostlie imploied his time, and profited his knowledge by the studie thereof, as appeareth by his disputations at Cambridge, on the foure and twentith daie of Iune, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and nine, being in the third yeare of king Edward the sixt. For in the second of these disputations appointed by the protector the duke of Summerset, at what time the visitors, before whome the same disputations were holden, were Ridleie bishop of Rochester, Thomas bishop of Elie, Iohn Cheeke the kings schoolemaister, doctor Maie a ciuilian, and doctor Wendie the kings physician) he disputed against doctor Glin; whose arguments are liberallie set downe by maister Fox in his acts and monuments.

Thus, when he had spent some time in that place, he did forsake the vniuersitie, and began to make shew in the world of those skilful parts wherewith he was indued. Wherefore being furthered by the helps, which his cousine William Grindall (schoolemaister to hir maiestie now liuing) could afford him; he was called into the affaires of the world, and made knowne to hir maiestie, then but ladie Elisabeth, in the daies of hir brother king Edward the sixt. To whom by the meanes of his good friends he was preferred in seruice, and admitted to be the kings chapleine, after that he had spent some time in the seruice of Nicholas Ridleie bishop of London, as chapleine vnto the said bishop. Which Ridleie, being by the kings appointment to be remoued from London to Durham (a place of more reuenues, and also a countie palatine) this Edmund Grindall stood in election to haue beene bishop of London; but manie things falling betweene the mouth and the cup, he was disappointed thereof. For before that he could receiue anie admittance into that see, his maister king Edward the sixt departed the world. Whereby he was not onelie disappointed of that honor, but driuen to that extremitie, that he was inforced amongst others to flie the realme, and to passe into Germanie; where he continued all the time of queene Marie, as after shall appeare. The cause of which voluntarie banishment of himselfe out of England was as followeth.

When king Edward was dead, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three; and that his sister queene Marie, a woman estranged from him in the points of religion, had obteined the crowne; she not onelie banished

such doctrine, as was by hir brother set foorth: but also brought in the Romane ceremonies, the which manie (professng the other doctrine in hir brothers daies) not being able to susteine, did (following the counsell of our sauiour Christ, who willeth vs when we are pursued in one citie, to flie into another) forsake England: for that they might not suffer or susteine that innouation of queene Marie, denieng them the libertie of their conscience, to serue God according to the gospell. Amongst which persons, being manie, this Edmund Grindall (reserued vnto further honor after this trouble) was one, and not the meanest which fled the realme into Germanie; where he remained well interteined amongst them, vntill the death of queene Marie; which happened in the yeare of Christ, one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight. At what time the crowne was deuolued vnto hir sister, the now reigning queene Elisabeth, who (banishing to Rome all such ceremonies as hir sister had set vp, restoring the free preaching of the euangelicall doctrine, and granting free passage to such as had been exiled to returne home to their desired countrie) did graciouslie and fauorablie receiue those preachers comming out of Germanie, and held them in greater honor than euer they were before. At what time this Edmund Grindall, hauing now recouered his sweet and natiue soile of England, was after his comming home aduanced to the chaire of the bishoprike of London, where he continued in gouernment about eleuen yeares, being a person well beloued and honored of the Citizens. During which time he did in Pauls preach a funerall sermon for the emperor, whose obsequies were there celebrated with all honor therevnto apperteining.

After which, about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred, threescore and nine, he was remoued from London to the see of Yorke, where he continued by the space of six yeares; being from thense in Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and fifteene, aduanced to the highest spirituall dignitie in England, and made archbishop of Canturburie. Where now growing in the highth of his honor, he not long inioied the same in full perfection. For as the wheele, when it is at the highest, must turne; and as the fairest cedar is most subiect vnto the power of the winds: so this man began somewhat to decline, and the beames of his honorable place were somewhat eclipsed, by the clouds of hir maiesties displeasure conceiued against him. For he was called before authoritie, where standing vpon the defense of his cause, and growing in mislike with hir maiestie therefore; he was committed to restreint in his owne house. In which estate he continued vntill his death, without release thereof. So greeuous a thing it is to fall into the princes disgrace: which Salomon saith is death, Sed vir sapiens placabit eam. Before the time of whose death (about the space of some two yeares) he was depriued of the benefit of his sight, and so continuing vntill his death, he fell into a feuer and lingering sickenes; wherein (one quarter of a yeare before he surrendred his soule) he did pininglie consume his life. At what time (because he would not laie that vpon the conscience of another which he might himselfe performe; and so leaue that to be doone by his executors after his death, which he might dispatch in his life) he like a carefull and wise prelat appointed a free grammar schoole, as is touched a little before in the beginning of his life, to be built in the place where he was borne. For dooing whereof (as he did also for the rest of the things which follow) he some ten or twelue daies before his death deliuered foorth the monie to such as herafter should be his executors; and further for the maintenance of the same schoole appointed a yeerelie reuenue of fiue and twentie pounds land to be annexed therevnto. Moreouer he deliuered foorth monie so much as would purchase twentie pounds land by the yeare, which should be assured to Queenes college in Oxford, with as much monie as should buie twentie pound lands by yeare, to be conueied ouer to Penbroke hall in Cambridge, the vniuersitie wherein he was nourished and tooke degree in schoole. Wherewith not yet satisfied, he did in his life,

a little

a little before his death, bestow fiftie pounds vpon the almshouse of Croidon, for the releefe and mainteinance of such poore and impotent people as were there. Which being doone, he as one that now perceiued the time of his death drawing neere, and that he had dispatched most of those gifts and liberalities which he meant to bestow, tooke his leaue of the world and departed this life the sixt of Iulie An. 1583, at Croidon, where he was also buried, when he had beene archbishop of Canturburie much about the space of seuen yeares. After whose death the see remained not void by the space of three moneths, but that hir maiestie aduanced Iohn Whitegift therevnto, as here at hand more fullie appeareth.

Iohn Whitegift now archbishop of Canturburie (a man of no lesse grauitie than learning and honor, as both the woorthie bookes which he hath left to posteritie, and the honorable offices, as well ecclesiasticall as ciuill, by him borne, doo well witnesse) being descended of honest parentage, was borne about the yere of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and three, at great Grimsbie in Lincolneshire, a place no lesse knowne to antiquitie for things there passed in former ages, than now famous by the birth of this man. Which Grimsbie being by some in old times called Grimundesbie, dooth occasion me to treat somewhat thereof in this place, concerning the cause whie it was so named. Which matter being set downe in manie of our chronicles, as in Caxton, Henrie Knighton, Eulogium, Scala chronicôn, Campden, and others, I will deliuer the words of the said Authors, least I might seeme (in being ambitious in names) to bring emptie casks without anie wine. The words of which authors, although they be long and to some maie seeme needlesse to be so often remembred, yet I haue not refused to giue euerie author leaue to tell his owne tale, for that I would not seeme to wrong them in misreporting thereof; and for that I desire to make common by manie copies (as occasion maie serue) the writings of former ages remaining in priuat hands. Thus therefore to begin with Henrie Knighton, a canon of Leicester, I set downe his owne words liberallie describing the historie of the name of Grimesbie in this sort. Iohn Whitegift.

Interea videamus quam ob causam, & qua ratione, Canutus venit in Angliam, & misit clameum in regno Angliæ. Fuit quondam in Anglia quidem rex Ethelwoldus nomine, & genuit duos filios & duas filias, & moriebantur, excepta filia minore nomine Goldesborough ætate sex annorum & dimidium, quando pater eius moriebatur. Iste Ethelwoldus dum moriretur, commendauit tutelam filij sui cuidam Godricho duci Normaniæ, qui maritauit eam cuidam Hauelocke filio Birkelani regis Daciæ apud Lincoln, qui postea regnauit tam in Anglia quam in Dacia similiter: in Dacia iure hæreditario, & in Anglia iure hæreditatis vxoris suæ. Per quod Dani sumpserunt nimiam audaciam in Anglia, & suppeditauerunt Anglos longo tempore, sicut continetur in historia de Grimesbi. Quia quidam Grim nomine nutrivit prædictum Hauelocke apud Grimesbi, vsque ad tempus quo ipse Hauelock desponsauit prædictam Goldesborough apud Lincoln. Et quia prædictus Grim quando primum adduxit puerum de Dacia primò applicuit illo loco qui sortitus est nomen à nomine ipsius Grimesbi. Iste Hauelock regnauit 31 annos, & rexit populum suum cum ingenti honore, & genuit quindecim filios & filias & moriebantur omnes præter quatuor in iuuentute sua, & senior istorum quatuor vocabatur Gourmundus, quem proposuit præfecisse hæredem suum Angliæ, & secundus vocabatur Canutus (de quo loquitur in præsenti) quem fecit regem Daciæ quum esset 18 annorum. De regno Angliæ ipsemet contentus, volens reseruare regnum Angliæ filio suo Gourmundo, iste Gourmundus ascenso equo indomito (volens magistralia attemptare) fregit collum suum. Tertius filius vocatus est Godardus, quem feoffauit in senescaria Daciæ & in mercimoniatu Angliæ,

Péculiaris historia de Grimesbi.

Grimesbi vnde deducit nomen.

Angliæ, quæ non se extendebat ad tantum valorem qui nunc. Quartus vocatus est Thoraldus, qui duxit vxorem comitissam Hehertow in Norwegia, cuius affinitas in Norwegia perseuerat vsque ad præsens, & maior amicitia inter regem Norwegiæ & regem Daciæ adhuc confirmatur, & qualibet vice quando Dani intrauerunt posthac in Anglia pro clameo mittendo in regnum Norigi cum eis affuerunt, suum præbendo auxilium, donec Guido de Warwik finem fecit in hac parte.

Thus much Knighton, which is confirmed by Eulogium, written by a moonke of Canturburie, who hath set downe the same historie at large, knitting vp the matter with these words, lib. 5. a. 44. d. gathered out of diuerse places of the same. Rex Edelfridus quãdam habuit sororem nomine Orwen, & i lam maritauit regi Ethelberto, quod coniugium vinculum amoris inter duos reges cathenabat. Rex autem Ethelbertus terram citra Trentam cum regio diademate occupauit, cum terra de Northfolke & Suffolke adiacentibus. Rex verò Edelfridus comitatum Lincolniæ & Lindeseiæ cum eis spectantibus. Rex verò Athelbert de vxore sua filiam genuit nomine Argentile, quæ nupta fuit Hauelock, &c.

The author of Scala chronicorum.

Which matter being liberallie also recorded by one Graie of Northumberland, as Leland gesseth (the author of the chronicle intituled Scala chronicorum after the arms of the said Graie, which was a ladder, and after the imagination of a dreame which he sheweth of a ladder in the prolog; which Graie being an Englishman and taken prisoner in the wars neere vnto Edenburgh in Scotland, did turne that chronicle out of French rime into French prose) I will not refuse to deliuer, as the same was turned into English by Leland, and that the rather, because the same Graie after the reciting of the same historie touching Grimesbie, in the end seemeth to conclude with some doubt of the truth of the matter, for that he called it an apocrypha, or thing not vniuersallie receiued, as appeareth in these words. "Some saie, in Constantine king of Britains daies, that Ethelbright and Edelseie were small kings vnder him, whereof the first was king of Northfolke and Suffolke, and the other of Lindseie. And the two kings increased, and Ethelbright tooke to wife Orwene the sister of Edelseie, of whome he begat a daughter called Argentile in British, and Goldesborough in Saxon. And this Goldesborough was after left with hir vncle Edelseie. on condition, that he which in feats of arms might be found most noble, should haue his daughter; who was after married to one Hauelocke, which was sonne to the king of Denmarke, but conueied by sleight into England, and after the truth knowne, was restored in Denmarke as the true heire. One Curane sonne vnto Grime (a poore fisher, not able to keepe him for pouertie) a strong and a mightie yoong fellow, came to Edelseie his court into Lindseie, and there was first a turner of broches in the kitchin, and after by valiant deeds grew to great name. Grime had Hauelocke by the commandement of the king of Denmarks steward deliuered to him to be drowned: but hauing pittie on him, he conueied him to Lindseie, to a place since called of his name, Grimesbie: but this historie of some is counted but apocrypha. And some saie that Sweine of Denmarke, father to king Canute first attempted Lindseie by the first comming thither and mariage of Hauelocke." Thus much Scala chronicon, which in this sort censuring this historie, did (as I suppose) occasion that learned antiquarie Campden to write of the same in this sort in his Britannia, in the title of Lincolnshire, pag. 306. Deinde Louth frequentatum emporiolum, cui Lud fluuiolus nomen impertijt, & postea Grimesbi, quod Sabini nostri (qui quod volunt somniant) à Grimo mercatore sic dictum volunt, qui quòd Hauelocum regium Danorum puellulum expositum educauerat, fabellis decantatur

tatur cum Haueloco illo pupillo, qui in regis coquina primò lixa, & postea regis filiæ nuptijs ob heroicam fortitudinem honoratus, nescio quæ facinora gessit, illis dignissima qui anilibus fabulis noctem protrudere solent.

Wherefore passing ouer those things touching Grimsbie, the etymon wherof I leaue to some Apollo to declare, let vs descend to some such notable thing (whereof no question maie arise) as hath beene there doone. Touching which thus writeth Piers Longtoft in his chronicles of England written in French verse; in which he setteth downe, that in the time of Ethelred, the Danes infesting this land, arriued at Grimesbie, and so spoiled the countrie, as appeareth in these his French verses following:

Mes l'an suaunt a pres sunt cyl ariuez,
A mont de Grymesby, a Nicole sunt alez
Vastant & destruent, kant ke eit trouez
Le false count Ederick al roy ad taunt perlez,
Ke la pees est feye & Eylred enginez.

Thus leauing the place of the birth of this archbishop, and going forward with our purpose, we saie that he did participat his race with ancient gentrie, and some such persons as their place and office made honourable. For he was by kindred and bloud alied to the Fulnetbees, and to Goodrich sometime lord chancellor of England. The familie of the first being descended from an ancient race, hath yet his being in Lincolneshire, whereof Fulnetbee at this daie liuing is indued with faire possessions. And the other (Goodrich) being bishop of Elie and chancellor of England, a man as learned as honourable, obteined a perpetuall remembrance thereof amongst posteritie, in that he did not degenerat from the Saxon etymon of his name, which signifieth a person both good and rich, sith he was vertuous in life and honorable in his calling. Besides, this Iohn Whitegift had an vncle called Whitegift, lord abbat of the abbeie of Wellow (as I take it) Iuxta Grimsbie, at the last suppression of the abbeies.

Now in this man, of whom we purposelie speake, there appeared euen in his tender and yoong yeares a great torwardnesse in learning, wherein he highlie profited as after shall appeare. For being by God his goodnesse and beneficiall natures inclination framed therevnto, he did in his first and yoongest yeares wholie consecrate himselfe to the muses; by meanes of which naturall forwardnesse in him, he was (for more increase thereof) by his freends furtherance first trained to some prettie skill in song, and after taught the rudiments of grammar in S. Anthonies schoole in London, where he some yeares remained, vntill he was found apt to ascend to higher places of learning, and then was committed to the tuition of maister Bradford that famous martyr, then fellow of Penbroke hall in Cambridge, about the third yeare of the reigne of blessed king Edward: where continuing his studie with earnest desire and great profiting, he was first by doctor Ridleie then bishop of London and maister of that college, and master Grindall then president there and afterwards archbishop of Canturburie his means chosen bibleclearke, and after that was inuested with the degree of bacheler of arts, being not long after from Penbroke hall (with the good liking and consent of all the fellows) chosen fellow of Peterhouse in that vniuersitie, where he proceeded to the degree of maister of arts and bacheler in diuinitie, continuing his studie in that college by the space of twelue or thirteene yeares, and thereby atteining to great skill and knowledge in the Greeke and Latine toongs, diuinitie and all other good learnings. Whose profitable trauell in the toongs and sciences did well appeare in his painfull lectures and other exercises, as well in the said college, as in other his exercises and disputations abrode: but speciallie at a commensement,

commencement, wherin he was father of the act at the bachelers proceedings. Moreouer, his dailie proceeding in the studie and knowledge of diuinitie (wherevnto he wholie applied himselfe, making the same the centre wherin to end the lines of the circumference of all humane learnings) was not onelie made apparant by the learned readings that he made, being reader of the diuinitie lecture called the ladie Margarets in the said vniuersitie, and after that of the queenes maiesties lecture in diuinitie, by a good number of yeares (in which he expounded ouer the whole epistle to the Hebrues, and the reuelation of saint Iohn) and likewise by the learned bookes which by good occasion he hath written: but also by his continuall, godlie, and deepelie learned sermons, vttered in the vniuersitie of Cambridge (both in Latine and English) in the citie of London, and in the court before hir maiestie, and elsewhere.

And as almightie God did blesse his labours in studie of all kind of godlie science and knowledge, wherevnto were ioined great humilitie, vertue, vprightnesse of life, and constancie, both in matters of religion, and priuat freendship: so did he singularlie blesse the fruits of his learning with increase of preferments and dignities in the church and the commonwealth. First, during his fellowship in Peterhouse, immediatlie vpon his being minister, preacher, and chapleine to doctor Cox, late bishop of Elie, the said bishop bestowed vpon him the parsonage of Teuersham neere vnto Cambridge, and after that a prebend belonging to the cathedrall church of Elie. Next (for his vertue, learning, and gouernment, whereof he had giuen good experiment) being president vnder the maister of Peterhouse, he was in the roome of doctor Hutton deane of Yorke, chosen by the fellows of Penbroke hall to be maister there, about Easter, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and seauen, in which yeare he also was orderlie called to the degree of doctor in diuinitie. But in the mastership of Penbroke hall he did not long continue, for such was the wise gouernment and cariage of himselfe (with a carefull and mild seueritie for the due obseruation of the lawes, statutes, and orders of the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and of the colleges he had gouernement in, not admitting anie innouation in them, or in anie other such good and tolerable orders) that vpon the death of doctor Beaumont he was, in the said yeare of Christ 1567, being the tenth yeare of the queenes maiesties happie reigne, by hir highnesse appointed and made maister of Trinitie college in the said vniuersitie: at what time he was also worthilie aduanced to be one of the sworne chapleins to hir maiestie. During the time of his carefull and wise gouernment of that great college, which was by the space of ten yeares, he was twise by the generall good liking of the whole vniuersitie chosen vicechancellor. In the latter yeare of whose magistracie, being 1573, hir maiestie did bestow vpon him the deanrie of the church of Lincolne, whervnto was adioined afterwards the prebend of Nassington in that church. And such was the opinion iustlie conceiued of his learning, integritie and gouernment, that besides the education of the lord Herbert sonne and heire to the earle of Worcester, and of maister Iohn North sonne and heire vnto the lord North in Peterhouse, there was at one time vnder his tuition in Trinitie college, the right honorable George earle of Cumberland, Edward lord Zouch, the lord Dunboine of Ireland, and two of the sonnes of sir Nicholas Bacon knight lord keeper of the great seale, with diuerse other yoong gentlemen, ouer whome he had the ouersight for their education in good learning and vertue. And in the synod and clergie (which was held in the yeare of Christ 1571 and the 14 yeare of the queenes reigne, vpon a deserued opinion of his graue modestie and mildnesse of disposition, accompanied with great gifts of learning) he was chosen prolocutor: which function he right well performed both at that session and the session following, holden in the 18 yeere of hir maiesties reigne for the clergies benefit, and to hir maiesties verie good liking. Shortlie after which time, in the yeare of Grace

Grace 1577, and the 19 yeare of the queenes reigne, he was about Easter preferred by hir maiestie to the bishoprike of Worcester; and in September after by hir highnesse made vice-president of hir councell in the principalitie and marches of Wales, in the absence of sir Henrie Sidneie knight then lord deputie of Ireland. Which office of vice presidentship though he did beare during all the time of his being bishop of Worcester (which was by the space of six yeares and more) yet he did personallie execute and attend the same but onelie two yeares and an halfe, the lord president himselfe being then returned. During which time of attendance he so painefullie and so carefullie demeaned himselfe also in his other charge and function ecclesiasticall, that it did well appeere to all those countries adiacent, that his dooing of iustice to and vpon others was no hinderance to the teaching of iustice and godlinesse to others, which euen then he continuallie practised. Afterwards doctor Grindall archbishop of Canturburie dieng in the moneth of Iulie 1583, it pleased God to put into hir maiesties hart to nominat him in August after archbishop of that see, whose election therevnto was confirmed at Lambeth on the 23 of September following. And on the second of Februarie 1585, according to the computation of our church of England, being the 28 of hir maiesties reigne, he with other worthie and honorable personages was sworne one of hir highnes priuie councell; which honor vnder hir maiesties most gracious gouernement I praie God he may long inioie. Thus hauing set end to the discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie, with this reuerend prelat Iohn Whitegift now liuing, order leadeth vs to a collection of the lord Cobhams, for that the lord Cobham now liuing is the next person (after the same Iohn Whitegift) which is next before mentioned to haue beene sworne of hir maiesties councell.

A TREATISE OF THE LORD COBHAMS,

WITH THE LORD WARDENS OF THE CINQUE PORTS: GATHERED (AS WELL OUT OF ANCIENT RECORDS AND MONUMENTS, AS OUT OF OUR HISTORIES OF ENGLAND) BY FRANCIS BOTEVILE, COMMONLIE SURNAMED THIN, IN THE YEARE OF OUR REDEMPTION, 1586.

THE diuine philosopher Plato, diuiding nobilitie into foure degrees, saith; that the first is of such as be descended of famous, good, iust, and vertuous ancestors; the second are they whose former grandfathers were princes and mightie persons; the third sort be such as be renowmed by woorthie fame, in that they haue obteined a crowne and reward for anie valiant exploit, or in anie other excellent action in the feats of warre; the fourth and cheefest kind of noblemen, are persons which of themselues excell in the prerogatiue of the mind, and benefit of vertuous life. For he is most rightlie termed noble, whome his owne dowries of the mind, and not an others woorthinesse dooth nobilitate. Wherevpon Socrates being demanded what was true nobilitie, answered: Animi corporisque temperantia. And Cassiodorus prooueth, that of all others, the nobilitie gotten by ourselues is the most excellent, when he saith: Nobilitas à me procedens, est mihi cordi, plusquam quæ ex patrum procedit nobilitate: quia in quo desinit cuiusque nobilitas, tunc auorum nobilitate congruè indiget. The reason whereof, and the cause whie a man is counted most noble by his owne actions, the graue and morall Seneca hath appointed to be the nobilitie of his mind, which alwaies seeketh to performe woorthie and honourable actions, for

thus he deliuereth vs his opinion vpon the same: Habet hoc optimum generosus animus, quòd concitatur ad honesta. Neminem excelsi animi virum humilia delectant & sordida. Fœlix qui ad meliora imperium animi dedit: ponet se extra conditionem fortunæ, prospera tentabit, aduersa comminuet, & aliis admiranda despiciet. Now if anie one of all these things by themselues in particular falling in seuerall persons maketh euerie such person noble, who tasteth but one of these foure distinctions of nobilitie: how much more is that person to be termed noble, and rightlie to be honoured therfore, in whom all these foure parts or the most of them doo concur; as to be descended of good, of mightie, of ancient, and of warlike ancestors, and himselfe not to degenerate from them, euen in the cheefest point of all others, which is in his owne actions, therein most of all to nobilitate himselfe and his posteritie? All which as I haue persuaded my selfe are to be found in one, who at this time (as is before said) was amongest others for his woorthinesse and merit aduanced to the estate of a councellor vnder the rarest princesse and queene of this our present age. Which noble person being so preferred to that place ministreth iust cause to me to record some antiquities touching the lords of Cobham, and the wardens of the cinque ports; and that the rather, for that the lord Cobham now liuing, being the glorie of that ancient and honorable familie, not onelie meriteth well of his countrie, as after shall appeare; but is also an honorable Mecenas of learning, a lover of learned persons, and not inferior in knowledge to anie of the borne nobilitie of England.

But leauing him for this instant to himselfe (of whome I cannot saie that which I ought, and he deserueth, and for auoiding the note of flatterie, I maie not saie that which I can, and euerie man knoweth) I will orderlie descend to my purposed catalog of the lords of Cobham, and the wardens of the cinque ports, which I will set downe in that sort, as the pedegree of that neuer sufficientlie praised lord treasuror of England, sir William Cecill knight lord Burleigh, is deliuered to the world in my former discourse of the lord treasurors of England. Wherefore thus I begin with the lord Cobhams.

William Quatermer, which signifieth as much as William of the foure seas, was lord Cobham of Cobham in Kent, and florished in the time of king Henrie the second. This man, being a knight and belonging to king Henrie the second, was called the kings knight; because that the king, after the seruice doone by this Quatermer beyond the seas, brought him out of Normandie into England; where the king recompensed him with the gift of certeine land and rent in Kent of the nature of Gauelkind, together with all the land of Hertland in Schorne, and in the marsh of Bolham, and Swainpoole in Schorne, in the said countie of Kent. Wherevnto the king further added all the lands and rents in Cobham; which after tooke denomination of this William Quatermer, and was called Quatermers see. By force of which grant he possessed this land accordinglie, with all such honor and priuileges as to the same belonged. But after by his deed he gaue vnto Henrie of Cobham all his lands and tenements which he had in the towne of Cobham, as by a datelesse deed thereof maie more largelie appeare, as followeth.

THE CHARTER WHEREBY WILLIAM QUATERMER GAUE TO HENRIE DE COBHAM HIS LAND IN COBHAM AND SCHORNE IN KENT.

OMNIBUS hominibus tàm presentibus quàm futuris Wilhelmus de Quatermares salutem. Nouerit vniuersitas vestra, quòd ego dedi & concessi, & hac præsenti charta mea confirmaui Henrico de Cobham pro homagio & seruicio suo, totam terram meam & tenementum quod habui in villa de Cobham, cum toto iure, & homagijs, & eorum sectis,

sectis, & seruicijs, & redditibus, & releuijs, & in omnibus eschetis, & totam terram & tenementum meum quod habui in villa de Schornes, videlicet totam terram quæ appellatur Gauelland: cum omnibus pertinentibus suis, totum mariscum meum de Bulham, & totum mariscum meum de Swanpoole, cum omnibus aisiamentis quas habeo in prædictis villis in capite de domino rege, per seruicium quartæ partis feodi vnius militis. Habendum & tenendum sibi & hæredibus suis de me & heredibus meis omnia prædicta tenementa, cum omnibus pertinentibus ad fœdam firmam, absque omni diuisione & diminutione in perpetuum, liberè, & quietè & integrè. Reddendo inde annuatim mihi & hæredibus meis, ille & hæredes sui decem libras sterlingorum apud Cobham, scilicet ad festum sancti Michaelis, vel infra octabis, centum solidos; & ad pascha, vel infra octabis centum solidos, pro omnibus terrenis, demandis, & sectis, & querelis. Et ego prædictus Willielmus, & hæredes mei defendemus & quietabimus omnia præfata tenementa, cum omnibus pertintijs suis, versum dominum regem, &c: de omnibus seruicijs, quæ pertinent ad quartam partem fœdi vnius militis, de omnibus seruicijs quæ possunt accedere super præfata tenementa, &c. Testes, Richardus Beresse, Willielmus Clouile, Robertus de Sentclere, Stephanus de Cochington, Godfridus de la Deane, &c.

Henrie de Cobham.

Henrie de Cobham, who liued in the 10 of king Iohn, in the yeare of Christ 1208, hauing obteined the lands in Cobham by the grant aforesaid from William Quatermer, was lord of Cobham, and so accounted; and that the rather, bicause that king Iohn, by his charter in the same tenth yeere of his reigne, did confirme to the said Henrie de Cobham all the lands which he had in Kent, or elsewhere, vnder the witnes of Peter de Rupibus, or Peter of the rockes bishop of Winchester, Geffreie Fitzpeter erle of Essex, and Saier de Quincie earle of Winchester, &c. This Henrie had issue three sons, Iohn de Cobham knight his eldest, William de Cobham his second called Cobham of Allington, iustice itinerant in the 40 of Henrie the third, and who further continued that office in the 42 of Henrie the third, as is prooued by the records of the excheker in the priuie seales of 41 of Henrie the third, where this writ is found: Liberate Willielmo de Cobham 20 marcas de termino paschæ, quas ei concessimus, percipiendum ad scaccarium nostrum, ad sustentandum se in seruicio nostro, quamdiu steterit in itinere in officio iusticiarij nostri. The third son of this Henrie Cobham was Reinold de Cobham, another of the iustices itinerants, in the 30 of Henrie the third, being the yeere 1246. I haue read also of one Henrie Cobham shiriffe of London the 13 and 21 of Henrie the third, whom at this time I will neither receiue or reiect to be this Henrie Cobham, to whom Quatermer gaue his lands.

Iohn de Cobham.

Iohn de Cobham knight, lord of the manors of Cobham and Cowling, eldest son to the first Henrie Cobham, came to the manor of Cowling by purchase for foure hundred marks, as appeareth by the effect of a charter, the note whereof came vnto my hands in this sort: Simon de Pelham dat Iohanni de Cobham manerium de Cowling, &c: pro 400 marcis præ manibus solutis. Hijs testibus, Rogero de Northwood, D. Fulcone Paiferer, D. W. Sentclere, D. Will. de Valouis, militibus. This Iohn married two wiues, the first was the daughter of William Fitzbenet, by whome he had issue Iohn de Cobham the yoonger, or the second of that name, and Henrie de Cobham of Rundall or Randall, of whome we will intreat hereafter when we haue finished the lineall descents and orderlie successions vnto our time of the lord Cobhams of Cobham. After the death of which his first wife, this Iohn Cobham knight married his second wife called Ione, the daughter of Hugh Neuill, by whom he had issue Reinold de Cobham knight, lord of Allington, an other person different from the former Reinold de Cobham lord of Allington, and son to Henrie before, Iames de Cobham, Will. de Cobham, and an other Reinold de Cobham that died without issue. Of which Reinold de Cobham lord of Allington, the son of this Iohn by his second wife, descended the L. Cobhams of Starburow, whose descent and succession

we will set downe after the discourse of the lord Cobhams of Randall; at this time in this place onelie shewing the death of this Iohn the elder lord Cobham, who died not (as some haue) in the 35, but rather (as others haue) in the 36 of Henrie the third, being the yeere of Grace 1251, as I gather. After whose deth an office was found that he held in Kent, the capitall mesuage of Cobham, and that he had lands to the yearelie value of 117 pounds and 14 shillings.

And here, because I haue mentioned Hugh Neuill, whose daughter this Iohn maried; I thinke it not vnmeet, although it concerne not the lord Cobhams otherwise than as a deed doone by one from whome they are descended, to set downe what I haue read touching the said Hugh Neuill (being a person then of great honor, and one whose name hath beene the greatest in England: as well for manie noble men of that name liuing at one time, as for the valiancie of their mind, and continuance of their descent) in performing an act of great courage and force, deseruing continuall remembrance, the which I haue taken out of Matthew Paris. This Hugh Neuill, being in his youth familiar with king Richard, did (after that he had beene chiefe iustice of the forests) go into the holie land, to fight against the enimies of Christ: where he not onelie behaued himselfe to his singular glorie against those men of that countrie, but also obteined a memoriall of posteritie for that which he then did against the beasts thereof, when he killed a huge lion in the holie land, which being first by him pearsed with an arrow, and after hurt with a sword, there died. Of the death of which lion was this verse compiled, as followeth:

Viribus Hugonis vires periere leonis.

Afterwards this Hugh died, in the yeare of our redemption 1222, being about the sixt yeare of king Henrie the third.

Iohn de Cobham the yoonger.

Iohn de Cobham knight, surnamed the yoonger, or the second of that name, the sonne of the former Iohn by his first wife, did (after the death of his father) diuide the lands according vnto the custome of Gauelkind in Kent, betweene him and his brother Henrie Cobham of Randall, as appeareth by a deed dated the 16 of Edward the first, about the yeere of Christ 1285, at what time the marsh called Sherdmarsh remained to Iohn, and the lands called Heuer in the parish of All saints in Ho, in the hundred of Ho in Kent remained with Henrie. About 18 yeeres before which, that is to saie, in the 54 yeere of Henrie the third (falling in the 1269 and 1270 yeeres of our Lord after the account of England, beginning the yeare on the 25 of March) this Iohn Cobham, mindfull of the aduancement and maintenance of his yoonger brethren by his father and mother in law, the daughter of Hugh Neuill (as all elder brothers ought to be) did giue to them diuers lands in forme following: which was, he granted to Iames certeine rent in Burfield and Shelne, and pastures in Haligwesto; to William he gaue a rent in Aldington, togither with a mill there; and to Reinold he granted his lands in Orkesden, and in Einsford: vpon condition, that euerie of those three brethren suruiuing should be heire to the other, if they died without issue. Which when he had so liberallie doone, finding how great an inconuenience it was (for the maintenance of anie name or familie) to haue the lands so to be diuided amongest manie brethren, as the Gauelkind land in Kent was accustomed to be, obteined of Edward the first a grant (dated the 4 of his reigne, being about the yere of Christ 1276) in which the king granted to him, that all his lands and tenements, which were holden in Gauelkind in Kent, should descend to his eldest sonne, or anie other next heire after him, according as other lands held by sargentee or knights seruice, did at the common law without anie partition of Gauelkind, to which deed were witnesses R. bishop of Canturburie, W. bishop of Rochester, R. bishop of Welles and Bath, William de Valence the kings vncle and earle of Penbroke, Roger de Mortimer, Paganus de Cadurcis, Stephan de Pinchester, and diuerse others

In the time of Edward the first, as appeareth by the records of that court, there was one Iohn de Cobham a baron of the excheker, which office he held in the 34 yeare of that king, and also long before.

According

According to which deuise of this Iohn Cobham, thus to make the Gauelkind land in Kent inheritable after the custome of the common law, diuers persons as well of nobilitie as gentrie of this shire of Kent (amongest which was George Brooke knight lord Cobham descended of this Iohn Cobham) did by parlement holden in the one and thirtith yere of king Henrie the eight, cause the nature of their Gauelkind land to be altered into the customable descents of our common law, for the eldest sonne to inherit. The example whereof others also following in the time of Edward the sixt, did by like authoritie procure such descent of their lands in Kent, whereby at this daie most of the lands in that countrie haue weiued the nature of Gauelkind, and clothed themselues with the honor of descent in the common law. This Iohn Cobham, who hath induced me to saie thus much concerning Gauelkind lands in Kent, maried Ione daughter of Robert Septuans knight, by whome he had issue Henrie Cobham knight, his heire, Iames Cobham a clearke, whom I suppose, to be he that in the tenth of Edward the third, the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and six, had lands in Easchetes mead lieng in Penshurst in Kent, according as I haue seene a charter thereof: Roger Cobham of Piperslive, that died without issue. And here because I am fallen into the name of Piperslive, which is as much to saie as the cliue of Pipard, I will saie somewhat of that name of Pipard; and that the rather, because much about this time (as I haue read) one William Cobham married Ione the daughter of Henrie Pipard of Lachford in Oxfordshire esquire, the said Henrie Pipard liuing in the fift and tenth of Edward the second. The name of which Pipards comming into England with William the Conqueror, the first of them being called Rafe, was lord of great Haselie and Lachford in great Haselie in Oxfordshire. Shortlie after the time of which Rafe, Roger Pipard of great Haselie gaue to his sonne Henrie Pipard certeine lands in Lachford in the tilth called Inland, bordering vpon Ditch furlong, to hold of him by a gilt spur; and further gaue to his said sonne Henrie all his lands in Lachford for his homage and seruice. The which line of the Pipards tooke end in Iane Pipard, the daughter and heire of Richard Pipard of Lachford in Oxfordshire esquire, who liued in the yeare of Christ 1421, being the ninth yeare of Henrie the fift, and in the third of Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of our Lord 1424. For she being maried to Iohn Badbie the second sonne of Iohn Badbie, he became lord of Lachford, in the sixt yeare of Edward the fourth, in the yeare 1466, whereby the name of that line of Pipard was vtterlie extinguished. The daughter and heire of which Badbie named Katharine, being maried to William Lenthall of Starkar in Herefordshire (an ancient gentleman, and one whose ancestors were lords of Hampton court in that shire of Hereford) the manor of Lachford came to the Lenthals, and is at this daie in the possession of William Lenthall esquire, descended from the said William Lenthall, which maried the heire of Badbie that maried the heire of Pipard, of which name one marieng a Cobham, occasioned me (as before I said) to digresse thus much to treat of the Pipards, and their ofspring. And so againe to this Iohn Cobham, who besides the sonnes before named, had other sonnes, as Rafe Cobham, which maried Marie Brewes countesse marshall (the widow of Thomas of Brotherton earle marshall, second sonne to king Edward the first) which Rafe died in the ninth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the second, being about the yeare of Christ 1316. And the ladie Marie his wife departed the world in the six and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, about the date of our Lord 1362, being 36 yeares after the death of the said Thomas of Brotherton. Of which countesse issued Iohn Cobham knight, who liued in the 41 yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ 1367, (as apeereth by the records of the excheker) and Iohn Cobham of Blackborow in Deuonshire, with Thomas bishop of Worcester, besides two other daughters, whereof we will speake hereafter, when we haue treated a little of this Thomas Cobham the bishop, referring

The descent of Pipard and Lenthall of Lachford in Oxfordshire.

ferring thee for the more ample discourse thereof vnto Thomas Walsingham, and another anonymall chronicler, who liberallie treat of him. The first of the which writeth, that after the death of Robert Winchelseie archbishop of Canturburie, Monachi magistrum Thomam de Cobham, virum supereminentis literaturæ, multisque virtutibus redimitum, in pastorem regi præcipuum concorditer eligerunt, &c. Contrarie to which writing of Walsingham (in which is said, that Walter Reinolds was made archbishop gratis, and what a worthie person he was to gouerne the church and dispose the kingdome, and that Thomas Cobham was reiected from that see) the other anonymall author before mentioned, referring all this to the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred and thirteene, dooth most bitterlie write, who liuing much about that time, and before Tho. Walsingham, as I coniecture (because he taketh vpon him to know the conditions of the said Thomas Cobham and Walter Reinolds) dooth deliuer these words concerning the said Thomas Cobham and Walter Reinolds, that the moonks of Canturburie Magistrum Thomam Cobham virum sanguinis nobis nobilitate clarum, sacræ theologiæ, iuris canonici & ciuilis, necnon & dialecticæ professorum egregium, ecclesiæque fulcimento columnam immobilem concorditer eligerunt, cuius electioni & morum honestatibus humani generis inuidebat inimicus, misitque in cor Walteri Reginaldi viri siquidem & in tantum illiterati vt nomen proprium declinare penitús ignorabat: qui & ipse vir Belial lubricus, regens tunc temporis indignè episcopatum Oswaldi & Dunstani apud Wigorniam, & ad episcopatum Cantuariensem nequiter aspirans, euacuauit electionem Thomæ Cobham per simoniam. Thus much he. By which we perceiue the diuersitie of affections in writing of histories. But whether this man, for malice to Walter Reinolds hath written this thing aboue the truth (for me thinketh it should not be, that a man so unlearned, as that he could not decline his name, should atteine to such dignities, as to be bishop of Worcester, chancellor and treasuror of England, and archbishop of Canturburie) or that Walsingham (himselfe a spirituall man) seeking to aduance more than was due the metropolitane of the relme, hath so commended Walter Reinolds, I know not, and therefore leaue it to euerie man to iudge as he listeth: I will againe come backe to the said Iohn Cobham the second of that name, and returne to make rehearsall in one place of all his children, to the end the same may be the better conceiued, sith I haue before with manie a long parenthesis mingled other matters with them, whereby the reader might be troubled in the right knowledge of those persons.

1312 As hath Walsingham.

This Thomas was also prebendarie of Yorke and deane of Salisburie, as hath *Matthew Parker* in the liues of the bishops of Canturburie.

This Iohn the second therefore had issue Henrie his heire; who (I suppose) for this time, is that Henrie mentioned in the rolles of the excheker, in the ninth yeare of Edward the second to haue the farme of the citie of Rochester: Iames a clearke, Roger Cobham of Piperdesliue, Rafe Cobham, Iohn Cobham of Blackeborow, Thomas Cobham the bishop: Ione maried to Michaell de Columbarijs, and another daughter maried to William de Andwich knight. This Iohn Cobham the second, liuing in the time of Edward the first, and dieng in the reigne of the same king, maie well be (and so is) that person which is recorded (if my conceiuing be not deceiued) in the eighteenth yeare of Edward the first, falling in the yeare of Christ 1290, to be capteine or gardian of Rochester, and of the castell; and also to be in the twentith yeare of the same king Edward the first, being in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fourescore and twelue, a baron of the excheker. Before which time, Iohn Euersden, a moonke of S. Edmundsburie in Suffolke, writeth that in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred threescore and nineteene, which was in the seuenth yeare of King Edward the first, Iohn Cobham and Walter de Helma were sent downe vnto Burie, otherwise called S. Edmundsburie, to sit vpon certeine goldsmiths that were accused for clipping of the coine; where he fined them, and tooke the monie to the kings vse, contrarie to the liberties of the abbat.

This Henrie might well haue Rochester in farme, in the life of his father, in the time of Edward the second.

abbat. This Iohn Cobham the second died the eight and twentith yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, being in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and three hundred.

Henrie Cobham the sonne and heire of Iohn the second, being fortie years old at the time of his fathers death, was made knight, and created the first baron and lord of Cobham, obteining place in the parlement house. To this Henrie did king Edward the first, in the two and thirtith yeare of his reigne, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and foure, grant the farme of Rochester, with the keeping of the castell, as appeareth by this deed following. Henrie Cobham, the first lord Cobham of that name.

THE GRANT OF EDWARD THE FIRST, OF ROCHESTER CASTELL TO HENRIE COBHAM.

EDWARDUS Dei gratia rex Angliæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ omnibus, &c. Nos de fidelitate dilecti & fidelis nostri Henrici de Cobham pleniùs considerantes, commissimus ei ciuitatem nostram Roffensem; tenendam de nobis, & hæredibus nostris ad firman, ad totam vitam suam, ac etiam castrum eiusdem ciuitatis, cum pertinentijs, custodiendum similiter ad totam vitam suam. Reddendo nobis & hæredibus nostris per annum, ad scaccarium nostrum pro ciuitate prædicta duodecim libras, & pro custodio dicti castri ac wardis eidem castro pertinentibus, triginta sex libras & quatuor solidos, sicut Ioannes de Cobham pater prædicti Henrici, & bonæ memoriæ Richardus nuper episcopus London, dudum firmarius noster, dictæ ciuitatis & custos castri prædicti nobis ad dictum scaccarium nostrum per annum, pro custodia eorundem reddere consueuerunt, &c. In cuius rei, &c: has litteras nostras, &c. Teste meipso apud Dumfermeline, 14 die Ianuarij, anno regni nostri tricesimo secundo.

This man being thus in great credit with the king, in the life of his father Iohn Cobham, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the fiue and thirtith and last yeare of king Edward the first, as appeareth by a note which came to my hands, set downe in this sort: Stephanus de Burghersh filius & hæres Roberti di Burghersh, quondam custodis quinque portuum, fatetur se recepisse de isto Henrico Cobham, conestabulo Douerniæ, & custode quinque portuum, 20 marcas argenti, &c. The deed of which Stephan Burghersh was dated the twentith of Maie, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Edward the first, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and seuen; which Henrie Cobham is reported, maister Lambard, in his perambulation of Kent, vnder the title of Leeds, to haue rased the castell thereof. But because there maie be some question touching the same, and for that the same Lambard hath not iudicialle defined the same; I will leaue it as I find it in his owne booke, and Verbatim set downe his words in this sort. He was constable of Douer vnder Edward the first, in the life of his father king Henrie the third: and after in the last yeare of king Edwards gouernment, as appeareth by this deed of Stephan Burghersh in the twelfe yeare of Edward the third: and so vnto his death which was in the 13 yeare of Edward the third: of which see more in the wardens of the cinque ports.

I haue read (saith he) that * Edward (prince of Wales, and afterward the first king of that name) being warden of the cinque ports, and constable of Douer castell, in the life of Henrie the third his father, caused Henrie Cobham (whose ministerie he vsed as substitute in both those offices, to rase the castell that Robert Creueceur had erected, because Creueceur (that was then the owner of it, and heir to Robert) was of the number of the nobles that moued and mainteined warre against him; which whether it be true or no, I will not affirme: but yet I thinke it verie likelie, both because Badlesmer (a man of another name) became lord of Leeds shortlie after, and also for that the present worke of Leeds presenteth not the antiquitie of so manie yeares as are passed since the conquest. Thus this much my

* Edward the first king of that name since the conquest.

synchronos

The castell of Leeds builded by Robert Creuceur. The barons warre against Henrie the third.

synchronos and the learned antiquarie maister Lambard. After which, it resteth to set downe the effect of a deed, wherein Richard de Rochester gaue the manor of Stone and Stapingdon in the ile of Shepeie to this Henrie Cobham; in the sixt yeare of Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1312, 1313, according to a note which I haue seene gathered thereof, in these words.

Richardus de Rouecester dedit domino Henrico de Cobham, & Reginaldo filio eius, pro ducentis libris, manerium de Stone & Stapingdon in Schapeia: habendum et tenendum eisdem Henrico & Reginaldo, & hæredibus ipsius Reginaldi exeuntibus: & si Reginaldus obierit sine exitu, tunc idem manerium reuertitur rectis hæredibus ipsius Henrici: anno sexto Edwardi, regis filij Edwardi. Hijs testibus, domino Ioanne de Northwood seniore, Rogero de Sauage, Roberto de Shireland, Ioanne de Northwood iuniore, Ioanne de Sauage, militibus.

This Henrie, being the first baron of Cobham, maried Maud the daughter of one that was called De columbarijs: by whome he had issue Iohn de Cobham his sonne and heire, Thomas de Cobham of Piperdesliue, and Beluncle knight, Iames Cobham, Reinold Cobham parson of the church of Wicham, Stephan Cobham bishop of Lincolne, and one daughter named Margaret, maried to Matthew Fitzherbert. After which, this Henrie lord Cobham surrendered his life to God, in the yeare of our redemption 1339, and in the thirteenth yeare of king Edward the third, about 39 yeares after the death of his father, being seuentie nine yeares of age, and was buried at Stoke vnder Hamden in Summersetshire.

Iohn lord Cobham.

Iohn de Cobham knight, the third of that name, and second baron of Cobham, was gardian of the citie of Rochester, and was (as I gather by a note, that nameth Iohn Cobham, if Iohn be not mistaken for Henrie, last before recited) constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the second yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 320, which fell in the life of his father Henrie, the first baron of Cobham. This Iohn, in the eleuenth yeare of Edward the third, being about the yeare of Christ 1336, was (when the king tooke his iourneie into France, by occasion whereof he was to gather great summes of monie of his subiects) ioined with Haimo de Heath bishop of Rochester, the prior of that citie, and Thomas de Aldon knight in commission, whereby they were authorised to call before them in the church of Rochester the mondaie next after the feast of the Holie crosse, the clergie and people of the whole countie of Kent, to demand certeine summes of monie to be paid to the king for the support of his iournie toward France. Wherevpon the people comming to that place at the daie appointed, those commissioners could not for that instant bring their trauell in executing that commission to the expected end. For the commissioners demanding what euerie man would giue towards the kings wars in France, the clergie would not giue anie thing, because they were to grant a tenth; and that which the laitie would giue, came to so small a summe that it was refused. Wherevpon the king demanded onelie a fifteenth, and obteined it.

Regist. Roffe.

This Iohn the second baron maried two wiues, the first was Ione the daughter of Iohn Beauchampe of Stoke vnder Hampden in Summer-tun-towne-shire, now called Summersetshire, knight; by whom he had issue one sonne and his heire called Iohn Cobham, which Ione was buried in the chancell of the collegiate church of Cobham in Kent, with this French epitaph as is yet there to be seene:

Dame Ione de Cobham gist ycy,
Dieu de sa ailme ayt mercy,

Qui

Qui pur l'ailme priera,
Quarante iours de pardon auera.

The second wife of this Iohn the second baron was Agnes the daughter of Richard Stone of Hertford in the countie of Kent, who dieng without anie issue by hir (whereof I can yet learne) in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred fiftie and foure, being the eight and twentith of the reigne of king Edward the third, was also buried in the chancell of the collegiat church of Cobham, on whose graue stone is this epitaph yet to be seene:

Vous qui passe ycy entour,
Pries pur l'ailme de curteous viandour,
Qui Iean de Cobham auoit a nome,
Dieu luy face veray pardone,
Qui trespassa l'endemayne de S. Mathy,
Le puissant outrie a demourer oue luy,
En l'an de grace Mil. CCC. L. quatre,
Ces enimies mortel fist abatre.

Iohn Cobham knight, (the sixt of that line, the fourth of that name, and the third and last baron of Cobham, descended of the males of that familie) was the sonne of Iohn the second baron of Cobham. This man as the state of the world, and loue to religion went in those daies, did for the redemption of his soule erect a college and chanterie of a certeine number of chapleins, with a maister belonging vnto them, to praie for the soules of him, his ancestors, and his successors: which college he erected in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred threescore and two, being the six and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, and after confirmed (in the three and fortith yeare of Edward the third in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred threescore and nine) other lands unto it. Touching which college I find these epitaphs belonging to certeine maisters thereof: amongst which William Tanner was the first maister, as appeareth in the same collegiat church of Cobham at this daie, yet there to be seene. All which epitaphs I thinke not vnmeet here to haue place, sith they were aduanced to that college by reason of the grant of this Iohn Cobham, which made the said William Tanner the first maister of that place: Hic iacet Gulielmus Tanner primus magister istius collegij, qui obijt 22 die mensis Iulii, anno Domini 1418, cuius animæ propitietur Deus. Iohn Cobham.

The other maisters of that college were such as these epitaphs there found doo declare: Hic iacet dominus Iohannes Sprot, quondam magister istius collegij, qui obijt 25. die mensis Octobris, an. Domini 1498, cuius animæ propitietur Deus.

The third epitaph is of William Hobson maister of that college, which died in the thirteenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, hauing this written vpon his grauestone in brasse: Hic iacet dominus Gulielmus Hobson, quondam magister istius collegij, qui obijt 22. die Augusti, anno Dom. 1473, cuius animæ propitietur Deus.

A fourth epitaph is of Iohn Gladwin maister of that college, wherein is neither set downe the time of his death, nor anie certeintie when he liued, being deliuered onelie in this sort: Hic iacet magister Iohannes Gladwin, quondam magister istius collegij, cuius animæ propitietur Deus.

Which college being so founded by this Iohn lord Cobham, did (after the generall dissolution of houses of religion, and other chanteries, in the time of king

Henrie the eight and king Edward the sixt) returne by the kings grant vnto those which were descended of this Iohn Cobham. For George Brooke lord Cobham, father to that honorable and woorthie gentleman William Brooke knight, lord Cobham now liuing, obteined the same at the kings hands, and dooth at this daie inioie it. About fiue yeares after the building of that college, this said Iohn last lord Cobham was (in the one and fortith yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred threescore and seuen) dispatched ambassador vnto Rome, concerning the mariage of Lionell duke of Clarence with Iolenta or Violenta the daughter of Galeas earle of Millaine; as appeareth by a deed of the said Edward the third, directed to Nicholas of the Heath clearke, dated at Eltham in the said one and fortith yere of the king. Who dispatching his ambassage to the desired effect, did still increase in such fauor with king Edward the third, and with the nobilitie and commons of the realme, that after the death of Edward the third, and in the minoritie of Richard the second, he was by the whole consent of the nobilitie and voice of the parlement, amongst other appointed to haue the custodie of king Richard the second. In which he behaued himselfe verie faithfullie, both in defense of the king, and also of the kingdome, against those rebellious insurrections and coniurations of Wat Tiler and of his complices, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and fourscore, and one thousand three hundred fourscore and one, being the fourth and fift yeares of the deposed king Richard the second. At what time for his owne defense, and the safetie of the countrie of Kent, against those rebels, he by the kings licence built that goodlie castell of Cowling yet standing, with a writing of brasse fixed on the gate, to shew the cause and the person for which and by whom it was erected. But such be the inconstancies of mens haps, and the ticklenesse of yoong mens fauor, that nothing is happie on euerie side, nor seruice doone to persons of light credit can alwaies be remembred, and woorthlie requited, as this lord Cobham vnhappilie prooued. For after all his good doone for the yoong king and the realme, he was in the end (as shall after appeare) banished the land, and left in perpetuall exile during king Richards time. For (after that he with his wife the ladie Margaret had beene the chiefe benefactors in charge of purse, and trauell of bodie to build that famous stone bridge of Rochester, a beautifull ornament to that citie, and a necessarie benefit to the whole countrie of Kent, and the realme of England) this Iohn seeking with others of the nobilitie to remooue such persons as miscounselled the yoong king Richard the second (did with the assistance of Thomas Woodstocke duke of Glocester the kings vncle, by violence take Tresilian the chiefe iustice out of the sanctuarie of Westminster. For which act afterward in the eleuenth yeare of the said Richard the second, being much about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred fourscore and eight, both the duke and he asked pardon of the abbat of Westminster for the breach and violating of their priuileges, and the reuerence of the holie place in taking him out of sanctuarie. Which lord in some yeares after, that is, in the two and twentith yeare of Richard the second, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fourscore and eighteene, was apprehended and sent with sir Iohn Cheineie knight to the Tower: after which, when they had sometime remained there, they were by the consent of the nobilitie (saith Walsingham) in the parlement holden at Shrewsburie banished into the Ile of Gerneseie, where they had a small portion allowed them, the said lord Iohn being onelie arreined vpon these two articles. First, that he the said lord Cobham was in counsell to make one commission against the state of the king, and likewise that he vsed the same commission in dooing iudgement against the kings will and to the preiudice of him. Secondlie, that he did sit in iudgement to iudge sir Simon de Burleie, and

Iames Barnes knights of the king, in his absence and against his will. Wherevpon he was condemned to perpetuall prison and banishment into the Ile of Gerneiseie: of which matter thus writeth that woorthie poet sir Iohn Gowre knight liuing at that time, and beholding all these doings of that age: Innocentem dominum Cobham, qui priùs seculo renuntians, in domo Carthusiensi tunc moram traxit, etiam in iudicium parlamenti produxit (which was the king) sed ille minarum terrore aut blandiciarum exhortatione locum tyranno non præbens, in omnibus suis responsionibus fidelissimus inueniebatur, vnde rex quasi confusus eius constantiam deterrens, ipsum præ verecundia absque mortis sententia longè ab Anglia destinauit. Which matter with a further commendation of this lord Cobham, the said Iohn Gowre setteth downe in these heroical verses following:

Some saie they were condemned to loose their liues, but pardoned thereof at the request of the nobilitie and so banished.

Vnus erat dignus patiens, pius, atque benignus,
Prouidus & iustus, morum virtute robustus,
Non erat obliquus, regni sed verus amicus,
Hunc rex odiuit in quo bona talia sciuit,
Vt dicunt mille dominus Cobham fuit ille,
Chronica quos læsit quibus ille fidelis adhæsit,
Christo sed verè voluit quia fine placere,
Transtulit ad sedem, se Carthusiensis in ædem,
Sic cœpit Christus voluit quem tollere fiscus,
Quem Christus duxit, fiscus sine iure reduxit,
Rex scelus accusat, Cobham scelus omne recusat,
Iustificans factum, sic res processit in actum,
Quæ sapit hæc loquitur, nec in hoc vecors reperitur,
Immo quod est certum, regi manifestat apertum,
Sic quia veridicus tribus est constanter amicus,
Rex condemnauit Cobham, sed non maculauit,
Sic non conuictus gladij non sentijt ictus,
Exilij loca subijt tamen exteriora,
Hunc rogo quòd purus redeat cum laude futurus,
Vt sic fœlici redditu lætentur amici.

But afterward, as sir Iohn Gowre dooth request of God in the end of these Latine verses, so this lord Cobham (being before greatlie in the fauor of Henrie duke of Hereford, after king of England, by the name of Henrie the fourth) was restored home to England, when the said Henrie did weare and beare the crowne and scepter of this realme, of whose calling home out of the Ile of Gernseie by king Henrie the fourth, the said Gowre writeth thus.

Cobham sorte pari dux fecit & hunc reuocari,
Exilio demptus iustus redit ille redemptus.

Which lord Cobham being now settled againe at his owne home, liued an honourable old man manie yeares after, and surrendered his life to God the tenth of Ianuarie, in the ninth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare that the word of the Father tooke on it the flesh of the mother 1407, and was buried within the collegiat church of Cobham, which he built, with this epitaph yet there to be seene:

De terre fuit faite & fourmee,
Et en terre a terre suis retournee:
Iehan de Cobham foundeur de cesty place qui fui nomee
Mercy de ma ailme eit la seint trinitee.

He married Margaret the daughter of Hugh Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, who dieng the daie and yeare set downe in this following epitaph, was also buried

beside hir husband, hauing this written: Icy gist dame Margaret de Cobham, iadis fille a noble sire counte de Deuonshire, femme de siegneure de Cobham, foundeur de ceste place, que morust le second iour de mois de Aouste, le anne de grace 1495, l'ailme de que Dieu aist mercy, Amen.

This lord Cobham had (by the ladie Margaret Courtneie his wife) his onelie child, daughter and heire Ioane married to Iohn de la Poole knight, by whome he had issue one daughter named Ione after hir mother, which was heire, ladie, and baronesse of Cobham, neece by the daughter and heire of this Iohn Lord Cobham, which Ione de la Poole had fiue husbands, whereof we will speake as they succeeded in order. Hir first husband was Robert Hemengdale knight, by whome she had two sonnes, William and Iohn which both died in their childhood. Hir second husband was Reginald Braibrooke, knight, by whome she had issue Reginald and Robert, which died verie yoong: and Ione maried to Thomas Brooke of Summersetshire knight, who was in hir right lord of Cobham, as after shall appeare, which Reginald Braibrooke with his two sonnes before named, were buried in the church of Cobham, as appeareth by this now extant epitaph ouer the place of their burials: Hic jacet dominus Reginaldus Braibrooke filius Gerardi Braibrooke militis, ac maritus dominæ Iohannæ dominæ de Cobham hæredis domini Iohannis domini de Cobham fundatoris istius collegij, qui quidem Reginaldus obijt apud Middleborow in Flandria 20 die mensis Septem. an. Dom. 1405, cuius animæ propitietur Deus. On which stone also was grauen on ech side of him: Hic iacet Reginaldus filius eorum: and also Hic iacet Robertus filius eorum.

Hir third husband was Nicholas Hawberke knight, by whome she had issue one sonne called Iohn, which Nicholas died at Cowling in the ninth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, and was with his sonne Iohn, who died yoong, buried at Cobham with this epitaph: Hic iacet dominus Nicholaus Hawberke miles, quondam maritus dominæ Iohannæ de Cobham hæredis dominæ Iohannæ de Cobham, fundatoris istius collegij; qui quidem Nicholaus obijt apud castrum de Cowling 20 die Octobris, an. Dom. 1407, cuius animæ propitietur Deus. Vpon which stone was also grauen the picture of a yoong man, vnder which was written Hic iacet Iohannes filius eorum.

All these three husbands this Ione had in the life of hir grandfather the last lord Iohn Cobham, wherby none of them was intituled lord of Cobham; but when she married hir fourth husband, he was called lord Cobham as after shall appeare. Hir fourth husband was sir Iohn Oldcastle knight, by whome she had a daughter that died verie yoong, and of whome we need not to saie anie thing, his life and doings being so largelie set foorth in all our chronicles, especiallie by maister Fox and Walsingham, as that they need not anie discourse of mine. Onelie this I will touch, that he was intituled lord of Cobham in the right of his wife, and was burnt and hanged for the doctrine of Wickliffe, and for treason (as that age supposed) to king Henrie the fift, about the sixt yeare of the reigne of the said king, touching which I will in breefe sort set downe so much of his life, written parciallie (as the nature of that age would permit) in verse, as is to be seene in the chronicle intituled Extractum breue de chronica THOMAE ELMHAM, prioris Lenton, de tempore regis Henrici quinti: the capitall letters of which verses doo shew the yeere of our Lord in this sort as here followeth:

Sir Iohn Oldcastle lord Cobham.

HIC Iohn oLD CasteL ChrIstI fVrIt InsIDIator,
1413 Amplectens hæreses in scelus omne ruit:
Fautor perfidiæ pro secta Wickliuiana,
Obicibus regis fert mala vota sacris,

Hic

Hic apocalypsis CirCVMCInCtVs patet hostIS,
Altera bestia fit cornua bina ferens,
Nomine secenti sunt sexaginta simul sex,
Extrahe quod remanet his sua vita datur.
Hunc rex miticia necnon terroribus artat,
Flecti mente nequit turbidus ille lupus:
Nam corpus Behemoth vt scutum fusile fertur,
Durum dum superest fictile quando cadit:
Sic patet hæreticus non parens corripienti,
Dum lapsu proprio vergit ad antra Satan.
Censuit ancipiti rex hunc mucrone feriri,
Prætulit ecclesiæ iura paranda sibi:
Hæreticum propria confessio reddit eundem,
Qua damnauit eum pontificalis honor.
Regia sed pietas sibi differt mortis & ignis
Pœnam, sub spe qua possit adesse salus.
Has capit inducias in turri Londiniarum,
Rumpens vincla fugit dæmonis artis ope.
Hinc antris latitat, clam perquirendo fauorem,
In lauacri * luce concipiendo dolum,
Assultum regi studet atque suos apud Eltham,
Sed Deus inde suos eripit absque malo:
Insidiando cohors in * gurgitis arce lauacri,
Concutiens * chrisma seditiosa ruit.
Vernans MILICIa fVres CaLCabat agone,
Subuertit castrum stat sacer ordo vigil.
Sed tamen extendit trux vires vlteriores,
Tertia cui feria fixa fit inde sequens.
Hic bellum regi campestre parare studebat,
Campum manè petens regia iura præit.
Vndíque conueniunt hac proditione feroces,
Partibus ex multis vota gerenda mala:
Vexillum regis prodit, crux præuia campo
Astitit, * Aegidij gens inimica fuit.
Campis atque vijs equites exire iubentes,
Regi præsentant quos rapuere malos,
Carceribus trudi dominus rex mandat eosdem,
Ne sine iusticia flet violenta manus,
Námque * vetus castrum, cui fit damnosa vetustas,
Profugus inde fugit cum nouitate fera.
Traditus hic Satanæ latitans luit ille satelles,
Fert odium luci qui mala tanta facit:
Hoc signo regi campo tunc fulgur amœnum,
Detexit tenebras, hoc operante Deo.
Caros LVCe CLVIt * IanI Dans robora * Deno
Vt rus Aegidij regia cura colat:
Hic suspenduntur tructi priùs, inde cremantur
Hæretici plures, conditione pari,
Capta Cohors CastrI Veter Is partIta CreMatVr,
Rex hominem veterem sic renouare studet:
In tellure satum lolium fit in igne crematum,
Quísque pians gramen sit benedictus, Amen.

1413
His name being Iohn Oldcastle, conteineth by the letters in the first verse the number of 701: out of which take 666, being the name of the man mentioned in the Appocalyps, the number remaining is 35, which was the yeare of his age when he died: such mysticall expositions could that age sucke out to serue their purpose.

* In festo Epiphaniæ.

* In festo Epiphaniæ.
* Ecclesia.
1413
* Oldcastle.

S. Giles besides London.

Sir Iohn Oldcastle.

1413
* Ianuarii.
* Decimo die.

1413

Of

Of which Iohn Oldcastle I find also this note in the records of the excheker, of the ninth yeare of that king in Michaelmas tearme: Elisabeth, quæ fuit vxor Edwardi Charleton chiualer & Iohannis Piers, executores testamenti prædicti Edwardi, nuper domini de Powis, in denarijs sibi liberatis per manus Thomæ Bradshew, in partem solutionis 1000 marcarum, quas dominus rex dictis executoribus liberari mandauit pro captione Iohannis Oldcastle, chiualer (nuper vocatum dominum de Cobham) iuxta quandam proclamationem dicti domini regis in singulis comitatibus Angliæ factum per priuatum sigillum DClxvi lib. 13s. 4d.

Now the fift and last husband of the foresaid Ione de la Poole, was sir Iohn Harpenden knight, buried at Westminster, besides hir first Husband Hemandale. This Ione, which had all these Husbands died in Ianuarie, in the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the sixt, and was buried in Cobham church, as is yet to be seene, with this epitaph: Hic iacet Iohanna domina de Cobham, quondam vxor domini Reginaldi de Braybrooke militis, quæ obijt in die sancti Hilarij episcopi, anno Domini 1433, cuius animæ propitietur Deus. Thus much touching Ione the heire and baronesse of Cobham, and of hir husbands and issue: amongst which, Ione (as is before said) maried to Thomas Brooke, was onelie baronesse of Cobham, and he intituled baron of that place in hir right, as after shall appeare. But before I enter into the tretie of the Brooks as lords of Cobham, I thinke it not amisse, as I haue set downe before the Cobhams, to set downe the descending line of the Brooks, vnto Thomas Brooke the first, intituled lord Cobham, and so vnto this William Brooke knight lord Cobham now liuing, bicause I would fill vp one orderlie course of the names and descents of all such families as haue inioied the honourable title of the lords of Cobham.

THE LINE OF THE BROOKS, AT THIS DAIE LORDS OF COBHAM.

Laurence Brooke liuing in the foure and fortith of Henrie the third, had receiued twentie pounds by the yeare of the kings grant out of the exchekr.

I HAUE read in the historie of Cambridge, lib. 1. fol. 4. of one Laurence Brooke, who liued in the foure and fortith yeare of king Henrie the third, falling about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and sixtie, and was delegate of the king to appease certeine discords at Cambridge. But whether these Brooks, whereof I am now to intreat, be descended of him or no, I will not at this time receiue or reiect, but leaue it to the iudgement of others; and therefore hauing nothing to saie certeine thereof, I will hasten to that certeintie which sufficient authoritie dooth warrant, vnder the learned pen of that notable antiquarie, Robert Glouer, named by office Summerset. Thus therefore I begin with the Brooks.

William de la Brooke, lord of the manor of the Brooke besides Iuell Chester, now called Ilchester, in Summersetshire, had issue Henrie de la Brooke. Henrie de la Brooke the sonne of William, married Nicholaa, the daughter of Brian Goneuile, by whom he had issue Henrie Brooke: of which name Goneuile one Edmund Goneuile a reuerend man, parson of the church of Terrington in Northfolke, did begin to laie one part of Goneuile college in Cambridge, on thursdaie in Whitsun weeke, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and eight, being the two and twentith of Edward the third.

Henrie Brooke, the sonne of Henrie, and of his wife Nicholaa married Elisabeth, and died in the eighteenth yere of king Edward the second, leauing issue Iohn de la Brooke.

Iohn de la Brooke, the sonne of Henrie and Elisabeth, maried Ione the daughter of sir Iohn Bardstone knight, by whome he had issue sir Thomas Brooke knight, which

which Iohn died in the two and twentith yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and eight.

Thomas Brooke knight, the sonne of Iohn, maried Constance the daughter of one Markenfeld, by whome he had issue Thomas Brooke knight, which Thomas the father died in the one and fortith yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of Lord 1367.

Thomas Brooke knight, the sonne of the said Thomas Brooke knight, married Ione second daughter, and one of the heires of Simon Hanape of Glocestershire, which Ione was the widow of Robert Chedder of Bristow. By which wife this Thomas had issue Thomas Brooke knight, lord Cobham, and Michaell Brooke his yoonger sonne, which sir Thomas Brooke and his wife being buried at Thorncombe, there is this monument extant of the time of both their deaths: Here lieth Thomas Brooke knight, which died in the yeare of our Lord 1419, being the fift of king Henrie the fift. And also heere lieth dame Ione Brooke, wife of the said Thomas, the which died the tenth of Aprill 1437, the fifteenth of king Henrie the sixt, on whose soules Iesus haue mercie.

Thomas Brooke of Summersetshire knight, the sonne of the last Thomas Brooke knight, maried (as before is said) Ione the daughter of Reginald Braiebrooke, in whose right he was intituled lord Cobham. This man had issue by this Ione, Edward Brooke knight lord Cobham; Thomas Brooke, and Iohn Brooke, Robert Brooke, and Peter Brooke, all which died without issue; Reginald Brooke of Apsale; Morgan Brooke, which also died issuelesse, and Hugh Brooke; with Elisabeth married to S. Maur, the sonne and heire to Iohn of S. Maur knight. Ione married to Iohn Carrant the sonne and heire of William Carrant esquier, Margaret Brooke, and Christian which died without issue. Tho. Brooke knight, the first (that was intituled lord Cobham) of that familie.

Edward Brooke knight, the sonne of the last Thomas Brooke knight, was lord Cobham and aduanced to the baronie thereof about the fine and twentith of king Henrie the sixt, about the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fortie and six, or a thousand foure hundred fortie and seauen, for that yeare of Henrie the sixt, fell part in that one and part in that other yeare of our Lord. This Lord Cobham faithfullie assisting the faction of Richard duke of Yorke, being now in the kings seruice in Ireland, continued his faith vnto him in the absence of this duke, for which cause the duke in the thirtith yeare of Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of Christ 1452, commeth out of Ireland to consult with his freends Iohn duke of Northfolke, Richard earle of Salisburie, and this lord Cobham, who being now in Wales and flieng the comming of the kings armie in those parts, they all went ouer Kingstone bridge, passing into Kent, and there vpon Burntheath neere vnto Dertford pight their field: whereof when the king had intelligence, he came to Blackeheath, and there also placed his campe. At length the duke by mediation of freends, and for that the people of Kent and of other places came not vnto him as they had promised, brake vp the field, and yeelded himselfe to the king at Dertford: at what time on the tenth of March the duke made his submission and tooke oth (to be true and obedient to the king) in S. Paules church of London, in the presence of manie of the nobilitie, amongst which were the lord S. Amond, and this Edward Brooke lord Cobham. After this, in the three and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the sixt 1454 the duke of Yorke being in the marches of Wales and associat with his freends, amongst which was the lord Cobham, and perceiuing that neither exhortation serued nor accusation preuailed against Edmund Beaufort duke of Summerset cheefe hinderer and enimie of this duke of Yorke: they determined to reuenge the quarrell by force, and so to obteine their purpose by open warre. Wherevpon, with those of his faction then present, whereof this lord Cobham was one, the duke commeth toward London, but was at Edward Brooke lord Cobham.

saint

saint Albons incountred with the king then present, and such as assisted him: where in the battell betwixt them, the victorie fell vnto the duke, and the king was wounded in the necke with an arrow: by means whereof things seemed to be at some quiet. But as the inward heat of coles of hatred are couered with the cold embers of outward dissimulation: so the malice betweene the king and the duke being but for a shew suppressed, and the same bursting foorth againe, the duke of Yorke was faine to flie into Ireland. But afterward regathering his power togither, he landed at Sandwich in the eight and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and three score, where met them Thomas Bourcher archbishop of Canturburie with his crosse borne before him: who comming to Canturburie and through Kent, there ioined with them this Edward lord Cobham, Iohn Guilford, William Pechee, Robert Horne, and manie other gentlemen of that shire. All which companie comming to London the second of Iulie, at a conuocation in Paules, the earle of Warwike recited the cause of their comming. Which doone, the duke and the rest departing from London to go to the king at Northampton, left Richard earle of Salisburie, the lord Cobham, and sir Iohn Guilford, to keepe the Londoners in their promised obedience; which lords tooke such carefull order for the citie, in diligent keeping the gates and entries thereof, that no succor might come to the lord Scales (lodging in the Tower) who with the lord Hungerford were come to the citie, to take the same before the comming of the duke of Yorke, that no aid might come to the lord Scales and those in the Tower, now streictlie besieged by water and by land. Wherewith the lord Scales tooke such displesure, that he shot off the great ordinance against them within the citie, and they of the citie did with like requit them within the Tower, to the great damage of both parts. Thus Edward Brooke lord Cobham married Elisabeth the daughter of Iames lord Audleie, by whome he had issue Iohn Brooke lord Cobham, and Elisabeth married to Robert Tanfield esquier.

Iohn Brooke lord Cobham of Cobham.

Iohn Brooke lord Cobham, the son of Edward lord Cobham, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Richard the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred eightie and three, attended vpon the said king to his coronation: and in the ninth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, being the yeere of Christ one thousand foure hundred ninetie and three, he interteined to be of his councell sergeant Read, after cheefe iustice of the common plees, from whome Thomas Wootton and Thomas Willoughbie in Kent esquiers, as heirs of the said Read, and Iames Cromer and Isaac Rudston esquiers also in that shire are lineallie descended; for which cause I was the willinger to take this occasion by this lord Brooke in this sort, to mention the said sir Robert Read, and these persons descended of him. This Iohn lord Cobham, in the twelfe yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the seuenth, being about the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred ninetie and seuen, ioined with Greie earle of Kent against the Cornish rebels, who made insurrection vnder Iames Touchet lord Audleie and Michaell Ioseph the blacke smith, at what time those rebels were subdued at Blackeheath. This Iohn lord Cobham had two wiues, the first Elenor the daughter of one Anstie of Suffolke, by whome he had no issue; the second wife was Margaret the daughter of Edward Neuill lord of Aburgauennie, by whom he had issue Thomas Brooke lord Cobham, George Brooke which married Elenor (some saie Elisabeth the daughter of William, and sister and heire to sir Iohn Pechee knight) and Edward Brooke of Denton; which was knighted in the fourth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, by Howard lord admerall, in the yeare of Grace one thousand fiue hundred and twelue, and died without issue, hauing maried a woman borne in Ireland. The daughters of this Iohn lord Cobham were Marie maried vnto Robert Blage a baron of the exchecker; Dorothie married to William Isaac of Kent esquier, and Faith Brooke.

And here hauing before mentioned one George Brooke sonne to this Iohn lord Cobham, and finding by Leland, that much about this time liued one sir George Brooke knight, which I can not yet discerne to be other but this George Brooke; I will set downe the words and matter of Leland, as well for that I desire to perpetuat all whatsoeuer commeth to my hands of Lelands commentaries, as for that so worthie an exploit of a Brooke should not be by me forgotten. Thus therefore witteth Leland. After the battell of Tewkesburie, fought by king Edward the fourth against prince Edward sonne to Henrie the sixt, sir Walter Writle, and sir Geffreie Gates knights of Richard Neuille earle of Warwike were gouernors of the towne of Calis who sent sir George Brooke knight out of Calis vnto Thomas bastard Fauconbridge capteine of the earle of Warwikes nauie, to raise the countrie of Kent to go to London, and to take king Henrie out of the Tower, &c. So Fauconbridge came to Canturburie, raised all Kent, and came to London the tenth daie of Maie; there the maior and aldermen, and the lord Scales kept them out, wherefore Fauconbridge shot his ordinance at the citie, burning much about London bridge, and about Aldgate. Wherevpon the commons of London tooke great displeasure, or else they had let in Fauconbridge and the Kentishmen, in despite of the rulers of the citie. Wherevpon Fauconbridge went from London to Kingston, &c. Thus much Leland. This Iohn lord Cobham died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand and fiue hundred, being about the fifteenth yere of the reigne of Henrie the seuenth, and his wife Margaret died in September, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred and six, in the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie the seuenth, and were buried in the collegiat church of Cobham, with this epitaph: Hic iacet Iohannes Brooke miles ac baro baroniæ de Cobham, & domina Margareta vxor sua, quondam filia nobilis viri Edouardi Neuill nuper domini de Burgauenni, qui quidem Iohannes obijt (*) die mensis (*) Anno Domini 1500. Ipsa verò domina Margareta obijt (*) die mensis Septembris 1506, quorum animabus propitietur Deus.

1471 In the eleuenth yeare of Edward the fourth.

Stellulæ indicant nonnulla desiderari.

Thomas Brooke knight lord Cobham, the sonne of Iohn Lord Cobham, in the yeere that the word became flesh one thousand fiue hundred and thirteene, being the fift yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, was with George Talbot earle of Shrewsburie left to tame the Welshmen, when the king minded to passe the seas to the warres of Terwine and Turneie: who after also in the same yeare with the same earle of Shrewsburie, was at the warres of the cities of Terwine and Turneie. After which, in the yeare that the word of the father took flesh in the wombe of the mother a thousand fiue hundred twentie and one, being the thirteenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, he was one of the peeres for the arreignment and condemnation of Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham. Then in the yeare of our incarnation one thousand fiue hundred and fiue and twentie, being the seuenteenth yeere of the reigne of Henrie the eight, commissioners sat in all shires, to leauie the sixt part of euerie mans goods; but the burden was so greeuous that it was denied, and the commons in euerie place were so moued, that it was like to haue growen to a rebellion. For in Kent the lord Cobham then a commissioner thought to execute the same, but being clubbishlie answered by one Iohn Scudder, he sent him to the Tower; for which the people muttered against the lord Cobham, and said expreslie, that they would paie no monie, and in the same grudge did euillie intreat sir Thomas Bullen at Maidston, which tax the people refused to paie, because it was the cardinals extreame doings and not the kings. He maried three wiues whereof the first was Dorothie daughter of Henrie Heidon knight, by whome he had issue Iohn that died issuelesse; George Brooke after lord Cobham; Thomas and William Brooke, which died without issue; Margaret married to sir Iohn Fog knight; Faith married to William Okenden gentleman

Thomas Brooke.

of Calis; and Elisabeth first married to sir Thomas Wiat knight, and after to sir Edward Warner knight. His second wife was also Dorothie the daughter of sir Philip Calthrope of Norwich knight. His third wife was Elisabeth the daughter of Thomas Hart, and sister to sir Persiuall Hart knight, by both which his last wiues this lord Cobham had no issue. He died the nineteenth daie of Iulie, in the yeare of our Sauior one thousand fiue hundred twentie and nine, being the one and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, and was honorablie buried with his ancestors at Cobham, hauing this epitaph grauen vpon him: Orate pro anima Thomæ Brooke militis domini de Cobham, & consanguinei & hæredis Richardi Beauchamp militis, qui quidem Thomas cœpit in uxorem Dorotheam filiam Henrici Heidon militis, & habuerunt exitum inter eos septem filios & sex filias, & predicta Dorothea obijt: & predictus Thomas cœpit in vxorem Dorotheam Southwel viduam, quæ obijt sine exitu, & postea cœpit in vxorem Elizabetham Hart, & habuerunt nullum exitum inter eos, qui quidem Thomas obijt 19 die Iulij Anno Domini 1529.

George Brooke. George Brooke lord Cobham (by birth the second, but at the death of the same Thomas the eldest son of Thomas lord Cobham) being a gentleman of great hope, was for the valor shewed by him in his yoongest yeares during the life of his father, not onlie well esteemed amongst all men, but also highlie honored by the king. For this George before his fathers death, shewing manifest proofe of those good parts wherewith he was liberallie indued by beneficiall nature, and his parents good and carefull education, attended with good credit (in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred and twentie, being about the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the eight) on Thomas duke of Norffolke then lieutenant of Ireland, where this George Brooke did valiantlie behaue himselfe in the same wars. Wherwith not contented, but being like the sun, which the higher it goeth, so much the more it spreadeth and increaseth his force; this George as he increased in yeeres, so much the larger he spread forth the honorable beames of his valor. For in the yeare of our Lord 1522, falling in the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of the renowned king Henrie the eight, in the warres which the admerall of England had against the French Britons, at what time Morleus was taken from the Britons; the lord admerall in some part to recompense the worthie deserts of this George Brooke, then performing a peece of good service, did amongst others adorne him with the degree of a knight. Who thus honored, did not yet cease from the performance of the dutie both of a worthie knight, and a valiant gentleman. For shortlie after in the selfe same yeare, the kings armie (vnder the conduct of Thomas Howard earle of Surreie and admerall of England, ioining with the men of the emperor Charles the fift) passed towards Ard, from whense this sir George Cobham with two thousand men, by the precept of the admerall generall of the field, came to the towne of Sellois, set fire on the towne, assaulted the castell, burned, and subdued it, with the towns of Brunibridge, Senekerke, Botingham, and Manstier. Which doone, he returned to the admerall, and obteined due thanks and reward therefore, all these things being performed in the life of his father Thomas lord Cobham. After whose death, this noble man George Brooke being become lord Cobham, did neither faint in the course of his honorable actions, nor anie whit degenerat from the nobilitie of his ancestors, for he was still had in such estimation: that amongst other of the nobilitie, in the three and twentith yeare of Henrie the eight, being the yere of our Lord and Sauior a thousand fiue hundred thirtie and one, attending on the king going to meet the French king betweene Calis and Bullongne, this lord Cobham was one, who in honorable sort behaued himselfe to his singular commendation. Some yeares after this, being in the yeare of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred

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fortie and foure, and the six and thirtith yeere of Henrie the eight, he as marshall of the armie vnder Edward Seimor earle of Hertford, taking ship at Newcastell, passed into Scotland, and in the same countrie performed manie warlike exploits. Wherevpon, in the same yeare, as a reward of his worthinesse, he was made deputie of Calis in the place of the earle of Arundell; at what time this lord was sworne to that office, in the morning of the same daie, being the fourteenth daie of Iune, in the night whereof (after the watch bell ended) the king landed at Calis, to go in person to the siege of Bullongne. Touching whose landing, and the behauior of the lord Cobham; the first declaring a most noble mind of the prince, in that he would not refuse to obeie the orders of his townes; and the other shewing the wisdome of the same lord Cobham, in that he would not rashlie doo anie thing, I will not refuse to saie somewhat, sith the same deserueth not to be forgotten, and may be a good example to others. In the morning of the same fourteenth day of Iune before the king passed from Douer to Calis, was Henrie Fitzallen earle of Arundell deputie of Calis, but he then surrendering his office, and the lord Cobham that daie sworne, the king tooke land at Calis, after that the watch was set, and that the watch bell had ceased ringing; after the ceasing whereof, it was not lawfull to open the gates to receiue anie into the towne. The news of the kings landing being knowen, the erle of Arundell and the new deputie come with the porter, hauing the keies to open the gate, and to receiue the king into the towne, at what time the earle of Arundell in hast commanded the porter to open the gates the lord Cobham then saieng nothing, but the porter refused the dooing therof at his word, alledging, that this same morning in truth he was their gouernor, and then it was his dutie to obeie him. But now (saith he) you are no more in that office, wherfore I will not doo it vntill the lord Cobham our deputie doo appoint vs, at whose speech it shall be doone, and not before.

Wherevpon the lord Cobham noting the wise demeanour of the porter that warrantlesse would not breake the orders of the towne, for the present time said nothing, but still expecting the kings neerer approch to the towne, he at length goeth himselfe to the gate, when the king knocked, tooke the keie from the porter, did open onelie the little wicket, receiued the king onelie therethrough, with three or foure more into the towne, and excluded all the rest of the traine, of what estate soeuer: which the king greatlie commended, hauing before vnderstood by the speech of the lord Cobham, that they might not without breach of the orders of the towne, admit such companie amongst them, after the hour appointed; and therefore besought the king that it would please him that onelie some three or foure, which his maiestie would appoint, might onelie come within the wals of the towne; wherevnto the granted, and standing himselfe at the wicket, would not permit anie to enter, but such as he by speciall name called vnto him; wherevpon three or foure being now come in at the gate, the king did shut the wicket with his owne hands. Thus this lord Cobham continuing in the fauour of king Henrie the eight during his life, shewed no lesse merit of good desert after his death, to his sonne king Edward the sixt, than he had doone before. For about the third yeare of his reigne, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and eight, the king adopted this lord Cobham into the honourable felowship of the knights of the garter; in which yeare also, about the second of Maie, after the surrender of Bullongne (the daie whereof following this lord left his deputiship of Calis as I haue beene informed) this lord Cobham with sir William Peter cheefe secretarie, went from Calis as ambassadors vnto the French king, at what time these ambassadors were lodged the first night at Bullongne, and so rode to Amiens,

where they met the French king, with whome hauing dispatched the cause of their comming, they after returned into England honourablie rewarded, vpon which returne of the lord Cobham he was sworne one of the kings priuie councell.

After which to shew how readie and able he was to furnish himselfe with armor and men for defense of his countrie against inuasion, he in the sixt yeare of the same king Edward the sixt, in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and two, amongst other of the nobilitie which mustered before the king in the parke of Greenewich, shewed his traine to the number of fiftie persons, vnder the ensigne of the Saracens head, which he gaue to his seruants for their cognisance. Then after the death of king Edward the sixt, in the yere of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, he setteth his hand with other of the nobilitie to a letter, wherin the lords admit queene Iane to the crowne, excluding the ladie Marie daughter to king Henrie the eight. Which deed of his, doone by the persuasion of the greatest part of the greater sort of councellors, was not so hurtfull vnto him as it was to others, after the comming of queene Marie to the crowne, to whom he shewed himselfe no lesse faithfull subiect than before he had beene a sound councellor to hir brother. For in the first yeare of the reigne of the same queene, about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and foure, he dutifullie resisted sir Thomas Wiat knight, raising a rebellion in Kent, and besieging this lord Cobham then defended within his castle of Cowling: where this lord discharging such artillerie as he had against Wiat, he inforced him to depart from thense. But as nothing is so well doone or meant, but that the same maie be impeched by the malice of the aduersarie, sith there is none that resteth free from enuie; so this lord growing in some suspicion about Wiats rebelling, by the euill persuasions of his enimies, sith this lord had used some conference with Wiat; he was in the end apprehended and committed to the Tower with certeine of his sonnes; who there sufficientlie prooued his innocencie, was after about the foure and twentith of March, discharged of his imprisonment and sent to his house in Kent. From whense in the second yere of the same queene, with other noble men, he went to meet king Philip, comming into England to marrie queene Marie. After which he liued some fiue or six yeares in honorable peace and quiet, beloued of his countrie, and honored of the nobilitie, and then gaue place to nature.

He married Anne the eldest daughter of sir Edward Braie knight, and one of the heires of Iohn lord Braie, by whom he had issue William Brooke lord Cobham, George Brooke his second sonne which maried Christian the daughter and heire of Richard Duke esquire, by whom he had issue three sonnes; Duke, so christened after his grandfather; Charles and Peter, Thomas Brooke his third sonne which maried Katharine the daughter of sir William Candish knight, by whom he had issue a daughter married to Arthur Mils esquire; Iohn Brooke his fourth sonne now liuing who married Anne the widow of sir Iohn Norton, and the daughter and heire of Cob; Henrie the elder his fift sonne, and Edward Brooke the elder his sixt sonne, who both died without issue; Henrie Brooke the yoonger his seuenth sonne now liuing a pensioner, a knight, and one that hath beene ambassador legier in France for hir maiestie, who married Anne the daughter of Henrie Sutton of Arrone, and widow of doctor Walter Haddon maister of the requests; Thomas Brooke the yoonger his eight, Edmund the ninth, and Edward the yoonger his tenth sonne, all which three died without issue. Besides which sonnes, this lord George had issue foure daughters, Elisabeth married to William Par marquesse of Northampton, Anne and Marie which died issulesse, and Katharine now liuing married to Iohn Ierningham esquire. And

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here sith I haue somewhat mentioned this Elisabeth marquesse of Northampton, who went into Flanders to recouer helpe of an infirmitie which she had, I must saie somewhat that she after hir returne from those parts vncured departed this life at Whitehall, and was buried in Paules on the north side of the quier, not farre from Iohn of Gaunt. Touching whome after hir death doctor Haddon did compose these few following verses:

Elisabetha fuit naturæ iure Cobama,
Coniugis & proprio nomine Parra fuit,
Forma, pudor, pietas, fœcundæ gratia linguæ,
Ingenium, virtus, inuiolata fides,
Cum grauitate lepos, cum simplicitate venustas,
Larga manus, pectus nobile, firmus amor,
Denique quicquid habet natura, quod addere possit
Addere quod possit gratia quicquid habet,
Omnia viuentem Parram comitata fuerunt,
Omnia mors atrox obruit ista simul,
Obruat ista licèt tristi mors sæua sepulchro,
Attamen illorum fama superstes erit.

But leauing hir, and returning to hir father, we saie, that this lord George departed this life the third kalends of October, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight, and the fift and sixt yeare of the reignes of Philip and Marie. After whose death his wife ladie Anne, refusing anie longer to liue after the deth of hir honorable and louing husband, did also forsake the world, and ended hir daies in Nouember, after the death of hir husband, to both whom buried in Cobham church, their louing sonne William lord Cobham did consecrate a rich, statelie, and curious monument of rare workmanship in stone, to the end that one toome might vnite their bodies after death, whose harts were by mutuall loue ioined during their liues. Vpon which gorgeous monument are ingrauen these following epitaphs, wherof the first in prose concerneth the lord Cobham, and the other in verse belongeth to his wife in this sort. ¶ Honoratissimus & clarissimus vir Georgius Brokus fuit dominus Cobhammus ex oppidi Cobhammi possessione cognominatus, & idem laudatissimus aliquot annis Caleti præfectus, in illustrissimum collegium cooptatus equitum diui Georgij, nec solùm hunc præstantissimum habuit honorem & familiæ commendationem, sed etiam natura fuit optima, & animo omni generis laude ornatissimo: dux fuit in bello præstantissimus, & sapientissimus in pace conciliarius, principibus in quorum temporibus vixit egregiè probatus: Cantianis suis inter quos habitauit eximiè charus, denique toti reipublicæ propter honorum splendorem, & virtutum notissimus & dilectissimus. Et hæc omnia fuerunt in illo illustriora, quoniam & professionem euangelij susceperat, & defensionem, ac eandem ad extremum vsque spiritum conseruauit. Iste nobilissimus vir, constantissimus Dei seruus, & ornatissimum patriæ membrum, cùm ad maturam senectutem peruenisset, annum agens sexagesimum secundum, & febris ardoribus conflagrans, tertio kalenda Octobris est mortuus, anno milesimo quingentesimo octauo, cuius descessu, liberi quos post se multos & imprimis laudatos reliquit, & amici & necessarij, tota denique respublica magnum & iustum dolorem acceperunt. Gulielmus autem Brokus eques appellatus, ex antiquæ familiæ cognominatione dominus Cobhamimus Georgij patris & hæres beneuolentissimus, hoc monumentum memoriæ Georgij patris sui clarissimi dedicauit, an. 1561 & Elisabethæ reginæ tertio.

Besides which, vpon the other side of the same toome, besides the picture of his

his wife, is this epitaph set downe concerning hir, being a gentlewoman of great birth, and likewise of honourable behauiour:

Patre fuit domino fœlix dominóque marito,
Alter erat Brayus Cobhamus alter erat,
Anna fuit frugi, fuit & prosperima mater,
Pauperibus larga præbuit Anna manu,
Nil erat hac melius, nil fortunatius vna,
Donec erat charo charior illa viro.
Vltimus hunc annus, Mariæ cum funere mersi
Illa mari fato mense Nouembre ruit,
Sic quos vita duos concordes semper habebat,
Extinctos eadem nunc quoque busta tenet.

William Brooke.

William Brooke knight, lord Cobham, the sonne and heire of George Brooke lord Cobham, not degenerating in anie point from the nobilitie of his ancestors, was (as before his father had beene) aduanced to the honorable degree of knighthood in the life of his father, in whose time he deserued no small commendations for his seruice in the warres in those his yoonger yeres. But because I maie not set downe what euerie particular action and honour of his might iustlie deserue to be spoken, because I might to some therin seeme ouer much to flatter him of whom I write whilest he is yet liuing, I will not either in truth dilate all the circumstances of the matter, neither in ample speeches streine my pen to powre out that which he rightlie deserueth, and euerie one plainlie knoweth: but onelie simplie set downe such things, as he hath valiantlie, honorablie, grauelie, and deliberately performed, in the warres, in peace, abroad and at home, to his countries good, the honour of his familie, his owne aduancement, and his princes liking. Wherefore to begin with things doone in his fathers life, and in the budding of those yoong yeares which gaue foorth a manifest proofe of that fruit which so honorable a tree would in following time deliuer with ripe consideration; we saie, that in the third yeare of king Edward the sixt in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and nine, after the assault of Bullogneberg in the warres betweene the French and the English, this lord Cobham (by order and appointment of his father George lord Cobham then deputie of Calis) came from Calis with a hundred souldiors, who ioining with another hundred souldiors issuing out of Guines vnder the leading of capteine Smith, tooke their iorneies as appereth to Bullogneberg. Shortlie after, which, by the order of the lord Clinton then gouernor of Bullogne, were sent forth sir William Brooke with his hundred from Bullogne berg, and capteine Litton with his hundred from the base towne, and another capteine with a third hundred of souldiors from another peece of defense thereabouts; wherevnto were ioined fiue and twentie horssemen with certeine cariages to go vnto a wood, two miles distance from Bullogneberg, to fetch timber from thense for the mounting of the great artillerie and other necessarie vses. These capteines with their bands being almost come to the woods side, met with certeine of their skouts, which were sent forth in the morning; who told them how they had discouered the tract of a great number of horssemen. Wherevpon the English retired, and therewith the French horssemen brake out of the wood beforesaid, and following the English, fell in skirmish with them. But the Englishmen casting themselues in a ring, kept out the enimie with their pikes, wherewith they had impaled themselues; who hauing that their small number lined with shot, did continuallie gall the Frenchmen as they approched. All which notwithstanding, those horssemen gaue three manie onsets vpon the English, with

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the number of fiue hundred horsse; the rest of their companie remaining still in troope. But such was the valiant prowesse of the English (incouraged by the comfortable speeches, and valiant actiuitie of sir William Brooke, with the diligence of the other capteins, which not onelie conducted and placed them in such order as stood most for their safetie, but also vsed such good speeches to them as the necessitie of the time required and would permit) that in the end the enimie was manfullie repelled, and diuerse of them with their horsses slaine; amongst which was monsieur Cauret: whereby this sir William Brooke and the Englishmen did safelie retire and returne home.

This sir William Brooke being one of the squiers of the bodie to king Edward the sixt, was after the death of king Edward, which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, with his father the lord George, by the malicious persuasion of their enimies, committed to the Tower vpon suspicion of priuitie of the rebellion of Wiat, although (as you heard before) this lord repelled him from his castell of Cowling. But in the end, they so well answered whatsoeuer might be obiected against them, that they were shortlie after with great credit deliuered to their libertie. After which, this William Brooke liued in quiet all the time of queene Marie, as far as I can yet learne. In the latter yeare of the reigne of which queene, George lord Cobham died, whereby this sir William possessing now the honorable title to his father, was made lord Cobham by descent: who with all due circumstances executing the funerall of his father and mother (who did not long suruiue hir husband the lord George) did after in the church of Cobham erect a statelie monument ouer them of rich stone, most beautifull now to be seene in the same church. Not long after which death of his father, this William lord Cobham was after the death of sir Thomas Cheineie knight, in the first yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie Elisabeth, made conestable of Douer castle, warden of the fiue ports, chancellor and admerall of the same. Which office he at this daie dooth most honorablie inioie, hauing (during the same) onelie two lieutenants, the one a woorthie gentleman called William Cripse esquier, and after his decease, Richard Carre esquier, a man well deseruing a place of such charge, trust, and credit.

In which first yeare of hir maiesties reigne, falling in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and nine, this lord did most honorablie interteine the queene with hir traine at his house of Cobham hall with sumptuous fare, and manie delights of rare inuention. Amongst which, one comming now to mind, which I then being yoong beheld, vrgeth me forward in the setting downe thereof; which was: a banketing house made for hir maiestie in Cobham parke, with a goodlie gallerie therevnto, composed all of greene, with seuerall deuises of knotted flowers, supported on each side with a faire row of hawthorne trees, which nature seemed to haue planted there of purpose in summer time to welcome hir maiestie, and to honor their lord and master. But because the beautie and maiestie, with the rare deuise thereof cannot be so well conceiued by pen, as the same was artificiallie made, vnlesse the reder might at one instant behold also the artificiall situation of the place; I thinke it better to passe the rest in silence, than not deliuering it in such grace as it meriteth, to offer disgrace vnto it, and shame to my selfe, in that I shall faile in due commendation of the deuise; and take vpon me to describe that which is beyond my reach. Wherefore leauing the maner thereof, I will set downe certeine verses made by doctor Haddon and placed in the forefront of the same banketting house, which doo not onelie shew the ioifull welcome of hir maiestie to this honorable lord; but also to the whole countrie of Kent, which verses were these following:

Regia

Regia progenies, claristirps inclyta Bruti,
Grata venis populis Elisabetha tuis:
Quocúnque aspicias plausus & gaudia cernis,
Lætatur vultu fœmina vírque tuo:
Imberbes pueri, cani, teneræque puellæ,
Omnis ad aspectum turba profusa ruunt:
Nos te reginam, tu nos agnosce clientes,
Sic tibi, sic nobis, sic bona cuncta fluent.

Not long after which, this lord Cobham was by hir maiestie sent ambassador into the low countries to king Philip, where he so honorablie and wiselie dispatched the same, that he was holden in no lesse reputation, than his birth and merits did well chalenge. Which doone, his wife the ladie Dorothie the daughter of George Neuill lord of Aburgauennie departed the world. Wherevpon hauing no issue male by hir, and desirous to perpetuat so long and honorable a title of the lords Cobham, which he would not to haue ended in himselfe; he applied his mind to the second mariage, and finding a gentlewoman in the court of modest behauior and knightlie birth, deseruing well, not onelie for the rare and good cariage of hir selfe in that place; but also for the dowries of hir mind (for she was both wise and learned) and for the beautie of hir person wherewith nature had adorned hir, he tooke hir to wife, being by name Francis, the daughter of sir Iohn Newton, knight; who hauing made him a glad father of much faire issue, whereof we will speake hereafter, yet liueth to both their comforts. Touching which name of Newton, sith I am now occasioned to speake thereof; I thinke it not amisse here to set downe what I find noted therevpon; to the end that I might in like sort ioine them in some part of a discourse of their descent, whome God hath ioined in one societie of matrimonie. Wherefore I will vtter what I find thereof in the collections of Leland that most worthie antiquarie: who making mention of Gourneie, Caradoc, and Newton, as persons so tied togither, partlie by descent, and partlie by name, that they cannot be seuered; I will Verbatim recite Lelands words, which are these, written in the peregrination of England, which he made in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and two.

"From Montague to Stoke vnder Hampden about a mile, there I saw at Stoke in a bottome hard by the village, verie notable ruins of a great manor place or castell. In this manor place remaineth a verie ancient chapell, wherein be diuerse toomes of noblemen and women. In the south-west side of the chapell be fiue images and toomes one ioined hard to another, three of men harnessed with shields, and two of women. There haue been inscriptions of each of them; but now so sore defaced that they cannot be read. I saw a shield or two all varreie of blew and white. There are manie other toomes of noble men in that chapell. Without the quier doore lieth a great faire flat marble stone, with an image of brasse flatlie grauen, and this writing in French about it: Icy gist le noble & valiant chiualier Mahew de Gourney iadis senescall de landes, & capteine de castell de Acquies pur nostre seigneiure le roy en la duchie de Guyen. Qui en sa vie fu a la battaile de Beuamazine, & ala apres a la siege de Algazire sur la Sarazins, & auxi a les battailes de Schluse, de Cressie, de Ingenesse, de Poiters, de Nazara, &c. Il morut al age de 96 ans, & 26 September, anno Domini 1406, de que ailme Dieu aist mercy. I marked in the windows three sorts of armes, one all varreie blew and white, another with three stripes gules downe right in a field gold, the third was crosselets of gold manie intermixt in one, in a field as I remember all gules. The prouost of this collegiat chapell hath a large house by the village of Stoke, and thereby is a notable quarrie of stone at Hampden.

"The

"The verie proper name of sir Iohn Newton is Caradoc. The name of Newton came by this error, because the grandfather of sir Iohn Newton dwelled, or was borne in Trenewithein in Pois land. Againe, this Gourneie was lord of Stokehampden, and there he lieth buried in a collegiat chapell, by the ruins of his castell; he was chiefe founder (as some saie) of the house of Gaunts at Bristow, he was founder of the priorie of nuns in Summersetshire, called Baron Gourneie: and of Richmont castell by Mendep, fiue miles from Wels. All the building of this castell is cleane downe. It came after to Hampden, and to Caradoc alias Newton. The forest of Kingswood commeth iust out to Barnecourt maister Newtons house. There were of ancient time foure counted as chiefe lords of Mendep; first the king and his part came to the bishop of Bath by fee farme; Glastenburie had another part; Bonuill lord Bonuill, and now the lord Greie marquesse Dorset was the third owner; the fourth was Gourneie; and now Caradoc alias Newton. Gourneie vsed much to lie at Richmont castell. Sir Iohn Newton digged vp manie old foundations of this castell, towards the building of a new house hard thereby, called Eastwood. There is a village by East chapter, called West chapter Gourneie, and there be the varietie of armes that Gourneie gaue in the glasse windows, and his cote armor. At such time as Gourneie liued, the lord Fitzwaren was maister of Mendep first by inheritance, and it was well furnished with deare: but shortlie after, for riots and trespasses doone in hunting, it was disforrested, and so it remaineth. Gourneis lands came by this means vnto Newton.

Caradoc or Cradoc, they were called Newtons of the name of their dwelling called Newtowne.

Sir Iohn Newtons house standeth in the verie place where the grange of Richmond castell was.

"One Newton a man of lands inhabiting at Wike towards Banwell, had a yoonger brother, which maried one of the daughters and heires of Hampton, and wife issulesse before to one of the Chocks that died without child by hir, which was the yoongest daughter of three that Hampton left behind him, and yet she being maried vnto Newton, father to sir Iohn Newton, fortuned to haue all the three parts. The verie lands of Newton of Wike be descended by heires generals to sir Henrie Capell, sonne to sir Giles that dwelled at Wike, and to maister Griffith of Northamptonshire that hath Braibrooke castell. So that Newton of Barnecourt hath no part of Newtons lands of Wike." Thus much Leland. Whose words although they be long, yet I haue beene the willinger to set downe, because it concerneth the name of Newton, of whome this honorable ladie Cobham is descended; being a person of no lesse credit with hir maiestie, than hir worthinesse dooth well merit.

But to leaue hir in court in the good fauor of hir prince, I will returne my pen to the lord Cobham, who for the tender loue that he bare vnto his sister the ladie marchionesse of Northampton, went with hir and this ladie Cobham his wife into Flanders, there to seeke remedie for an infirmitie wherewith the said marchionesse was greeuouslie troubled. After whose returne into England, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and fiue, being the seuenth yeare of queene Elisabeth, Christopher prince and Margraue of Baden, with Cecilie his wife sister to the king of Swethen alanded heere in England in the month of September at Douer, whom this lord Cobham there receiued, and from thense conueied vnto London, where the prince and his wife lodged at the earle of Bedfords house standing on the east side, not far from Iuie bridge. But as there are none that liue in this world in such happinesse, but that they are enuied (because such is the nature of enuie that it alwaies repineth at hir superiors, and at the good of anie other; for as saint Augustine in a certeine sermon dooth write; Inuidia est odium alienæ fœlicitatis; respectu superiorum, quia eis non æquatur; respectu inferiorum, ne sibi æquentur; respectu parium, quia sibi æquantur; vnde Cain inuidet Abel prosperitati, Rachel Liæ fœcunditati, Saul Dauid fœlicitati: per inuidiam procuratus est lapsus mundi & mors Christi: the sharpe and fierie darts whereof, none but onelie the

poore and miserable can eschue; for the vertuous, the wise, the valiant, kings, queenes, lords, capteines, and all estates whatsoeuer are subiect therevnto) so this noble lord Cobham, feeling the common force thereof, by the complaint of others, was vpon the same assigned ouer to the charge of the honorable lord treasuror, vntill further triall were made of his vprightnesse. But in the end, as gold the more it is purified by the fire the brighter and better it becommeth: so the lord Cobham, hauing well cleered himselfe of whatsoeuer was laied against him, did like Ioseph not onelie receiue an honorable libertie, but did also in following time rise to greater honor than he had before. For his fidelitie to his prince deseruing it, and hir honorable fauor commanding it, he was after in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred threescore and eighteene, being the twentith yeare of hir maiesties reigne, sent with sir Francis Walsingham hir principall secretarie, ambassador into the low countries, to don Iohn of Austria, bastard sonne of Charles the fift the emperor, and regent of those countries for Philip king of Spaine. In which ambassage he behaued himselfe so grauelie, that in few yeares after he was aduanced to greater honors. For he was called both to be one of the most honorable fellowship of the knights of the garter, and in Hilarie tearme in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and fiue, in the eight and twentith yeare of hir maiesties reigne was admitted into the number of hir priuie councellors, where I will now leaue him, inioieng that place, in which I wish him long and happie continuance. Besides which (ouerpassing his goodlie buildings at the Blacke friers in London in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and two, and since that, the statelie augmenting of his house at Cobham hall, with the rare garden there, in which no varietie of strange flowers and trees doo want, which praise or price maie obteine from the furthest part of Europe, or from other straũge countries, wherby it is not inferior to the garden of Semiramis) I determine to speake somewhat of such persons, as are issued from him. Wherefore we first saie, that this lord maried two wiues, wherof the first (as is before said) was the daughter of George Neuill lord of Aburgauennie, by whom he had issue one onelie daughter called Francis, yet liuing, being borne on wednesday the last of Iulie one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and nine, being first maried to Thomas Copinger of Alhallowes in the countie of Kent esquire, by whom she hath issue, two sonnes now liuing, William and Francis; and after his deceasse vnto Edward Becher esquire now liuing, by whom she hath also issue, two sonnes Caro and Francis. After the death of this ladie Dorothie, the lord Cobham maried Francis the daughter of sir Iohn Newton, by whom he had issue, foure sonnes, and three daughters, which were Maximilian, Henrie, William, George, Elisabeth, Francis, and Margaret, of whom particularlie we will saie somewhat, aswell for their honorable birth, as for that their good education giuen by their parents deserueth not that they should be forgotten. Maximilian the eldest sonne (borne on wednesdaie the fourth of December in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and threescore, being the third yeare of the reigne of queene Elisabeth) growing after to be a goodlie yoong gentleman, was first in his yoongest yeares brought vp in his fathers house, where he learned the Latine, the French, and other languages; then going to Cambridge, where he bestowed some time in philosophical exercises, and forsaking that place, did after trauell beyond the seas, where most vnfortunatlie (about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and three) he ended his desired life, which might greatlie in time haue beene beneficiall to his countrie, whose death (being greeuous to his parents at Cobham performing the funerals of him their sonne, who should by the course of nature haue discharged that dutie to them) maie iustlie moue them to write vpon the toome of the same Maximilian these verses, set vpon a toome in the hospitals of the incurable in

Naples, which in the like cause I haue read to be set by the now liuing mother vpon the toome of hir lamented sonne, departing in hir life time to hir great griefe and heauines :

Quæ mihi debueras suprema munera vitæ,
Infœlix seruo nunc tibi nate prior:
Fortuna inconstans, lex & variabilis æui,
Debueras cineri iam superesse meæ.

The which I haue seen turned into French in this sort expressing the words and the true meaning therof:

Par ces derneirs honores, que puet lauie attender,
Ie te paye primer ce que tu me deuois,
Sort mutable ô du temps les variable loix,
Tu deuois ah mon filz ah suire ma cender.

But to let that passe, this yoong gentleman hauing his mind mounted to the hight of good actions, and desirous to make shew that patience reioiseth in expecting the good succes of hard and high things, tooke this poesie to him; Gaudet patientia duris. Of which words and the blacke lion placed in a siluer field being his crest, one Giles Fletcher (now doctor of law in Cambridge in this yeare one thousand fiue hundred fourscore and six) and one that greatlie loued this gentleman, did some yeares past compose these following persuasiue verses, as followeth:

Ecce niger vestræ referens insignia stirpis,
Stat leo candenti conspiciendus agro:
Admonet vt niuei tibi sint in pectore mores,
Hic color & fortem te iubet esse leo.
Quàm bene conueniunt nigro coniuncta leoni?
Quæ tria sunt titulis addita verba tuis.
Hæc quoque te fortem, Gaudet patientia duris,
Hæc quoque te niueis moribus esse iubet.
Ergò sit vt tituli, sic vitæ regula, verbo
Sed quod inest, factis debet inesse tuis.
Vt te nobilitas humilem, sors ampla modestum
Reddat, honor mitem, copia magna pium.
Dura quidem res est, Gaudet patientia duris,
Conueniens verbo laus erit ista tuo.
Si malè quid placeat, quod vis non velle carere,
Quod cupis, a placidis abstinuisse malis.
Dura quidem res est, Gaudet patientia duris,
Deterior verbo ne videare, caue.
Si quid displiceat, motus lenire feroces
Pectoris ac iræ fræna tenere tuæ:
Dura quidem res est, Gaudet patientia duris,
Hic quoque sint verbo consona facta tuo:
Sic mala contingant, tranquilla mente dolorem
Ferre, nec aduersus succubuisse malis.
Dura quidem res est, Gaudet patientia duris,
Dissimilis verbo ne videare, caue.
Hæc bene si facias, re, sanguine, nomine magnus,
Et magno maior Maximilianus eris.

Thus setting end to Maximilian the eldest sonne of this lord Cobham, let vs descend to the rest of his children. Henrie Brooke, being the second sonne by birth, but now the eldest by inheritance, is a gentleman, of whome great hope is conceiued, that his following yeares giuing increase to his good parts by na-

ture, and to the like gifts of the languages by education, will not onelie make him a beneficial member to his commonwealth, but also a person worthie of such a father, which Henrie was borne at Cobham hall, on wednesdaie the two and twentith of Nouember, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and foure.

William Brooke the third sonne, a comelie gentleman, and inclined to follow the court (for which he seemed by the gift of nature to be created) is in like sort beautified with the knowledge of the languages, and therefore likelie in following time to prooue a glorie to his house, as well abroad as at home, being brought into this world on tuesdaie the eleuenth of December, one thousand fiue hundred sixtie and fiue.

George Brooke the fourth sonne, hauing by an accidentall chance in his youth some imperfection, in one part of his bodie, being borne on saturdaie the last of Iulie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred sixtie nine, is so well indowed with the gifts of nature, and so furthered therein by the helpe of studie, which he imploied in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, where he receiued the degree of master of art, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred eightie and six, that he fullie and more recompenseth that accidentall imperfection, with naturall and procured beautie of the mind, and therefore with Ouid (a man more wittie than well fauored) maie iustlie saie:

Ingenio formæ damna rependo meæ.

Elisabeth and Francis Brooke two twins were borne on tuesdaie the fift daie of Ianuarie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred three score and one, whereof the first being a modest and vertuous gentlewoman dooth worthilie serue hir maiestie as one of hir priuie chamber; the other being a person not degenerat from the honour of hir house, was in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred and eightie in Michaelmas terme married to Iohn lord Sturton at the Blacke friers in London; Margaret the third daughter, a goodly gentlewoman and furnished with the good gifts of nature, and her parents education was at Cobham hall in the yeare of Grace one thousand fiue hundred eightie and foure married vnto sir Thomas Sands of Throughlie in the countie of Kent knight. With which ladie I doo for this time knit vp the discourse of the lord Cobhams of Cobham, and will descend to the other persons by collaterall lines issued from that house.

THE COBHAMS LORDS OF RANDALL OR RUNDALL IN KENT, IN THE PARISH OF SHORNE.

HAUING before performed the descents and succession of all the lords of Cobham, either by the name of Quatermere Cobham, or Brooke; order requireth (sith there hath beene three lords, as I haue beene informed at one time of the Cobhams, which I for this present take to be the Lord Cobham of Cobham, the lord Cobham of Randall, and the lord Cobham of Sterborow) that we also intreat somewhat of the Cobhams lords of Randall, to make this worke perfect, touching all the lord Cobhams in England. For which cause meaning first in orderlie sort to set downe the lords of Randall, a place not farre from Cobham; I must begin the same a little higher, and make repetition of somewhat spoken before to bring foorth this line of the house of Randall in this sort.

Iohn Cobham. Sir Iohn Cobham knight, the sonne of the first Henrie Cobham, hauing two wiues, had by his first wife the daughter of one William Fitzbennet two sonnes, whereof

whereof the eldest was called Iohn, of whom the lords of Cobham did descend (as we haue before touched) and the second was named Henrie Cobham lord of Rundall, of whome we are now to intreat.

Henrie Cobham of Randall.

This Henrie Cobham of Randall knight married Ione, one of the daughters and heires of Stephan Pinchester warden of the cinque ports, and of Margaret his wife the daughter of Iohn de Burgh, which Stephan was the sonne of Stephan Pinchester knight, dieng in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and eighteene, about the second yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third and of Rose his wife. The name of which Pinchester I haue beene the more willing to set downe, because that these Cobhams of Randall (in respect of this Ione daughter and heire of Stephan Pinchester) did leaue the cote of the Cobhams, and bare the armes of Pinchester, which is gules a plaine crosse siluer, as yet to be seene vpon a monument carued out of stone in the church of Shorne in Kent, where this Henrie Cobham was buried with his armor, on whose shield he beareth those arms of Pinchester. By which Ione the daughter and heire of Stephan Pinchester this Henrie had issue Iohn Cobham, which died without issue; Stephan Cobham of Randall knight; Thomas Cobham which had lands in Hollinborne and Chaford; and Stephan Cobham the yoonger which had lands in Dunstall. Which Henrie liued in the seuenteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being about the yeare of our incarnation one thousand three hundred fortie and three, and was buried at Shorne (as is before touched) with this epitaph in French as followeth: Sire Henry le Cobham leisne seignour de Rondall fust appelle gist ycy, Dieu de sa ailme ayt mercy.

Stephan de Cobham lord of Randall.

Stephan de Cobham lord of Randall the sonne of Henrie Cobham, married Auisia, by whome he had issue Iohn Cobham of Randall knight; which Stephan died in the life of his father, in the seuenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being about the yeere one thousand three hundred thirtie and three of the birth of our Sauior.

Iohn de Cobham lord of Randall.

Iohn de Cobham lord of Randall knight, had issue Thomas de Cobham of Randall knight, his heire, and Iohn de Cobham of Hener his second sonne. Which Iohn Cobham the knight departed this world, in the six and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the one thousand three hundred three score and second yeare from the birth of Christ.

Thomas de Cobham lord of Randall.

Thomas de Cobham of Randall knight, the sonne of Iohn Cobham knight before recited, married Mawd the daughter of one Pimpe knight, who perhaps was lord of the manor of Pimps court in Kent. By which Mawd this Thomas had issue Reinold Cobham knight, and William Cobham, of which William I haue gathered this note out of an old euidence: William Cobham of Stapleherst, in the eight yere of king Henrie the sixt, gaue to Peter Web of Shorne two acres and a halfe in the parish of Shorne, in the field called Smithen, and all his lands vnder west Hull, which should descend vnto him after the death of the lord Thomas de Cobham alias Rundella knight, his father. This Thomas Cobham of Randall knight, died in the seuenteenth yere of the reigne of king Richard the second, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred foure score and thirteene. But his wife Mawd died about thirteene yeares before hir husband, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and foure score, in the third yeare of the said king Richard the second, and is buried in Cobham church, with this epitaph, which is there yet to be seene: Icy gist dame Mawd de Cobham, le femme de sire Thomas Cobham, que dellya le 9 iour d'Auerill, en le anne de grace 1380.

Reinold de Cobham lord of Randall.

Reinold Cobham of Randall knight, the sonne of sir Thomas Cobham of Randall knight, maried Elisabeth the daughter of sir Arnold Sauage knight, who was shiriffe of Kent in the ninth yeare of the said king Richard the second, about the

yeare

yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred foure score and fiue, at what time he had a Dedimus potestatem directed vnto him to take a fine of sir Roger Northwood knight lord of Shorne in Kent. By which Elisabeth this Reinold Cobham had issue Iohn de Cobham, which died without issue; Thomas Cobham of Randall esquire, and Henrie Cobham which died without issue.

Thomas Cobham lord of Randall.

Thomas Cobham of Randall esquire was nine yeares old in the ninth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, which fell about the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and seuen, or one thousand foure hundred and eight. For the said yere of the king did fall in both those yeares of our Lord, accounting the yeare of Christ to begin on the fiue and twentith daie of March, after the account of England. Of which Thomas sith I haue nothing to write either of his marriage or death, I will in this sort knit vp this discourse of the Cobhams lords of Randall, and descend to the lord Cobhams of Sterborow.

THE DESCENTS AND SUCCESSIONS OF THE LORD COBHAMS, LORDS AND BARONS OF STARBUROW CASTLE IN SURRIE.

TO come to the full discourse of these lord Cobhams of Starburow, who were for honor and antiquitie of great estimation; we must first fetch their originall from Iohn Cobham knight, as we haue alreadie doone the lords of Cobham and Randall: and for that must the third time repeat some discourse and descent of the said Iohn Cobham; who being the sonne of the first Henrie Cobham, to whom Quatermere sold his lands in Cobham, had two wiues as is before touched: by the first whereof he had two sonnes, of whom the lord Cobhams of Cobham and those Cobhams of Randall did descend: and by his second wife called Ione, the daughter of Hugh Nevill, he had issue Reinold Cobham knight, lord of Aldington, of whom the Cobhams of Starburow did descend, as this following discourse dooth manifest.

Reinold Cobham knight lord of Aldington, which liued in the sixteenth yere of king Edward the first, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fourscore and eight, married Ione the daughter and heire of William de Heuer, by whom he had issue Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow.

Reinold de Cobham lord of Starburow.

Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow, the second of that name and that line, being knight of the garter was lord of Starburow castle. All which lord Cobhams of Starburow (as differing from the armes of the house of Cobham of Cobham, from which they issued) did beare gules a cheuoron gold, charged with three staues sable, onelie changing the sable lions of the cheuoron of the house of Cobham of Cobham into sable starres; but still keeping all the rest of the armes both in colour, field, and cheuoron, as they of Cobham did beare them. Of which stars in those armes of these Cobhams, the place was called Starburow, or the burow of the stars, and they surnamed the lords of Starburow. This Reinold lord Cobham, was with the earle of Derbie and others, hauing fiue hundred men sent in the thirteenth yere of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and nine, into Flanders, where they subdued the Flemings, whereof the most part were desirous to fall to league with the king of England against the mind of their erle, which tooke part with the French king. After which, the king going into Flanders, feigning that he would in the fourteenth yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and fortie, ride about that countrie for his pleasure, he secretlie came into Zeland, where taking ship, and sailing three daies

daies and three nights, on S. Andrews daie at night about cocke-crowing, entred the Tower of London by night, being attended on (amongst other noble men) with this lord Cobham, who (continuing still in his princes fauour, a thing rarelie happening, but that his worthinesse alwaies merited fauour) was in the sixteenth of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and two, appointed with others, during the wars in Britaine, to be a commissioner for the king of England, to conclude a peace by mediation of two cardinals, setting their seales to the same agreement, in the presence of the lord Cobham. About two yeares following, this Reinold was made admerall of the sea, from the mouth of the Thames toward the west parts, so long as it pleased the king, as appeareth by the patent dated the eight of Maie, in the eighteenth yere of Edward the third, falling in the yeare from the birth of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and foure. Then in the twentith yeare of the said king, falling in the yere of our Lord one thousand three hundred fortie and six, he passed with the king into Normandie, continuing with him in all those warres of France, and was by speciall appointment of the king bestowed in the fore-ward of the armie, in which the prince of Wales was at the battell of Cresseie, as one of the cheefe persons for value, to whom Edward the third would commit the life of his sonne the prince of Wales. The next yere following, being the one and twentith of Edward the third, and of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and seuen, he was amongst others appointed for the English part to treat with two cardinals about a peace betweene France and England, and was in the same yere by patent admitted into the honor of a baron, with a further gift of the manor of Westeliue to him and to the heires of his bodie begotten. Besides which, in the same yeare, this Reinold, with Thomas lord Berkeleie, and Morice Berkeleie, became mainecaptors for Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Desmond, that he should come into England, and abide such order as the law would award for such misdemenors as he had vsed against the king. Afterward this Lord Cobham tooke the towne and castell of Sacret or Satart: from whense he returned toward Languedocke, and was sent againe in another voiage against the Frenchmen. And in the nine and twentith of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fiftie and fiue, when the prince of Wales, commonlie surnamed the Blacke prince, diuided his armie two miles from the towne of Areull, this Reinold with others were in the vaward, at what time it seemeth that he was marshall of the armie. And in the thirtith yere of Edward the third, in the yere of our salnation one thousand three hundred fiftie and six, he was valiantlie fighting in that famous battell of Poiters, in which the Blacke prince tooke the French king prisoner. But yet not ceasing his warlike exploits, he also in the three and thirtith of the king, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and nine, went out of England againe with king Edward the third, and besieged the citie of Rhemes. Not long after which, in the thirtie and fifth yere of this king, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and one, he departed this life, and was buried at Linfield in Surrie: at whose feet on his toome lieth embossed in stone a Saracen in a red robe, signifieng that he had obteined victories amongst and against them. He married two wiues, whereof the first was Ione the daughter of sir Morice Berkeleie knight, by whome he had issue Reinold Cobham knight, baron of Starburow. His other wife was Elisabeth the daughter of Hugh erle of Stafford, the widow of Iohn de Ferrers of Chartleie knight, by whom he had no issue.

Reinold Cobham knight the third of this line and name, and the second baron of Starburow, was in the eight and fortith yere of king Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred three score and foureteene, with Iohn duke of Lancastar, William earle of Salisburie, Simon Sudberie and others sent into

Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow.

into Flanders to Bruges to intreat a peace betweene England and France, which parlee continued almost two yeres, and ended without conclusion of peace, but onlie with a truce for a certeine time. After which, in the one and fiftith and last yere of the same king, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred threescore and sixteene, he was the second time (with the bishop of Hereford and maior of London) sent to Bruges, to treat of the like peace with the French, but was shortlie after called home by the death of the said Edward the third. When this king was dead, and that his nephue (by his sonne the Blacke prince) called Richard the second, being within age, came to the crowne; this Reinold Cobham amongst others was in the eleuenth yeare of the same Richard the second, in the yeare that God became man one thousand three hundred foure score and seuen, appointed to haue the gouernment of the realme, as maie appeare in my former discourse of the protectors of England, and to be one of the kings gouernors, for which office and for nothing else he was after in the parlement holden at Shrewsburie, in the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of this Richard, being in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred foure score and eighteene condemned: who departing the realme therefore, did return out of Britaine into England with Henrie of Bullingbroke, then duke of Hereford (and after king by the name of Henrie the fourth) in the three and twentith and last yere of this deposed king Richard, in the yere of our saluation one thousand three hundred foure score and nineteene. After which he liued about foure yeares, and ended his life in the fourth of the reigne of the said king Henrie the fourth, falling about the yere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and three, being buried in Linfield church in Surrie with this epitaph, declaring his martiall and ciuill qualities:

De Starborough dominus, de Cobham hic Reginaldus,
Hic iacet, hic validus miles fuit vt leopardus:
Sagax in guerris, satis audax omnibus horis,
In cunctis terris famam prædauit honoris.
Dapsilis in mensis, formosus, morigerosus,
Largus in expensis, imperterritus, generosus:
Et quando placuit Meschiæ, quòd moriretur,
Ac spirans obijt in cœlis glorificetur:
Mille quadringeno, trino, Iulij numeres tres,
Migrauit cœlo, sit sibi vera quies.

He married Elenor the daughter of Iohn lord Matrauers, and the widow of sir Iohn Arundell knight, by whome he had issue, Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow.

Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow.

Reinold de Cobham knight, the fourth of that name and time, and the third baron of Starburow, had two wiues: the first was Elenor the daughter of sir Thomas Culpepper knight, by whome he had issue, Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow, Thomas Cobham knight, Elenor maried to Humfreie duke of Glocester, Elisabeth maried to Richard lord Strange of Knocking, Anne a nun at Barking, and Margaret maried to Reinold Curteous. Which Elenor first wife to this Reinold now lord Cobham, died in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and twentie, being the eight yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fift, and was buried at Linsted with this epitaph here presentlie following: ¶ Hic iacet domina Eleonora quondam vxor Reginaldi Cobham militis, filia Thomæ Culpeper militis, quæ obijt anno Domini 1420.

The second wife of this Reinold the fourth of that name was Anne, one of the daughters and heires of Thomas lord Bardolph, by whome he had no issue. Now heere I think it not vnmeet in this place, to saie somewhat of the said Elenor Cobham, the daughter of this Reinold lord Cobham before touched. Which woman being maried to Humfreie duke of Glocester, in the fourth yeere of the

reigne

reigne of king Henrie the sixt, much about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and seuen, did by night on tuesdaie the 19 daie of Iulie, in the 19 yeare of the said Henrie the sixt, being the yeare that the word of the father tooke flesh in the wombe of the mother, one thousand foure hundred fortie and one, flie vnto sanctuarie, vpon the apprehending of Henrie Bullingbrooke a priest the sundaie before, for vsing coniuration to consume the kings person. Which flight caused hir to be suspected of treason, and that the rather, because this Bullingbrooke confessed he did this, by the procurement of the said Elenor: who was indicted as accessarie therevnto. After which, on the twentith daie of October, being in the twentith yeare of that Henrie, falling in the said yeare one thousand foure hundred fortie and one, from Christs birth, she appeared before Robert Gilbert bishop of London, William Alnewike bishop of Lincolne, and Thomas Browns bishop of Norwich. Where Adam Molins clearke of the kings councell read certeine articles obiected against hir, of sorcerie and witchcraft: whereof she confessed part, and denied others. But after, on the three and twentith of October, she was conuicted of those articles, and receiued penance therefore, which she performed. The maner whereof is set downe by Iohn Stow, and shall be more liberallie touched by me in my larger discourse of the lord Cobhams, hereafter to be set foorth. And thus this much of that Reinold the fourth, and his children.

Reinold the fift of that name and line, was the fourth and last baron of Starburow of that house, being called Reinold the yoonger in the life of his father. This Reinold the fift, I take to be that man, whome the duke of Bedford (brother to Humfreie duke of Glocester that maried Elenor, sister to this Reinold the fift) did amongst others make knight in the fourth yeare of Henrie the sixt in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and six. He maried Thomasin the daughter of Iohn Cherocke knight, by whome he had issue one daughter and heire called Margaret, maried to Rafe Neuill the second of that name earle of Westmerland; who hauing by hir one onelie daughter, which died in hir cradle, the lands of the lord Cobham of Starburow came to sir Thomas Cobham knight, brother and heire to this Reinold. Reinold lord Cobham of Starburow.

Thomas de Cobham knight, the sonne of Reinold the fourth, and heire to his brother Reinold the fift, maried Anne the daughter of Humfreie Stafford duke of Buckingham, by whome he had one onelie daughter and heire called Anne, maried first to the lord de Monte Iouis alias Monte Iocoso, in English Mont Iews or Mont ioies: and after to sir Edward Burgh of Lincolneshire knight, baron of Burgh. Who at this daie inioieng that name and baronie of Burgh, dooth keepe the remembrance of their descents from these lords Cobhams of Starburow, the castle whereof being at this daie in their possession. This Thomas Cobham is he, whereof I haue read, that there was one Thomas Cobham knight, whose daughter and heire was called Anne, that died in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred seuentie and one. Of which name Cobham I also read manie more notes and epitaphs: but by reason I can not yet well tell, in which of the collaterall lines of this house (whereof there are manie) to bestow them, I will refer them to my next addition; not doubting but longer time will breed more certeine knowledge where to place them whereby truth maie be brought to light, sith Veritas est temporis filia. Thomas Cobham lord of Starburow.

Thus hauing finished all my coorse discourse of these lords Cobhams, it is high time for us now to descend to the lord wardens of the fiue ports: which office the honorable baron sir William Brooke knight, lord Cobham of Cobham now liuing, dooth to his countries good, and his great honor, worthilie inioy, as some of his ancestors haue doone before.

THE CATALOG OF THE LORD WARDENS OF THE CINQUE PORTS,

And constables of Douer castle, aswell in the time of king Edward, surnamed the Confessor, as since the reigne of the Conqueror, collected by Francis Thin, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six.

IT hath bin some question, whether this officer of warden of the ports were in the Romane and Saxons times, which trulie I am resolued was then vsed; and the officer rightlie to be called Limenarcha, the chiefe (as it were) of the borders of seacoasts, and the gouernor Saxonici litoris; which was of that shore which belonged to England in Kent, on which the rouing pirats of the Saxons lieng vpon the sea were woont to alland, and then to spoile the countrie. For the more explanation whereof, I refer thee to that learned worke of maister Camden, touching the antiquities of Britaine, and will onlie bend my pen to such principall officers of those places as fall within my knowledge; as followeth.

Earle Goodwine.

Goodwine earle of Kent was constable of Douer castell, maister of the ports and those parts of the sea coastes, and had the towne of Douer in his keeping, in the time of king Edward the confessor: who in the yeare of Christ one thousand and nineteene, being the third yeare, or as other haue, the second yeare of Canutus king of England, had the gouernment of the English armie into Denmarke, when Canutus went to subdue the Vandals: at what time Canutus by the helpe of Goodwine obteined the victorie. After which, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand thirtie and eight, as some haue (but in the yeare one thousand thirtie and six, as others haue) in which yeare Canutus died, this Goodwine, in recompense of the honor which he receiued by Canutus, labored to aduance Hardiknute the sonne of the same Canutus, to the kingdome of England; but he preuailed not: for Harold Harefoot was then made king.

Goodwine thus still remaining in credit, found meanes to haue Alured the sonne of Egelred heire to the crowne to be slaine, lest he should pursue his title to the kingdome. Of which thus speaketh the priuat historie of Elie in the second booke: Alfredus (Alfred or Alured) missione Goodwini strictissimè vinctus, ducitur ad Ely, sed vt ad terram nauis applicuit, eius oculi sunt eruti, & sic ad monasterium ductus traditur ad custodiendum; vbi breui post obijt, & in australi porticu in occidentali parte ecclesiæ sepultus: nunc autem (which was about the latter end of the time of king Henrie the second) ossa ipsius iuxta altare sanctorum Eadmundi regis & martyris, & Thomæ Cantuariensis episcopi tumulata sunt. Which historie disprooueth all such writers as affirme, that this Alfred was slaine, and that he was killed by Goodwine about Guildenford, of some called Gilford. This doone in the time of king Hardiknute, he with queene Emma had the gouernment of the realme.

But yet in the time of the said Hardiknute, as some chronicles affirme, he was feine to purge himselfe of the death of Alured: which he did by oth, and by giuing to the king a rich present; being a ship, conteining therein fourescore souldiors, wearing vpon each of their armes two bracelets of gold of sixteene ounces weight, a triple habergeon guilt on their bodies, and a swoord with gilt hilts girded to their wasts, a battle ax after the manner of the Danes on the left shoulder, a target with bosse and mailes gilt: and to conclude, they were furnished at all parts with armor and weapon accordinglie. But touching the purgation of Goodwine, and the gift of this ship, I must speake my fansie; not as though I would be Honorarius arbiter, or a seuere controller of other men: but as one that desireth that truth maie appeare, which hath beene manie waies obscured by writers of chronicles.

And

And for that cause I saie, that this purgation of Goodwine, and this gift, should be referred to the following time of king Edward the confessor; as is well prooued by an ancient booke dedicated to queene Edith, wife of Edward the Confessor, and the daughter of this earle Goodwine. Which booke was of purpose made, to set forth the praise, vertues, learnings, and languages of the said Edith (amongst which languages, she is commended, for that she vnderstood and spake the Irish toong) and to further the renowme and glorie of this erle Goodwine, as after by the verses prouing the same, shall more plainlie appeare. And yet I know, it is not vnpossible but that he might giue two ships in both those kings times: which if he had doone, I doubt not but this booke would aswell haue spoken of the one, as of the other; being speciallie written to set out his glorie.

This earle Goodwine, hauing with much diligence aduanced Edward the Confessor through his power and strength in the realme to the crowne of England, did after purge himselfe of the death of Alfred brother to this king Edward, and presented a woorthie gift (vnto the said king Edward, at his entrance into the gouernement) a ship of rare deuise and riches, as these verses taken out of the before mentioned booke doo well and soundlie proone:

Laudibus exortis hinc gratis concinit orbis,
Et resonet mecum tua musica gaudia rerum,
Quæ lux de cœlo rutilans, in rege nouello,
Anglis illuxit, gemebundáque corda resoluit,
Has quoque conuitias, qua lætitia celabrarunt,
Festum proceres, certatim dona ferentes,
Agnouere suum regem magnúmque patronum.
Multa dedere quidem, verùm supereminet omnes
Larga ducis probitas Goodwini, munere tali,
Scapha grauis longo laterum compage redacto,
Verticibus binis, * finibus stabat Thamasinis,
Sedibus æquato numerosis ordine lato,
A medio naui despecto vertice mali,
Centum bis denis aptata minacibus heris,
Aureus è puppi leo prominet æquora proræ,
Celsè pennato perterret tempore draco,
Aureus & linguis flamma vorat ore trisulcis,
Nobilis appensum preciatur purpura velum,
Quod patrum series depicta docet varias res,
Belláque nobilium turbata per æquora regum,
Internè grauidus stipes robúrque volatus,
Sustinet extensis auro rutilantibus alis,
* Armigerum volucrem, pedibus, rostróque ferentem,
Et similem viuo, visu gemmis simulato,
Singula bis denis argenti transtra talentis,
Bis binis rutili, cumulat dux inclytus auri,
Cuique viro galeam loricam pone trilicem,
Lancea cum gladio, nec abest his Gallicus vmbo,
Danica cum capitis sculpti formata securis,
Sæpius ex cocto chalybum fornace metallum,
Pluribus his opibus pollebat regia sedes,
Argenti montes meri rutilantes & auri,
Gazas insignes cum pallia plura videres,

* The banks of the riuer of Thames.

* An Eagle.

Ornatúsque graues, quo mittit Barbara tellus,
Orbis & extremi varijs textricibus Indi,
Tunc decus armorum iungit nunc inferiorum,
Quanquam Vulcani referuntur in arte parari,
Regi Troiano nullo cedentia telo,
Cætera præcipuè sunt instrumenta carinæ,
Quæ stupeat pontus nimiùm mirantibus vndis
Respiciens solem tota de classe lucentem,
Hanc in sede noua solij regníque corona,
Regnante tribuit, recipi & gratam fore poscit,
Sæpiùs augeri spondens hæc velle libenti,
Vnde manus præstat fidei sacramenta pararat,
Eduardúmque sibi regem dominúmque fideli,
Seruandum vote contestans, & famulatu,
Principibus reliquis sit in exemplum probitatis,
Istud idem cunctis imitantibus Anglicus orbis,
Gaudet in Eduardo festiuus rege decoro,
Pax antiqua suos rediens sic visitat Anglos,
Aufugiunt rixæ, discedunt bella, furórque
Omnis frigescit, tellus pontúsque quiescit,
Ac passim lætis celabrantur festa choreis.

After which this erle Goodwine hauing the towne and castle of Douer in his charge, did (vpon the complaint of Eustace earle of Bullogne, which maried Goda the sister to king Edward, and alanded at Douer, to the intent that he would visit the king, at which place eighteene of the men of Eustace were slaine for one man of Douer slaine by the men of Eustace, vpon a contention betweene the townesmen and them) take armes against the king in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiftie and one. Whervpon he was banished, but neuer after ceassed to molest the king, vntill that he was restored home vnto his honors and liuings, and had his peace made with the king the second yeare of his banishment, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiftie and two, and the ninth yeare of king Edward the Confessor. Of the maner of the death of which Goodwine there be diuers reports set downe, which I meane not here to touch, but onelie to laie before you that he died in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiftie and three, (or as others haue) one thousand fiftie and foure, and was honorablie buried at Winchester. He maried two wiues, the first was Thira borne in Flanders, by whom he had one sonne, Quem equus impotenter agitatus deiecit in Thamisin. His second wife was Githa the sister of Sweine the king of Denmarke, Quæ fulmine icta interjit, sæuitiæ pœnas soluens, quòd dicebatur agmina mancipiorum in Anglia coempta Danemarchiam solere mittere. By which woman this Goodwine had issue, Harold after king, Sweine, Tostie, Wolnothus, Gurth, Leofwine, and Edith maried to Edward the Confessor.

Harold.

Harold the sonne of Goodwine being earle of Kent, after the death of his father, was also constable of Douer castle about one yeare in the time of Edward the confessor. After which, this Harold put on the crowne of England immediatlie vpon the death of the said king Edward, but was within three quarters of a yeare thereof slaine by the Norman bastard, in the first and last yeare of the reigne of the said Harold. He maried Agatha, by whom he had a sonne, by some named Vlfus, but by Dudo de sancto Quintino, which liued aboue fiue hundred yeares past, it seemeth that he had two sonnes. For thus writeth the said author: Porrò duo filij Heraldi regis se ab eorum contubernio subducentes, cum multis vernaculis patris Hiberniæ regem nomine Dermutum pro obtinendo iuuamine sunt aggressi. De cuius

The names of the two sonnes of Harold, were Goodwine and Edmund, as ap-

cuius regno ipso suffragante, parua temporis intercapedine non minimam militum sibi contrahentes manum cum 66. nauibus (qua in regione maximè oportunum existimauerunt) Anglos otiùs repetierunt, rapinis & incendijs, more sæuissimorum piratarum, exterminantes populum. Quibus Brientius Eudonis ducis Britanniæ minoris filius, cum suis obuius, protinus cum eis die vna duobis prælijs manum conseruit, cæsisque mille & 700. bellatoribus cum nonnullis regni proceribus, reliqui è certamine fugientes nauium præsidio, necis exitium vtcunque euaserunt, ex carorum amissione permaximum Hibernensibus importantes luctum, qui profectò nisi nox prælium diremisset, omnes mortis nouacula abrasi fuissent. Thus much Dudo. The which I haue beene the willinger to set downe, because that it not onelie prooueth Harold to haue had two sonnes, but also vnfoldeth a doubt which hath beene amongst our antiquaries, whose sonne that person, which is called commonlie amongst vs Brientius filius comitis should be; for by these words of this author, I find him to be the sonne of Eudo earle of Britaine.

peareth by one anonymall chronicle in these words: Goodwinus & Edmundus filij regis Haroldi de Hibernia redeuntes in Summerset applicuerunt, quibus Adnothus olim regis Heraldi stallarius occurrit cum exercitu, &c.

Bertram Asburneham a baron of Kent was constable of Douer castle in the yeare of Christ one thousand threescore and six, being (as is said) the first and last yeare of King Harold; which Bertram was beheaded by William the Conqueror, after that he had obteined the crowne, because he did so valiantlie defend the same against the duke of Normandie. But of this man I am not yet fullie resolued whether he were constable of Douer castle or no; or whether there were anie such man before in that credit, at or before the conquest.

Bertram Asburneham.

Odo bishop of Baieux and earle of Kent, wherevnto he was aduanced by the Conqueror, had also the towne and castle of Douer in his charge, at what time Hugh Montfort was constable thereof, who resisted and repelled Eustace earle of Bullogne besieging the same castle. After which, this bishop falling into the kings disgrace, the castle of Douer was committed to Iohn lord Fines, and he by the Conqueror made the first warden of the cinque ports, and constable of Douer castle.

Odo.

Iohn Fines lord Fines created warden of the cinque ports, and constable of Douer by William Conqueror, with a gift of inheritance to keepe that place to him and to his heires: to whom also the Conqueror did giue (to the end that the said Fines should be of sufficient abilitie to beare the charge thereof) the number of fiftie and six knights fees, of lands and possessions; which being valued at fiue pounds the knights fee, as is by statute limited, amounted to the yearelie value of two hundred and fourescore pounds; the ounce of siluer being then at twentie pence, which at this time riseth to the summe of eight hundred and fortie pounds by yeare, after the rate of fiue shillings the ounce of siluer: which six and fiftie knights fees he had upon condition, that he should disperse the same to such valiant persons as worthilie serued in so noble and pretious a castle. Whereupon he distributed the same to eight persons to be his assistants, and to mainteine one hundred and twelue souldiors, the names of which eight with the other matter therevnto belonging, is more liberallie set downe by that carefull and learned antiquarie William Lambard esquire (my Synchronus) in his perambulation of Kent vnder the title of Douer, pag. 124. and 125.

Iohn Fines.

Iames lord Fines, the sonne of Iohn before named, was after the death of his father (by force of the inheritance thereof granted to his father) warden of the cinque ports, and constable of Douer castle, who died (as is by some supposed) at Folkestone in Kent.

Iames Fines.

Iohn lord Fines sonne of the said Iames Fines was also by inheritance warden of the cinque ports, and constable of Douer castle.

Iohn Fines.

Walchilinus de Mannot, called also by Robertus Montensis Wachelmus de Douer, is in other authors named Walkelme or Walkeline, and was constable of Douer castell

Walchilinus.

castell in the third yeere of king Stephan, as witnesseth the said Robertus Montensis, who being in the said castle (as a freend to Maud the empresse as I coniecture) did yet in the said third yeare of king Stephan, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred thirtie and eight, deliuer the castell of Douer to the queene the wife of king Stephan, when she besieged the same castell. For which cause after the death of king Stephan, and the comming in of Henrie the second, he abandoned his charge, and fled into Normandie. By the comming of which Walkelme to the constableship of Douer castell, there was a disseizine of the inheritance thereof belonging to Fines. Now, after the surrender of this castell by Walkelme, there be some antiquaries which affirme that William earle of the Egle, and also earle Warren (in the right of his wife) being the base sonne of king Stephan, was in the life of his father constable of Douer castell, grounding themselues vpon a composition made in the seuenteenth yeare of the said Stephan, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred fiftie and two, betweene king Stephan and Henrie Fitzempresse duke of Normandie, contending with Stephan for the crowne of England. Which opinion they defend with these words of the agreement, wherein it was granted to this William (amongst other things) that he should haue the seruices of Faremouth besides the castell and towne of Douer, and whatsoeuer apperteined to the honor of Douer. In which (saie they) sith the honor of Douer is depending vpon the prerogatiue of the castell, and that without the castell there is no honour, sith all the tenures, and all the seruices which belong to that honour, doo belong to the castell, he could not haue the one without the other. For hauing whatsoeuer belonged to the honor which is the castell, he could not receiue the benefit of that, without he had the thing also which was the cause of that tenure, and by force of which he might receiue those appurtenances.

But trulie sauing correction, it is often seene, that seruice may be seuered from land to which it is due, and one to haue the demesne and another the seruices of manour. But sith I am neither good logician nor lawier to dissolue arguments, or to disprooue tenures, I will at this time leaue it indifferent for euerie one to receiue or reiect him for constable of Douer castell, vntill I find more substantiall proofe by charter to prefer him therevnto, than such an argument to infer it therevpon; especially sith I find him not so named by anie authoritie that I haue seene, whereof manie make mention of his other titles of honor, as that he had the citie of Norwich with the third penie of the earledome of Northfolke, that he was earle Warren, and that he was earle of Bullongne and Morton.

Richard earle of Ewe.

Richard earle of Ewe. I haue read of this man this note, that he was both constable of Douer castell, warden of the cinque ports, and gouernour of Kent; but how true it is I will not at this time set downe, but leaue it to the iudgement of others, who can iudge better of that note deliuered to me in these words. Officium constabularij iuxta patris sui donationem perdurauit à Fineo ad Fineum vsque ad tempora regis Stephani; & postea Richardus comes de Oye constabularius institutus est ac custos quinque portuum & præfectus totius Cantiæ, ac fundator collegij de Hastings in castro de Hastings, &c.

Eustace.

Eustace earl of Bullongne, and duke of Normandie, sonne to king Stephan, is by some supposed to be constable of Douer castell, and lord warden of the cinque ports. Which perhaps may be true, although that at the same time William de Ypre was earle of Kent, whome some haue in respect therof made to be constable of Douer castell: notwithstanding others saie that he was onelie deputie constable of Douer castell to the said Eustace, or (as we terme it) his lieutenant.

Allen Fines.

Allen Fines, after the death of king Stephan, was by the benefit of king Henrie the second restored vnto the wardenship of the ports, and constableship of the

castell

castell of Douer. And heere I thinke it good to note that king Henrie (the sonne of king Henrie the second) being crowned in the life of his father, did in the yeare one thousand one hundred seauentie and foure, being about the nineteenth or twentith yeare of the reigne of his father, giue vnto Philip earle of Flanders one thousand pounds of yearelie reuenues, the countie and earledome of Kent, with the castels of Douer and Rochester: for the which the said Philip should doo homage to the yoong Henrie, and mainteine his quarrell against his father. But the erle was neuer in possession therof, neither made anie constable of Douer castell, or was himselfe constable of that place; which gift of the said yoong king Henrie Geruasius Dorobernensis setteth downe in this sort:

Comes Flandriæ Philippus suum pro posse spospondit auxilium iuueni regi (against his father king Henrie the second, being then in Normandie) faciens homagium cum iuramento, cui pro seruitio suo promisit rex cum tota Cantia 1000 librarum reddituum, castellum quoque de Roffa cum castello de Doueria. Matthæus comes Boloniæ frater comitis Flandriæ suscepit in promissis pro homagio & seruitio suo totam socam de Kirketonia in Lindesia, cum comitatu de Moritonia, &c. And heere mentioning Allen Fines, and hauing no cause to speake of these Fines hereafter, I am to admonish the reader, that (although my iudgement be but of one man, and that one swallow maketh not summer) I doo not suppose anie thing spoken of the Fines constables of Douer castell to be so firme, as that I would bind anie man to beleeue more thereof than he listeth.

Hugh de Essex, afterward earle of Essex was made constable of Douer castell, at that time when the sonnes of Henrie the second as is mentioned before by Geruasius, which fell about the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred seuentie and three, and the ninteenth of king Henrie the second) rebelled against their father not onelie in Normandie but in England also: this Hugh being further constable of Douer castell, when the same king sailed ouer into Ireland, for to receiue the kingdome thereof, which happened in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred seauentie and two, the yeare before the rebellion of yoong king Henrie the sonne against his father. At what time yet the right of the inheritance of this office of wardenship continued still in the heires of the Fines; by reason whereof Adam Fines, then baron, ought to haue continued constable thereof. But bicause he was hated of the king and the nobilitie, they appointed an other constable, which was this Hugh of Essex, a person in great fauour with the king, and possessed that office a great time of the gouernement of the same king. But of this man I haue no great opinion that he was constable of Douer, or earle of Essex, yet may I not tie other men to my conceit, bicause Barnardus non vidit omnia. Hugh de Essex.

Matthew Cleere was constable or capteine of Douer castell, as appeareth by manie authorities, being also by writers called shiriffe of Kent; who vpon the commandement of William Longchampe bishop of Elie, legat A latere, protector, cheefe iustice and chancellor of England, did (about the third yeare of king Richard the first, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred ninetie and one) imprison in Douer castell Godfreie bishop of Yorke (the base sonne of king Henrie the second) returning from Rome. At which time also (as I haue seene noted out of the register of the house of Canturburie) there were three constables of Douer castell, as is prooued by this deed found in the said register. Matthew Cleere.

Gulihelmus comes de Albemerle, & Simon de Auernen. & Matthæus de Clere constabularij Doueriæ, & Gulihelmus de Aubuill, & Henricus de Longo campo præfecti Cantiæ. Omnibus præsentibus & futuris, ad quos præsentes litteræ peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis quòd dominus noster Richardus rex Angliæ in redditu suo a Ierosolomytana apud Alemanian detentus esset, & inimici eius contra eum & regnum suum insurgerent. Prior & conuentus Cantuar. licèt ab omni con-

suetudine regni & exactione seculari, liberi & immunes esse dinoscerentur: de mera tamen voluntate sua non coacti, homines suos, ad opus domini regis per octo dies commodauerunt. Vnde ne quis in posterum ab eis hoc præsumat, quasi debitum vel consuetum petere, quod pro tam grati regni necessitate sponte studuerunt impendere, litteras istius cum sigillorum nostrorum appositione in testamonium libertatum & immunitatum suorum tradidimus, &c.

William of Wrotham.

William of Wrotham, whome some call William of Wrothing, was warden of the cinque ports, and constable of the castell of Douer, in the time of king Iohn, vnto whome he did faithfullie stand in all his warres and troubles, after that the king was excommunicated.

Hubert de Burow.

Hubert de Burow after earle of Kent, and cheefe iustice of England, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the time of king Iohn. This man in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and seauenteene, as some haue, or rather one thousand two hundred and sixteene, as other haue, valiantlie defended Douer castell. For when Lewis the sonne of Philip the French king had stronglie assaulted the castell (the monuments and mounts wherof are at this daie yet to be seene, wherof one standing on the west side of the castell is at this daie called Lewis siege) this Hubert did with no lesse honor and valor repell the enimie and defend the castell, than Lewis did besiege it egerlie, for which he deserued such fauor and recompense, as after the death of king Iohn he was made protector of England in the minoritie of king Henrie the third. During whose constableship of Douer castell, in the yere of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and three, or one thousand two hundred sixtie and two as some write, being about the six and fortith or seuen and fortith of king Henrie the third, he found meanes that the castell gard there, which had continued from the time of William Conqueror, vntill then, was with the assent of king Henrie the third conuerted into a paiment of monie, the land being charged with ten shillings for euerie warder, which it was bound to find: and the owners thereby discharged of their personall seruice and attendance for euer. At which time also he caused the same king to release by his free charter the custome of forage due to this castell, and that doone, himselfe instituted new lawes amongst the watchmen and increased the number of the warders. Which his dooing of changing castell gard, cannot vnder correction be attributed to him in the yeare one thousand two hundred sixtie and three, bicause he was dead twentie yeares before that. For he died in the yere of grace one thousand two hundred fortie and three, being the seauen and twentith of king Henrie the third, as appeareth in my discourse of the protectors of England, in Edward the sixt, where is more mention made of him. This Hubert as maister Lambard noteth, was deposed from his constableship of Douer castell, which was at such time I gather as Matthew Paris mentioneth, that he fell into the kings displeasure, whereby he lost also the office of cheefe iustice of England, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and two, and the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the third: after which manie things were laid against him, the whole discourse whereof is in Matthew Paris, after this order.

First the king did instantlie require of him account of his treasure, paid at the excheker, and of the debts due vnto him in his owne and in his fathers time. Besides which, he demanded account of all his lordships wherof he was in possession from the death of William earle of Penbroke, then the kings marshall and iustice, as well of all such as he held in England, as of such as he had in Wales, Ireland, and Poitiers. Thirdlie, of his liberties which he then had in forrests, warrens, counties, and in other places, how they were kept, or how they were sold. Fourthlie, of the fifteenths and sixteenths granted to the king and of other rents paid at the excheker, and at the new Temple, and other

wise.

wise. Fiftlie, of prises made for releasing of law, as well in lands as in mooueables. These and manie other articles, whereof part concerned treason, were set downe against Hubert of Burow, the tenure wherof doo fullie appeare in Matthew Paris. Vpon the exhibiting of which articles he had daie giuen him to appeare and answer them. But he fearing the kings displeasure, hauing a guiltie conscience, fled to sanctuarie into the college of Meriton or Merton, where he hid himselfe amongst the canons: but after by the means of Lucas the archbishop of Dublin he obteined some libertie.

Wherevpon he went vnto saint Edmundsburie, where his wife was, who passing through Essex, lodged in the bishop of Norwich his house; at what time the same being knowen, and the king enraged thereat, he sent Godfreie de Stellers immediately with three hundred men after Hubert, to take and bring him prisoner to the Tower. This knight comming to him in the night, Hubert waked out of his sleepe, fled all naked to a chapell there by, out of the which he was by force, and with his legs fettered vnder the horsse bellie, brought vpon a pild iade to London, and put in the Tower fettered. But the bishop of London complaining of the iniurie doone to the church, by violent taking him from the chapell, the king sent him to the same chapell againe, the fift kalends of October, and after commanded the shiriffs of Essex and Hertford, vpon paine of hanging, to compasse the chapell that Hubert might not escape, or receiue anie kind of sustenance from anie man. By meanes whereof Hubert did long remaine in that place, with two seruants onelie that ministred meat vnto him, such as they could get. Wherevpon Hubert being in this streict, came foorth of himselfe, yeelded his bodie to the shiriffes, who led him prisoner to the Tower, where he was laid in irons. After which the king restored him all the lands which he had by the gift of his father, or that he himselfe had bought; but yet he was sent into Vise castell, there to be kept in a more large restreint vnder the suretie of Richard earle of Cornewall, and William earle of Warren, Richard earle Marshall, William earle Ferrers, vndertaking for him to the king. But after this, in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and three, and the seuenteenth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third, on Michaelmas eeue, one of the seruants of Hubert, when the keepers of the castell were asleepe, tooke Hubert fettered, and laid him on his shoulders, got him out at the great gate, with much difficultie brought him ouer a deep and long ditch to the parish church, and then placed him by the high altar. When the keepers awooke, and missed Hubert, they sought for him, and in the end obteining knowledge where he was, with manie blows tooke him and his two seruants out of the church, and committed him againe vnto streicter prison in the same castell. But after (by the meanes of Robert bishop of Salisburie) Hubert was restored vnto the church the fift kalends of Nouember. Whereat the king being greeued, commanded the shiriffe of Wiltshire to besiege the church, till Hubert should be inforced to die through hunger. But after in the third kalends of Nouember, he was by the strength of his freends taken from the church of the Vise, put in armor, fled into Wales, and ioined with the kings enimies. Wherevpon, in the fourth kalends of Iune, by much intercession he was restored to the kings fauor. But about six yeares after, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred thirtie and nine, being about the 23 yeare of the reigne of Edward the third, the king afresh laieng great matters to his charge of treason against the king and kingdome; he in the end made peace with the king, and deliuered to him foure castels (by him greatlie esteemed) which were the castels of Blanch, of Grosmond in Wales, of Skenefrith, or Scheafreth (for I find both written) and of Halfield. This man first builded the decaied hospitall of the house of maison de Dieu in Douer (being a statlie and costlie peece of worke)

as appeareth yet (although wether beaten) by a scutchion; the arms of the said Hubert there grauen on the vaulted porch built long since the first foundation of the house, ouer the which scutchion is this written: Scutum domini Huberti de Burgo quondam comitis Cantiæ, procurator: huius domus fundatoris. Which being almost by age consumed, much troubled me to read and find it out, in this yeare of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred eightie and six.

Peter de Riuallis. Peter de Riuallis or de Oriall, was by mine account constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, which I gather out of these words of the records, which (amongst other offices that he had) doo leaue to vs in memorie, that he was also Custos omnium portuum & omnium prisarum in Anglia & Hibernia. Now if he were in generall (which alwaies inferreth a particular) warden of all the castels in England, and of all the ports of the sea: it seemeth no doubt vnto me, but that incroching vpon all, he would make choise to obteine such as were both most of honor, strength, and commoditie, and therefore would haue to deale with Douer castell. Of this man is more spoken in my discourse of the treasurors of England. But as I will not affirme this man to be constable of Douer, so I leaue it to them which better can either approoue or disprooue him so to be.

Bertram de Creoll. Bertram de Creoll, as haue the records of the excheker, or Bertram de Crioll, as our English histories haue, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred fortie and one, being about the fiue and twentith yeare of Henrie the third; who bare for his arms in a golden field two cheuorons, and a quarter gules. He married Elenor by some termed otherwise, one of the daughters and heires of sir Hamond Creueceure, by whome he had issue one daughter and heire called Ione married to Richard of Rokeslie, of whom the lord Poinings is descended.

Richard Greie. Richard Greie baron of Codnore, castelleine of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, being placed there by the barons against the king, did in the two and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and eight, suffer none to passe vnsearched, according to that which he had in commandement. Wherevpon he tooke and seized into his hands a great part of tresure that was brought thither to be transported to the Pictauians the kings halfe brethren that were fled the realme. After which in the three and fortith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third, being in the yeare of our Lord a thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, the barons being in armor against the king; Richard king of Almaine brother to king Henrie the third landed at Douer (from the parts beyond the seas) where king Henrie was readie to receiue him, who brought him from Douer vnto Canturburie, because neither of them was suffered to enter into the castell of Douer, the lords hauing them in a gelousie, lest they should go about to infringe the ordinances made in the parlement at Oxford. To which ordinances to be performed most of the nobilitie had set their seales, with the common seale of London. But notwithstanding that this Richard Greie seemed in the beginning to be so faithfull to the barons: yet returning to his dutie, he obeied the kings pleasure. For which in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine he was by the barons remooued. The occasion whereof we find to haue beene, because he suffered frier Wallascho (comming from the pope, and hauing the kings letters vnder the great seale) to enter the land, not staieng him, nor warning the lords of his landing. contrarie (as it was interpreted) vnto the articles of their prouision enacted at Oxford; which frier in truth was sent from the pope, to restore Athelmar or Odomar the kings half brother by his mother vnto the bishoprike of Winchester, to the which he had bin long before elected. But the lords were so bent against Athelmar, that vpon such suggestions as they laid foorth, Walascho refrained

refrained the dooing of that for which he came. After which, Hugh Bigot chiefe iustice of England, hasting to Douer vsed this speech to the said Greie: "Sith thou Richard was placed by the whole realme as a faithfull warden of the ports, as a searcher of all such as go out or come into the land, and that all our trust dwelleth in thy custodie; whie hast thou suffered such a person (though he were supported by the kings grant) to enter the land, not giuing intelligence thereof vnto vs, whereby thou hast gone against the common prouision of the nobilitie, and hast impudentlie broken thine oth? Wherefore we iudge thee to be depriued from thine office, and to receiue iudgement worthie that trespass which thou hast committed to the common danger of the kingdome." By which words he was displaced from his office, and the chiefe iustice tooke the same into his own hands. Of this man is sir Iohn Zouch of Codnore descended.

Hugh Bigot. Hugh Bigot cheefe iustice of England, vpon the displacing of Greie, taking the constableship of Douer and the office of warden of the cinque ports into his owne hands, without the kings authoritie, but by the consent of the nobilitie, did keepe that castell in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, being the three and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, as haue the records of the excheker: who in the yeare of Grace a thousand two hundred and sixtie, being the foure and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third, in which yeare he was made chiefe iustice, as some haue, but Matthew Paris maketh him cheefe iustice somewhat before, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand two hundred fiftie and eight, being the one and fortith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third by his account, for he writeth of him in this sort vnder the same yeare: Instante verò festo natiuitatis beatæ Mariæ, cùm vicecomes Northamptoniæ vestigia prædecessoris sui Willielmi de insula (quondam vicecomitis) iureiurando pluribus insontibus, stimulis agitatus auaritiæ, sequeretur, & super hoc ascenderet queremonia ad capitalem iusticiarium Hugonem Bigot, conuictus de iniurijs camplurimis, captus est, & vix à laqueo liberatus, duro ac diro carceri est mancipatus. He married Ione the daughter of Robert Burnell, by whome he had issue (as some doo saie) one son Rafe, of whom the erle of Sussex now liuing is descended.

Henrie Braibrooke. Henrie Braibrooke constable of Douer castell, whome some will haue so to be; but I not hauing found authoritie therefore will not presume (vpon other mens pens, especiallie vpon the notes of parson Dorrell the corruptor of all things which he tooke in hand) either to receiue or reiect him. For I am not easilie led to beleeue that anie Braibrooke was in those daies of such credit, as to haue one of the greatest offices of credit in the realme (as the constableship of Douer castell was) committed vnto his charge.

Edward the first. Edward the eldest sonne of king Henrie the third, being then prince and after king of England by the name of Edward the first, was constable of Douer castle, and warden of the ports in the time and life of his father. For the said prince Edward (after the subduing of Simon Montfort earle of Leicester) did about the yere of our redemption one thousand two hundred three score and six, being the fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, assaile the castle of Douer, and by the aid of the prisoners within (which had taken the great tower to his vse) obteined it, and there left prisoner Guie the sonne of Simon Montfort, but Guie escaped soon after by corruption of his keepers. During which time that prince Edward was constable of Douer castle, he made his deputie or lieutenant Henrie Cobham; whose sonne and heire called Iohn, founded Cobham college: of which Henrie Cobham see more vnder the title of the lord Cobhams. This Henrie Cobham, being lieutenant to the prince, was the first lieutenant (as far as I can learne) of Douer castle, which office hath euer since continued to our time.

Roger Leiborne.

Sir Roger Leiborne knight, Lord Leiborne, and lord of Leiborne castle in Kent (if my memorie deceiue me not) was in the time of king Edward the first, constable of Douer castle, and warden of the cinque ports, of whom my good and learned friend maister William Lambard dooth discourse in this sort in his perambulation of Kent, vnder the title of Leeds, pag. 264, where he treateth of the first founding of the priorie of Leeds; who after that he had ascribed the same to the Creueceurs lords of Leeds castell, goeth on with these words: Howbeit I find an heralds note (who belike made his coniecture by some cote of armes latelie apparant) that one Leiborne an earle of Salisburie was the founder of it. Indeed it is to be seene in the annales of saint Augustines of Canturburie, that a noble man called Roger Leiborne was sometime of great authoritie within this shire, notwithstanding that in his time he had tasted of both fortunes. For in the daies of king Henrie the third, he was first one of that coniuration which was called the barons warre: from which faction Edward the kings sonne wan him by faire meanes to his part, and made him the bearer of his priuie purse. Afterwards they agreed not vpon the reckoning, so that the prince (charging him with great arerages) seized his liuing for satisfaction of the debt, by which occasion Roger once more became of the barons deuotion. But after the pacification made at Kenelworth, he was eftsoones receiued to fauor, and was made warden of the cinque ports, and lieutenant of the shire of Kent. Now though it cannot be true that this man was the builder of this priorie (for the same annales saie that it was erected long before) yet if he did but marrie the heire, he might trulie be termed the patrone or founder thereof, for by that name not onlie the builders themselues but their posteritie also (to whom the glory of their deeds descended) were woont so to be called as well as they. Thus much that learned antiquarie William Lambard. Vpon which, to disproue the note of the herald, it is too plaine that neuer anie Leiborne was earle of Salisburie. For the erldome of Salisburie did alwaies, almost euen from the conquest, remaine in the names and families of Patrike, Longspee, Montague, Neuill, and one woman a Plantagenet euen vntill our time. But here might grow the error to make Leiborne erle of Salisburie, being deceiued with the affinitie of the armes; for that the earles of Salisburie, the Longspees, and the Leiborns gaue all one armes, different onlie in colours; for Longspee bare azure six lions or, three, two, and one: and Leiborne bare argent six lions sable, three, two, and one. The house of Leiborne hath beene great and of good continuance, and matched with noble houses. For Iohn Hastings (the father of Laurence Hastings the first earle of Penbroke of the name of Hastings) maried Iulian the daughter of Thomas lord Leiborne, which Iulian died in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the third, about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred threescore and seuen. Besides which also touching the Leiborns, of whom I suppose that Leiborne castell in Kent was named, I haue seene a charter of one Robert Leiborne, made to the house of nuns in Clerkenwell in this sort: Sciant præsentes & futuri, quòd ego Robertus de Leiborne dedi Deo & ecclesiæ sanctæ Mariæ de fonte clericorum, & sanctimonialibus ibidem Deo seruientibus, pro salute animæ meæ & antecessorum meorum, in puram & perpetuam & eleemosynam duodecim denarios de Gablo Michaelis filij Hereberti de Luitona. Hanc autem donationem & concessionem ego Robertus de Leiborne & hæredes mei debimus warantizare prænominatæ ecclesiæ & sanctimonialibus contra omnes homines. Vt hæc mea donatio rata & inconcussa maneat, sigilli mei appositione & subscriptorum virorum testimonio eam confirmaui; his testibus, Gilone de Badlesmere, Iuone Patric, Radulpho de Hadling, &c. Which charter I haue set downe, to prooue the antiquitie of the name of Leiborne. For this charter being without date, was made (as I gather) for this time in the reigne of Henrie the second, or in the beginning of king Richard the first his gouernment.

Stephan.

Stephan Pinchester, the sonne of Stephan Pinchester (which died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred and eighteene, falling in the second and third yere of king Henrie the third) was a man of great valor, well esteemed of the king and of his countrie, by reason whereof he was aduanced to places of great honour, fauour and trust. For he was constable of Douer castell in the two and fiftith yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand two hundred three score and seuen, or one thousand two hundred three score and eight. For the said two and fiftith yeare of that king, fell partlie in that one, and partlie in the other yeare of our Lord, beginning the yeare at the annunciation of the virgine, which office he long continued and possessed, 6, 8, 15, 17, 18, 19, and in Michaelmas terme in the nine and twentith yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred foure score and thirteene, at what time Giuolo de monte regali was his seruant, or perhaps his lieutenant. This man repared the castell of Allington, situate vpon the riuer of Medwaie in Kent, which castell standeth not farre from Medwegstow, now called Maidston, supposed by William Lambard in his perambulation of Kent to be called Duroprouis, and by maister Camden in his Britannia vnder the title of Kent pag. 168, to be Vaganica mentioned in the intinerarie of Antonine. Which Pinchester also caused the booke of Doomesdaie, belonging to the castell of Douer, to be made, a thing altogether vnperfect, and reaching no further than to the time of Hubert de Burow. Besides which, in the same two and twentith of that king, he renewed a particular charge of ships to be found by euerie one of the seuerall ports and members of the same, as appeareth by record therof made in French; the orders whereof are set downe in the perambulation of Kent, pag. 96, vnder the title of the Cinque ports. He maried Margaret the daughter of Iohn de Burgh, by whome he had issue a daughter called Ione maried to Henrie Cobham of Randall knight, as appeareth in my discourse of the lord Cobhams of Randall. Stephan Pinchester.

Robert de Burgersh or Burwash, was conestable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports in the thirtie and fourth yeare of king Edward the first; in which yeare he was sent ambassador into Gascoigne to the court of the pope, about the affairs of the king. He had issue Stephan Burgersh, as appeareth before in a note set downe in the lord Cobhams of Cobham, vnder Henrie Cobham the first baron of Cobham. Touching this name of Burgersh, I find in a vault in the church of Canturburie, being called our ladie Vndercroft, an ancient monument of stone, in which a woman of that name was buried pretending great antiquitie; on which lieth a ladie in rich habit, with this writing round about the toome twise set downe: Pur Dieu pries pur l'aime Iohanne de Burwash, que fuit dame de Monsieur. At which word it staieth, and againe reciteth, Pries Dieu pur l'aime, &c. Which to explane more fullie, I will not refuse to doo in this sort, taken Ex veteri martyrologio & capitulari libro ecclesiæ Cantuariensis: in which is set downe in the yeare of Christ, one thousand foure hundred and fiue; Obijt Ioanna de Mohune domina de Dunster: being the same Ione there buried. Robert de Burgersh.

Henrie Cobham knight, the first baron of Cobham, was made conestable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Edward the second, as more largelie appeareth here following vnder Robert de Kendall which succeeded this lord Cobham in the office of the cinque ports. Of this Henrie Cobham see more in my former discourse of the lord Cobhams of Cobham. Henrie Cobham.

Robert de Kendall so called, because (as I for this time take it) he was there borne, and was made conestable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the first yeare of king Edward the second, as appeareth by this record of Pellis exitus, hauing this entrance therof in Michaelmas terme, in the fourth yeare of the said Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption, one thousand three hundred Robert de Kendall.

and

and ten. Henrico de Cobham nuper constabulario castri Douer, & custodi quinque portuum 80 libras, 15 solidos 7 denarios & obulum liberat. eidem, die 17 Nouembris in duabus tallijs sibi factis, eodem die, pro tot denarijs sibi debitis à 16 die Octobris, anno regni domini Edwardi patris domini regis nunc 34, vsque 16 diem Decembris, anno regni domini regis nunc primo, quo die idem dominus rex custodiam prædictam Roberto de Kendall commisit, per breue deliberate, datum apud Boger in Scotia, 6 die Octobris præsenti (which was the said fourth yeare of Edward the second) per præceptum thesaurij, & persolvitur breue. In which office this Robert continued vntill the twelfe yeare of the same king Edward the second, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and eighteene, but was liuing in the twentith yeare of the same king, as appeareth by records of the excheker of Pellis exitus, where monie was paid vnto him by the name of Robert Kendall Nuper constabulario castri Douer, & custode quinque portuum.

Bartholomew Badlesmer.

Bartholomew Badlesmer (the sonne, as I for this time gather, of Giles de Badlesmer slaine, as hath Ioannes London in the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, falling in the 43 and 44 yeare of king Henrie the third, in the warres betweene the English and the Welsh) was Præfectus, shiriffe, or lieutenant of Kent, and is vntrulie termed by some erle of Kent, by others more rightlie named baron of Leeds: but by the records of the excheker most trulie called a baneret. Which name I haue obserued by manie of those ancient records, to haue beene attributed to such persons, as chronicles and heralds haue dubbed with the names of barons. This Bartholomew Badlesmer, being in the warres of Scotland with king Edward the second, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and fourteene, falling in part of the seuenth yeare, and part of the eighth yeare of the said Edward the second, did by his demeanor in those wars, occasion Ioannem Londonensem to write of him in this sort.

Humfreie de Bohune earle of Hereford.

Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester.

Quadam verò nocte ante futurum in crastinum vtriúsque exercitus congressum, inter comitem Glouerniæ & Herefordiæ (quis eorum primam aciem contra Scotorum exercitum obtineret) animosa contentio mouebatur. Porrò in crastino comes Hereford (cuius interest primam habere aciem ratione constabulariæ Angliæ) Scotos aggrediens, eorem exercitum viriliter penetrauit. Quo sic reuerso, comes Glouerniæ aliquid arduum, & quasi probibate dignum facere satagens, præcipitanter in Scotos minùs cautè insiliens, &c. in fronte sui exercitus (qui vulgariter dicitur Sheltrun) infigitur aculeis, & sic confossus de sella sua violenter eripitur. Qui protinus exclamans, quendam militem suum armis strenuem, concilio prudentem, sibi præ cæteris familiarem, & tanquam singulare perfugium, de quo specialiùs confidebat, videlicet Bartholomæum de Badlesmer nomine, in auxilium aduocauit. Sed ille pelli suæ timens, & magis saluti propriæ quàm domini sui defensionem qualitercunque prospiciens, fugam arripuit, & ad dominum regem à latere properabat. Dictus verò comes auxilio destitutus, à Scotis ibidem miserabilitur est interemptus.

Which matter I haue beeene the willinger to set downe at large out of Iohn de London moonke of Canturburie, because there be manie good notes to be gathered out of the same; besides that which concerneth Badlesmer. For, as it is there set downe, that Badlesmer was the knight and souldior belonging to the earle of Glocester, that his conditions be there described, that he was wise in counsell, valiant in armes, and helples to his friend in extremitie: so there is more to be gathered thereout. First, that it belongeth to the conestable of England by virtue of his office, to lead the vantgard in the battell: secondlie, that contention fell betweene the earle of Hereford and the earle of Glocester: and lastlie, at what time, how, and vpon what occasion the earle of Glocester was slaine. After which, this Bartholomew growing in fauor with king Edward the second, the king

did

did make him capteine of Bristow castell, and gaue vnto the said Bartholomew one hundred pounds by yeare out of the excheker, as appeareth by the records thereof, in the Pell of Exitus of Michaelmas terme of the twelfe yeare of the same king, falling in the yeare of our redemption after the account of England, one thousand three hundred and eighteene; where it is thus recorded. Bartholomæo de Badlesmer, cui rex concessit centum libras percipiendum annuatim ad scaccarium, ad festa Paschæ & Michaelis per æquales portiones, quousque manerium de Chatham cum pertinentibus in comitatu Cantiæ, quod Guido ferre tenet ad terminum vitæ suæ, & manerium de Langhton cum pertinen. in com. Sussex ac hundred de Sheplake, quæ Ioannes de Vluedale tenet ad terminum vitæ suæ de hæreditate regis, & quæ post mortem eiusdem Guidonis præfato Bartholomeo, & hæredibus suis virtute concessionis regis, sibi inde factæ remanere debeat, &c. Much about which yeare of our Lord, one thousand three hundred and eighteene, the same king Edward gaue the castell of Leeds in exchange (for other lands, called Ingerslee) to the same Bartholomew, and to his heirs for euer: being about that time also, as I now take it, made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports: hauing by the kings gift (in the thirteenth yeare of Edward the second) the wardship and mariage of the lands and heire of Iohn de Northwood in Kent; for which he yearelie accounted to the king of threescore and six pounds thirteene shillings and foure pence: paieng also the like yearlie sum for the wardship of the lands and mariage of Iohn the sonne and heire of Iohn Godshall, or Goshall of Essex.

This Bartholomew thus still increasing in the kings fauor was dailie aduanced to greater honors and offices: for besides the great reuenues wherewith the king indued him, the king also (to haue him neere about him in his court) made him steward of his houshold, as appereth by these words of an annonymall chronicle M. S. which reciting the change of offices speaketh in this sort. In huius recursus varios temporis labentes, & nociui regni, primorum officialium status libera dispositione rex transmutauit. Nam domino Iohanne de Sandal episcopatus honore Winton. ecclesiæ & gloria, thesaurario moriente priuato, dominum episcopum Exonien. rex loco defuncti subrogauit, ad culmen cancellariæ episcopum Norwicen. promouit. In regimine quoque senescalliæ dominum Bartholomeum de Badlesmer stabiliuit. Custodem verò sui capitis in officio camerariæ constituit dominum Hugonem Spenserum iuniorem, &c. In which thirteenth of the same king Edward the second, the king and his queene Isabell going to Douer, to the end that the king should doo his homage to the French king; this Bartholomew going now the kings steward, receiued them into his castle of Chilham with most glorious shew, where he deintilie feasted the king and all his traine, and at their departure bestowed liberall gifts vpon euerie noble man according to their degrees. After which, when the king was come to Douer, he deuised with the nobilitie to staie his iourneie into France, and to excuse the dooing of his homage by sending ambassadors thereabout. Wherefore sending Edmund of Woodstocke his brother, the lord Hugh Spenser the father, this Bartholomew Badlesmere, and Adam de Hereford bishop of that place, to Rome; they were honorablie by the waie receiued of the king of France, and so went to Rome; where hauing dispatched their ambassage, and obteined licence to depart, they brought backe with them Henrie Burgersh nephew of sir Bartholomew, to whom the pope had giuen at their request the bishoprike of Lincolne, although the chapter of that house had chosen a diuine to haue that see, before the election, or rather reseruation of the pope of this man. Which the pope the rather did at the request of these ambassadors, because they should not be impediments to stand against Reginald his procurator in England vnto whom he had giuen the bishoprike of Winchester after the death of Iohn Sandall

Registr. Roff.

Sandall against the intreatie of the king and nobilitie of England. But although this Bartholomew was thus by the king honored and aduanced: yet shortlie after this, shewing himselfe both vnthankfull for such benefits, and vndutifull for his obedience, did (in the yere of our redemption one thousand threescore twentie and one, which fell in part of the fourteenth and fifteenth yeres of that king) ioine in couenant with Thomas earle of Lancaster, and other euill disposed persons, rebelling against their prince. Wherevpon (in despight of the kings commandement) he came from Tilleburge or Tilberie in Essex vnto Heugham in Kent, where he was with great pompe receiued of his followers, from whense going to his castle of Leeds (which he had stronglie furnished) he departed from thense with a great traine, and entred his castell of Chilham; who after a little abode there left the same, and came vnto Canturburie with nineteene knights attendant vpon him; so great a person was he, both for honor in the court, and fauor in the countrie: all which persons with their retinue were armed vnderneath their vpper garments. After their entring into Canturburie, some of his people, which were the esquires attendant vpon him, did with their swords drawne enter Christs church, and came to the shrine of Thomas Becket. Which action in that order performed, troubled and disquieted the whole citie, and occasioned some of the better sort to giue intelligence to the king of the behauior of him and his people in that place. On which daie of whose entring into the same citie, Iohn Cromwell and his wife came vnto him, craued his aid and friendship, obteined the same, and with him went vnto the rebellious barons soiorning now at Oxford. Afterward the king (as it seemeth, not yet fullie resolued that this Badlesmere besides all reason and dutie would be his enimie, but rather supposing that he ioined with the rebels to vndermine their deuise, and for that cause desirous to make full triall of the said Badlesmere) did send Isabell his wife queene of England vnto the castle of Leeds. Which being knowne to Badlesmere, at that time remaining with the barons at Whitneie in Oxfordshire, he sent certeine souldiors to the same castle, appointing Thomas Aldon to be constable and chiefe ouer the castle and them: giuing streict charge to the same Thomas that they should not open the gates vnto the queene, but valiantlie resist hir, and defend the castle. The queene therefore minding hir pilgrimage to Canturburie, and so by the waie to see Leeds, being ouertaken with night, sent hir marshall to prepare for hir lodging. But his officer being denied anie helpe or satisfieng of hir request, they within the castle proudlie answered, that neither the queene nor anie other should enter into the same castle, without letters from the lord of the castell. Which answer being foorthwith brought vnto the queenes eares, she came hir selfe in person to demand entrance, but could obteine no hope thereof, for which cause she was driuen to seeke hir lodging in an other place. This matter being greeuouslie taken by hir, she returned to the king, and complained of the iniurie and disgrace which she had receiued. By which speeches the king incensed to further anger, and assembling an armie of manie thousands, did come in person to the same castell, streictlie charging the castillians to deliuer the same to him: but they obstinatlie and rebelliouslie withstood him, and would not surender the castell. Now Bartholomew Badlesmere, hauing intelligence that the king laie in siege before the castell of Leeds, mooned the barons that they would with their power go to Leeds, to remooue the armie which the king had before the castell. Wherevpon the barons came to Kingstowne vpon Thames; but there better considering of that matter wherevnto they had before so vnaduisedlie condescended, they would not go anie further in that iourneie.

Ex libro dedicato Margaret reginæ which was the wife of Edward the first, and liuing at this time.

Walsingham and his followers call the capteine of the castle Thomas Culpeper.

Wherevpon Badlesmere being abashed and confounded, departed from them. Which being knowne to those that kept the castell of Leeds, now perceiuing themselues to be in great extremitie, hopelesse of any succor, and in danger to be all destroied by the kings power, they yeelded themselues to the kings mercie, which

was not so great vnto them (considering that he was driuen to such extreme dealing by their malicious minds) as that he pardoned anie of the chiefest, but sent the wife of Badlesmere, his onelie sonne Giles, the daughters of the said Badlesmere, Bartholomew Burgersh and his wife, with Thomas de Aldon constable of that place, prisoners vnto the Tower of London. On the first daie of Nouember he sent two knights to the castell of Chilham, with commission to enter the same; who comming to the castell demanded entrance accordinglie, in the behalfe of the king their maister. To whom Henrie de Valois knight and then constable of the castell answered, that he would not keepe the castell against the king, and so surrendered the same into their hands, Cuius deputatus (as saith the historie) erat comes Dathels, or de Athels, to whom the castell was deliuered, with all things in the same, which were belonging to Bartholomew Badlesmere.

After which, Walter Culpepper bailiffe of the seuen hundreds, was the second of Nouember miserablie intreated, drawne at a horsse taile, and hanged. Whereupon Thomas Culpepper and others which were with him in the castell of Tunbridge, hearing of the kings approch, left the castell and fled to Hugh Audleie then being with the barons. Then were Geffreie de Saie, William de Dine or Diue, the kings iustices sent into Kent, to inquire of the fauorers of Badlesmere, and to doo iustice of Hugh Spenser reuoked. At what time, Thomas earle of Lancaster, who was the capteine of the barons, and fallen in displeasure with Badlesmere, would not giue aid vnto the barons, so long as Badlesmere was in their societie: for which cause Badlesmere was forsaken by the barons, and stronglie pursued by the king. Who (after the barons had burned one of the gates of Bridgenorth) granted vnto them a dissembled pardon, with their adherents, Bartholomew Badlesmere excepted. Shortlie after which, Badlesmere was apprehended, and in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred twentie and two, being in the fifteenth yeare of Edward the second, was condemned at Canturburie by the iustices aforesaid. Wherevpon, he was on the 18th kalends of Maie, drawne from Canturburie (as hath Ioannes Londonensis) vnto the gallows standing at the Blene; where he was hanged as a traitor: after which, his head being stricken off, and fastened vpon a pole, was caried to Canturburie, and set vpon a gate of that citie called Burgate.

This Bartholomew maried Margaret, the daughter and one of the heires of Thomas de Clare, seneschall of the forrest of Essex, by whome he had issue Giles his sonne and heire; who with his mother, as before is said, being committed prisoner to the Tower, was afterward in the yeare of Christ, one thousand three hundred twentie and foure, with his mother in like sort pardoned, set at libertie out of prison, and restored to the kings fauor; beside which son, he had foure daughters, who after being heires to their brother Giles, and their father Bartholomew; one of them called Elisabeth, was maried to William Bohune earle of Northampton. I haue read touching the antiquitie of this man of Badlesmere of one Peter de Batlesmere, witnesse to an ancient datelesse deed. Wherein Brianus the sonne of Randulph (father to Iordan Biaset the baron, which gaue fourteene acres of ground to build the monasterie of Clerkenwell neere London) did giue twelue acres of arable land in Steeple vnto the nuns of Clerkenwell. Which thing I thought good not to omit in this place, speaking of Bartholomew Badlesmere: as I must not doo the name of Gilo de Badlesmere, witnesse unto a like datelesse deed, made by Robert Leiborne, to the same Clerkenwell, the effect whereof is set down before, vnder the name of Roger Leiborne constable of Douer Castell. *Liber Clerkenwell.*

Edmund of Woodstocke (so surnamed of the place where he was borne, not farre from Oxford, being the sonne of Edward the first, by his second wife Margaret the daughter of the king of France) was borne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred, on saint Oswalds daie: but as saith William Paginton in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and one, was constable of Douer castell *Edmund of Woodstocke.*

castell in Michaelmas tearme, in the fifteenth yeare of king Edward the second his neplue, who aduanced the same Edmund to the earledome of Kent in the same fifteenth yeare of his reigne, the eight and twentith of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and one. At what time it appeareth to me that then first began the pensions out of the excheker, to be giuen to euerie noble man in place, and for his honor of the erldome. For whereas in time past, he which was created an earle, had for his creation and maintenance in honor the third penie of the reuenues of that shire comming to the kings hands: now the created earle had in lieu thereof a pension out of the excheker. For thus I find recorded in the Pellis of Exitus of Michaelmas tearme, the fifteenth yeare of the reigne of Edward the second.

Dominus rex 28 die Iulij proximè præterito, gladio cinxit in comitem Cantiæ (Edmund the kings brother) & ei concessit, &c: 30. lib. de exitibus comitatus Cantiæ percipiend. per manus vicecomitis comitatus illius, qui pro tempore fuerit, sub nomine & honore comitatus Cantiæ: ac firma alia & hundreda diuersa: habend. ad totam vitam ipsius comitis, inter quæ illas 500 lib. annuas ei assignauit, quas abbas & conuentas de Ramesey reddunt de firma nundinarum sancti Iuonis, &c. The occasion which mooued the king so to create him earle of Kent, I haue read set downe in one anonymall chronicle in this sort. Rex moliebatur confusionem Bartholomæi de Badlesmer, & ne maximus fieret præ cæteris, sicut solebat Edmundum de Woodstock fratrem suum comitem Cantiæ fecit. Of which earle I will not speake anie more at this time, bicause I haue more liberallie treated of him amongst the protectors of England.

Hugh Spenser. Hugh Spenser the yoonger was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, being on the seas, and keeping the cinque ports (by witnesse of our chronicles) in the time of Edward the second, as to his office apperteined. He was in great fauour, with king Edward the first, and made earle of Glocester by king Edward the second. He married Elenor the eldest sister, and one of the heires of Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester and Hertford, by whom he had issue Hugh that died without issue, Edward lord Spenser, and Gilbert with Isabell wife to Edward Fitzallen, erle of Arundell; he was at Hereford executed, by drawing hanging and quartering, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and six, in the last yeare of Edward the second.

William Clinton. William Clinton, the sonne of Iohn lord Clinton, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the twentith yeare of Edward the second (if they haue not mistaken that king for Edward the third) about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and six, in which yeare the same king was deposed, and Edward the third his sonne aduanced, who continued his office manie yeares, as in the fift, sixt, tenth, and thirteenth of Edward the third. Which Clinton was in Ester tearme in the ninth yeare of Edward the third, sent into France, and so to Rome, in the companie of Iohn archbishop of Canturburie, the abbat of Dore, and sir William Trussell, and is the same person named in a booke belonging to the house of Rochester (which booke my good freend and rare antiquarie maister Lambard hath rightlie intituled by the name of Registrum Roffense) who with Robert de Walkefar was dispatcht into Kent to Canturburie, there to heare and determine the breach of the peace in Kent. To whome the king (as appeareth in the records of the excheker of the Pellis exitus) in Michaelmas terme, of the tenth yeare of king Edward the third, had giuen three hundred markes by yeare, for the sustentation of Laurence Hastings, the sonne of Iohn Hastings, as long as the said Laurence should be in his custodie: which Laurence was afterward the first earle of Pembroke by the name of Hastings. After which, in the ninth yeare of Edward the third, he was created earle of Huntington, of whome in the thirteenth yeare of the same king I find this registred in the register of Rochester

chester before named. The Frenchmen infesting the sea coasts betweene Orwell and Cornewall, there was a councell holden to place a watch to repell the enimie from the sea side, wherevnto few regarded to come, although manie popular knights and soldiours were by distresse inforced to come thither. Wherefore the lord William Clinton, earle of Huntington, and constable of Douer castell, assembling a great force of armed men in the countie of Kent to resist the enimies, did bestow manie things of his owne, and susteined greater trauell in labouring thereabout. For when the Frenchmen came to burne Sandwich, the erle with his companie entred the ships which were at Sandwich to subdue their enimies. Wherevpon, when the French perceiued therby that they could doo no good, they turned their sailes, and cast anchor at Heath. Whom when the earle with his companie did pursue vnto Romeneie, they forthwith fled, and so from Ester vnto Lammas he continued armed with his people, valiantlie keeping the coasts of England against the enimies. After which, in the yeare following, which was the foureteenth of Edward the third, he attended the king, scowring the seas; as saith the same author, whose words although they be long, I shall not greeue to set downe in such barbarous sort as I find them.

Rex transfretare coactus in crastino sanctæ Trinitatis cum paucis nauibus, videlicet 16, ad plus cùm nauigare disposuisset, noua recepit, quòd rex Franciæ vnam classem ducentarum nauium magnarum cum multitudine armatorum apud Sclusam miserat, ad prohibendum ingressum Flandriæ, siue ad capiendum eum siue ad occidendum. Quo audito, rex Angliæ totam costeram maris vsque ad Lin, personaliter perscrutans, omnes naues magnas bene paratas in rebus & personis apud Herwich sumptibus patriæ celeriter venire fecit. Comes verò Huntington ex parte sua omnes nautas quinque portuum parari fecit, & scripsit omnibus amicis suis pro hominibus armorum auxilium ferre. Vnde factus est quod *episcopus Roffensis misit octo homines armatos sumptibus suis apud Sandwichum, ad conducendum regem vltra mare. And so in the end the king passed into the parts beyond the seas in the sight of the French kings armie, which durst not aduenture to set vpon them. After which, to go forth with the words of the historie: Die sabbati, videlicet in festo sancti Iohannis Baptistæ inito concilio, sole, vento, & tida cum aqua regi Angliæ fauentibus, ductu piratarum, Anglici Francis grandem insultum dederunt: comite Huntingdoniæ & domino Roberto Morley admerallis siue capitaneis dantibus insultum primum: cæteri verò naues viriliter sequentes cum Francis congredientes, multos occiderunt, violentibus se reddere pepercerunt, & fugientes de nauibus in mare saltari vi armata compulerunt: sagitarij hoc tamen fecerunt. Besides this, there was a certeine ship of Diepe, whereinto were fled foure hundred men of Normandie, who on a night carried awaie from the fleet of England a certeine ship of Sandwich, in which were the men of the prior of Canturburie. Which this earle of Huntingdon and warden of the cinque ports perceiuing, foorthwith he turned the ship wherin he was, and directed it towards them: Et (as the same author further saith) cùm eos attigisset, tota nocte vsque manè ad solis ortum præliantes acerrimè, pulsis nauibus ambabus vsque ad terram, & deuictis 450 nautis, nauem de Diepe combustam reliquerunt. In the which conflict there were slaine sir Hugh Airet admerall and one other great man of Flanders called Iohn Veiuell, with manie other great and small to the number of fiue and twentie thousand persons: at what time there was also taken a hundred and threescore ships which remained with the English, who exceeded not aboue sixteene thousand men. After this honorable victorie by this earle, in the yeere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and six, being about the twentith yeare of the reigne of the said Edward the third, Robert Auesberie writeth of

* Haimo de Heth.

Robert Auesb.

of certeine letters of the French, conteining the destruction of this realme, which this earle deliuered vnto the archbishop of Canturburie; the words of which author are these: In vigilia assumptionis Mariæ virginis anno Domini 1346, reuerendus pater dominus Iohannes de Stratford Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, ante processionem generalem pro pace & domino rege Anglorum, tunc in Francia militante, à clero & populo London illa die solenniter facineda, verbum Dei ipsius clero & populo London illa die solenniter faciendum ad crucem Pauli London prædicans, exponens inter cætera publicauit, quod nobilis vir comes de Huntington, qui cum domino rege Anglorum in conflictu habito apud Cadamum, fuerat febribus fatigatus, in Angliam tunc reuersus, litteras quasdam inuentas in Cadamo continentes præsumptuosam Normannorum confœderationem seu ordinationem, ad subuersionem ipsius regis & regni Angliæ, per concilium domini Philippi de Valois ordinatas & callidè adinuentas sibi tradidit vulgariter exponendas.

All which matter with the letters he openlie declared (as is before said) at Paules crosse, to mooue the people feruentlie to praie for, and willinglie to aid the king. He liuing in the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, founded the priorie of Maidstocke, married Iulian the daughter and heire of Thomas lord Leiborne, by whome he had a daughter (as some suppose) Elisabeth: whereas the office taken after his death (in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred fiftie and foure, being the eight and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third) saith that Iohn Clinton, the son of Iohn Clinton brother unto this earle, was heire to the same earle.

Bartholomew de Burgersh.

Bartholomew de Burghersh baneret, was constable of Douer castell and warden of the cinque ports, in the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third (as some note) and in the foure and twentith and six and twentith yere of the reigne of the same king, being first in the ninth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third steward of Penteif; and the same yeare (or rather the yeare before) in Michaelmasse terme he was sent into France in the companie of William bishop of Norwich; and likewise was dispatched ambassador vnto Rome about the same time, whereof I doo find this note in the same Michaelmas terme in the records of the excheker being in forme as followeth: Bartholomæo de Burgersh militi, eunti nuper in negotijs domini regis ad curiam Romanam, videlicet pro dispensatione habenda inter ipsum dominum regem & reginam Angliæ consortem suam, &c. Who being thus imploied in the affaires, and by the wise cariage of himselfe therein, growing more and more in the kings fauor, was for the especiall trust which the king reposed in him, in the three and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yeare of Grace one thousand three hundred fortie and nine, sent with the earle of Lancaster, the barons of Stafford, Greistocke, and Furneuall about the feast of all saints to Gascoigne, to appease the furious vprore which Iohn de Valois sonne vnto the French king had made in that dukedome, greatlie spoiling the same. Which thing being well performed, he was after in the foure and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and fiftie, made one of the first knights of the garter, at the erecting of that honorable order. Wherwith being honored (to make it appeere to the world that the same was not vnwoorthily laid vpon him, but most iustlie for his martiall prowesse, who still followed the warres), in the fiue and twentith and six and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and fiftie, he went twise to Calis in the companie of William bishop of Norwich. After which, in the nine and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yeare of our saluation one thousand three hundred fiftie and fiue, he passeth to Burdeaux with the Blacke prince, and followed his armie, as a companion with him in all his conflicts and battels: which in the same yeare this Bartholomew, Iohn Chandois, and Iames Audleie with foure

and twentie knights comming to the taile of the French armie, flieng awaie, tooke two and thirtie knights and gentlemen prisoners, amongst whom was the erle of Romenne. After which it seemeth that he liued not long, for in the Michaelmas term in the thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third there is mention made of the executors of Bartholomew Burghersh constable of Douer castell.

Roger de Mortimer was constable of Douer castell in Michaelmas terme, in the one and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, being the same man (as I suppose) which was the sonne of Edward Mortimer lord of Wigmore, and as the Welsh historie reporteth, pag. 317, by king Edward the third, in the 29 yeare of his reigne restored to the earledome of March; or els was Roger Mortimer vncle to Roger earle of March. But because time serueth not to decide which of them it was, I leaue it to others. Roger de Mortimer.

Iohn Beauchampe of Warwike knight, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, the first daie of December, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and one, and the fiue and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, to whome succeeded Robert Herle knight.

Robert Herle knight, liuing in the one and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, being the sonne and heire of William Herle lord of Kirkbie, who died in the one and twentith yere of Edward the third, was in the fiue and twentith yere of king Edward the third, capteine of Calis, and also constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the six and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and two, as appeareth by the records of Pellis exitus, where it is thus entred in the first daie of December in the Pell of Michaelmas terme of the same six and thirtith yeare. Roberto de Herle militi, custodi castri Douer & quinque portuum, ad totam vitam suam eodem modo quo Iohannes de Bello campo de Warwike dum vixit illam habuit. Which Robert (being lord and baron of Kirkbie) died without issue in the eight and thirtith yeare of king Edward the third, leauing Margaret his sister to be his heire. Of which Margaret, being married to Rafe Hastings, the now liuing earle of Huntington Henrie Hastings is descended.

Rafe Spigornell knight, was constable of Douer castle, and warden of the cinque ports, in the fortith and fortie fourth of Edward the third, to whome the same king gaue fourtie pounds in reward, because that he brought a crowne of gold adorned with precious stones, as a token from his daughter in law the princesse of Wales: whereof I haue seene this note in the Pellis exitus of Michaelmas terme of the six and thirtith of the same Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and two, and the foureteenth of October: Radulpho de Spigornell militi, in denarijs sibi liberatis in persolutionem 40 libra: quas dominus rex sibi liberari mandauit de dono suo, pro eo quòd idem Radulphus apportauit domino regi quandam coronam de auro & lapidibus pretiosis, de dono dominæ principissæ de Wallia, &c. Now for proofe that he was constable of Dover castell, and warden of the cinque ports, succeeding Robert Herle, I find this note entred in the records of the excheker, in Easter terme, in the foure and fourtith yere of the reigne of king Edward the third: Radulpho de Spigornell militi, cui dominus rex castrum de Douer & quinque portus cum pertinentijs custodiendum ad totam vitam suam eodem modo, quo Robertus de Herle dum vixit custodiam illam habuit, percipiens per annum 300 libras pro sustentatione sua ac capellanorum, ac vnius carpentarij in dicto castro commorantium, & pro robis eorum, &c. Rafe Spigornell.

Richard de Penbrig was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports,

ports, in the fiue and fortith yeare of Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred three score and eleuen.

William lord Latimer.

William lord Latimer of Corbie knight, the sonne of William lord Latimer, and Elisabeth his wife, owner of Stratton in Bedfordshire, was constable of Douer castell in the seuen and fortith yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred three score and thirteene, in which office he continued in the fiftith yeare of Edward the third, whose lieutenant was William de Tidecome. Which lord Latimer, being in great credit with the king, performed manie notable things, wherof mention is made in our chronicles. For which (as appeareth by record of the excheker of the second part of Michaelmas terme, in the one and thirtith yere of Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred three score and eleuen) it is set downe, that the king gaue to this William Latimer one hundred marks a yeare out of the excheker, the records of which record be these: Willielmo de Latimer, cui dominus rex 100 marcas anuuatim ad scaccarium percipiendum pro bono seruitio per ipsium eidem domino regi impensunt, quoúsque terræ quas Elisabeth, quæ fuit vxor W. Latimer mater predicti Willielmi tenet in dotem, & aliàs ad terminum vitæ de hereditate dicti Willielmi ad manus eiusdem deuenerint, &c.

Walsingham.

Of the actions of which William, warden of the ports, I meane in some part here to intreat, besides that which I haue spoken of him in my discourse of the protectors of England. This man in the eight and thirtith yeare of Edward the third, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred three score and seuen, being in the warres of Britaine, in the feast of S. Michaell, Charles Blois, (betweene whom and Iohn Montfort there was contention for the dukedome of Britaine) did with an armie of three thousand and six hundred suddenlie come vpon Iohn Montfort and the lord William Latimer, whilst they did besiege the castell and towne of Dowraie, hauing scarse one thousand and six hundred of all sorts, both Britains and English. Wherevpon the armies going togither without anie deliberation, there were slaine on the part of the duke Montfort onelie seuen men, and on the part of the intruder, Charles Blois himselfe, the lord of Richford, and William Vange knight, and almost one thousand esquires; at what time there was also taken on the part of the said Charles two earles, twentie lords, and fifteene hundred valiant armed souldiors. After this, being the kings chamberlaine, he was (in the fiftith yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred three score and sixteene) with the duke of Lancaster by parlement remooued from the king, and others placed in their roomes. But after, the duke of Lancaster obteining fauour to be protector of the kingdome, restored this William Latimer, sir Richard Storie and others, to the kings fauour and to their former offices. Which lord Latimer, after the death of Edward the third, continuing in the young king Richard his fauour, was before the coronation of the said king Richard, in the first yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred three score and seuenteene, sent with sir Simon Burleie to the Londoners, to set an agreement betweene them and the duke of Lancaster: whereof I will speake more hereafter in the treatie of sir Simon Burleie, warden of the cinque ports. After which, in the same yeare, the Englishmen hearing of a multitude of Spanish ships, which for want of wind were deteined at Seluse, determined to enter the sea with a great power, desirous to requite the wrongs which the Spaniards had doone vnto them the yeare before, in aiding the Frenchmen. Wherefore the English hauing assembled an armie by sea, Thomas of Woodstocke earle of Buckingham, William lord Latimer, the lord Fitzwater, sir Robert Knolles, and manie valiant

persons

persons were made capteins thereof, who going to sea, felt the crosse of aduerse fortune in the midst of the waues. For by force of extreame tempests, their ships were dispersed, broken, drowned, and almost all lost. After which, in the end gathering their nauie together, they returned into England, where anew refreshing and rigging their ships, they tooke another iourneie to the sea and found better successe. He married Elisabeth the daughter of Edmund erle of Arundell, by whome he had issue William which died a child, and Elisabeth his sole heire married to Iohn lord Neuill, of whome sir Fulke Greuill now liuing is descended.

Edmund Plantagenet, surnamed of Langleie the sonne of king Edward the third, was constable of Douer castle, and warden of the cinque ports, in the one and fiftith of Edward the third, which office he continued in some of the first yeares of the reigne of king Richard the second, as in his first and second yeare, &c. This Edmund, being in his fathers life made erle of Cambridge, was in the time of his nephue king Richard the second, created duke of Yorke, of whome I haue more intreated in my discourse of the dukes of England. Edmund Plantagenet.

Sir Robert Ashton knight, sometime tresuror of England, constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the sixt and seuenth yeres of king Richard the second, falling in the yeares one thousand three hundred foure score and two, and one thousand three hundred foure score and three of our Lord, who gaue the great bell to the church in Douer castell, of whome I haue spoken more in my discourse of the treasurors of England. He lieth buried in the foresaid church of Douer castell with this epitaph: Hic iacet Robertus Ashton miles, quondam constabularius castri Douer, qui obijt 2 die Ianuarij, an. Dom. 1381, cuius animæ propitietur Deus. Robert Ashton.

Simon Burleie knight of the garter, and banneret, the sonne of sir Iohn Burleie knight, which liued in the sixt of Aprill, in the fortith yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred three score and six, was constable of Douer castell, as by this short discourse of him it should appeare. Before the obteining of which office, he was on the two and twentith of Iune, being the daie after the death of king Edward the third, and the first yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred three score and seuenteene, sent with William lord Latimer, sir Nicholas Bond, and sir Richard Adderburie to the Londoners, who the two and twentith daie of Iulie before, had sent Iohn Philpot a woorthie citizen of London, to touch the death of the late king Edward, and to request the kings fauour about the controuersies then depending betweene the duke of Lancaster and the citizens of London. Which sir Simon Burleie and the rest comming to London, deliuered to the citizens from the king, that as they brought them heauie newes of the kings death: so they were also to shew them glad tidings of the yoong kings good disposition towards them, who had chosen their citie, and would come vnto them as they had required. Besides which, the king had spoken vnto the duke, who had submitted himselfe vnto the kings pleasure in all things. Wherefore they willed the citizens to doo the like, but they refused the same. Yet at length (after a long discourse had amongst them therabout, for six houres and more) they agreed that if this sir Simon Burleie and the rest would enter into bond, that this their submission should not tend to anie temporall losse, or corporall hurt, that they would willinglie agree to the kings command; whereupon these knights gaue their assurance accordinglie. With which securitie the citizens coming to Shene, the king called them before him, and they acknowledged willinglie in all things to submit themselues to the kings pleasure. Which doone, the king and nobilitie tooke their iorneie to London towards his coronation, whose horse sir Nicholas Bond going on foot did lead: Simon Burleie. *Wolsingham.*

lead: at what time also this sir Simon Burleie did carrie the sword before the king. Which sir Simon still continuing in the kings fauour, and dailie growing to greater honour, was in the seuenth yeare of king Richard, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred foure score and foure, made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, holding that office during his life, as I for this time doo gather. For he was constable in the seuenth and eight yeare of Richard the second, hauing besides that the office of the kings chamberlaine, and manie other great dignities.

Before which, on the foure and twentith of March, in the tenth yeare of the king, being in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fourescore and seauen, Richard earle of Arundell admerall for that time, and Thomas Mowbraie earle of Notingham went to the sea, and tooke about one hundred ships laden with wines, conteining one thousand nine hundred tuns of wines. After which he tooke Brest in Britaine, and returned into England. Which deeds of the earls being enuied by such as were with the king, as the duke of Ireland, the earle of Suffolke, this sir Simon Burleie, and Richard Stirie or Sturie, deprauing the earle to the king, said: that he had performed no worthie exploit, but onelie inuaded a few merchants, whose amitie it had beene more fruitfull to haue preserued, than so to haue stirred vnintreatable hatred. Of all which persons, the duke of Ireland, sir Simon Burleie, and the rest thus in generalitie writeth Walsingham. Hi nimirum milites plures erant Veneris quàm Bellonæ, plus valentes in thalamo quàm in campo, plus lingua quàm lancea præmuniti, ad dicendum vigiles, ad faciendum acta Martia somnolenti. Hi igitur circa regem conuersantes, nihil quod deceret tantum militem informare curabant, non dico tantum armorum vsum, sed nec ea quæ maximè reges generosos decent in pace, videlicet in venationem, vel aucapationem, aut his similia, quibus regni honor crescit. Thus much by Walsingham.

By which demeanour of this Simon Burleie, he grew in such hatred with the nobilitie, that at a parlement kept at Westminster, in Februarie, he was about the first of Maie following, in the eleuenth yeare of the king, and in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand three hundred fourescore and eight, beheaded: notwithstanding that the earle of Derbie labored all he could with the nobilitie (which had taken armes against the king, for supporting of this Simon Burleie and others) to saue his life. For which intreatie there fell great dissention betweene the earle of Derbie and the duke of Glocester. This sir Simon Burleie being a man of great possessions in Kent, was lord of manie manors there; and namelie of the manors of Elham, and Colbridge; whereof he did with force dispossesse the tenants, as appeareth by these letters patents of king Richard the second: the which although they be long, yet for that they conteine manie matters touching the said sir Simon Burleie, and also the names of manie principall persons and officers in the realme liuing at that time, I shall not greeue to set downe in this sort.

THE LETTERS PATENTS OF RICHARD THE SECOND,

Wherein he granted manie parcels of land in Kent with the manors of Elham and Colbridge, to the deane of saint Stephans chapell of Westminster, founded by king Edward the third, as by the same letters patents plainelie appeareth.

RICHARDUS Dei Gratia rex Angliæ, & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus ad quos præsentes litteræ peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis quòd cum dominus E. nuper rex Angliæ, auus noster defunctus, collegium liberæ capellæ nostræ sancti Stephani infra

infra palacium nostrum Westmonasterium de vno decano, & 12 canonicis, 13 vicarijs, & alijs ministris ad diuina seruitia ibidem pro animabus progenitorum, & successorum ipsius aui nostri in perpetuum faciendum nuper fundasset, & per litteras suas patentes (quas confirmauimus) concessit eidem decano, & canonicis, & eorum successoribus pro sustentatione sua, quingentas & decem libras, percipiend. annuatim de præfato auo nostro, & hæredibus suis in perpetuum, quousque eis de terris, aut tenementis, seu alijs rebus immobilibus valorem summæ prædictæ per annum attingentibus, per prædictum auum nostrum, vel hæredes suos fuisset prouisum: postmodúmque idem auus noster per alias litteras suas patentes dedisset & concessisset charissimo auunculo nostro duci Aquitan. & Lancastr. tunc regi Castellæ & Legionis, Simoni tunc archiepiscopo Cant. Iohan. episcopo Lincolniæ, Henrico tunc episcopo Wigorniæ, Willielmo tunc domino de Latimer, Iohanni Kneuet tunc cancellario, Roberto de Ashton tunc thesaurario, Rogero de Beauchampe tunc camerario, Iohanni de Ipres tunc seneschallo hospitij, & Nicholao Carew tunc custodi priuati sigilli eiusdem aui nostri, certa castra, maneria, dominia, terras, tenementa, redditus, reuersiones, quæ dictus auus noster adquisiuit de quibusdam personis in com. Cant. ac alijs diuersis comitatibus in Anglia, vnà cum toto stauro, bonis, & catallis in eisdem castris, manerijs terris, & tenementis adtunc existentibus. Habendum & tenendum eidem duci, & alijs personis & hæredibus suis in perpetuum, absque aliqua conditione eis declarata, super liberationem chartæ prædictæ, quæ de recordo existit, vt dicitur siue antea, aut super liberationem sesinam inde eis factam, prout coram nobis, ac dominis, ac paribus regni nostri, aliàs in parlamento nostro palam fuerat declaratum, prout sumus informati. Qui quidem auus noster post dictum feaoffamentum sic factum in testamento suo ordinauit, quòd dictum collegium, & aliæ domus religionis, quas fundauit, dotatæ essent, & feoffatæ de manerijs, terris, & tenementis, redditibus & reuersionibus prædictis cum pertinentijs tenendis separatim in perpetuum. Post cuius mortem prædicti, dux, Iohannes episcopus, Henricus, Robertus, Iohannes de Ipres, & Nicholaus, plenam notitiam vltimæ voluntatis dicti aui nostri habentes, volentésque eandem voluntatem, ac ordinationes, & promissa sua predicta, penes prædictum decanum & canonicos, & successores suos adimplere, prout in testamento suo expressè fuerunt onerati, maneria, terras, tenementa, redditus, & reuersiones prædicta, inter dictum collegium & alias domos religionis prædict. secundum discretionem suam departit. fuerunt, & æqualiter proportionauerunt. ac per scriptum suum indentatum concesserunt, & ad firmam demiserunt præfatis decano & canonicis, & eorum successoribus parcellam maneriorum, terrarum, tenementorum, reddituum, & reuersionum prædictorum tanquam ratam suam eorundem prout intelleximus; videlicit, maneria de Esshatisford, cum Bartone, Bucwell, Eseling Meere, Langley iuxta Ledes cum aduocationibus ecclessiarum, franchesijs, warrennis, et omnimodis dominijs ad ea pertinent. ac quandam parcellam prati in Einsford in dicto comitatu Cantiæ, vnà cum toto stauro vivo & mortuo in manerijs, terris & tenementis prædictis tunc existent. Nec non reuersiones maneriorum da Elham, & de Colebridge, cum pertin. in dicto com. Cantiæ, quæ Willielmus Streat iam defunctus, tunc tenens ad terminum vitæ suæ, ac etiam reuersionem manerij de Winchfeeld cum pertinentibus in comitatu Southampton, quod Iohannes Kimberley tunc tenuit & adhuc tenet ad terminum vitæ suæ. Habend. & tenend. præfato decano & canonicis, & successoribus suis a festo sanctæ Paschæ, anno regni nostri quinto, usque ad finem quadraginta annorum, ex tunc proximè sequentium, ad intentionem quod dicta maneria, terræ, tenementa, redditus, reuersiones, cum omnibus pertinentijs suis, eisdem decano & canonicis priùs concessa, eisdem decano & canonicis & successoribus suis, infra eundem terminum ad manum mortuam data forent & assignata, tenenda in auxilium sustentationis

Iohn of Gant fourth sonne to Edward the third

Simon Sudberie archbishop of Canturburie.

Iohn de Buckingham bishop of London.

Eseling otherwise called Northcourt, is now in the possession of Martin Iames of Smarden in Kent esquire, and the other lands in the possession of other men.

tentationis suæ, ac in partem dotationis suæ prædictæ in perpetuum, prout per dictum scriptum indentatum plenius apparet. Virtute cuius dimissionis ac attornamenti tenentium præfati decani & canonici inde sesiti fuerunt, vt de termino suo prædicto & possessionem suam tam dictorum maneriorum de Elham & Colbridge, post mortem prædicti Willielmi Streat quàm omnium aliorum maneriorum, terrarum, tenementorum, & reddituum prædictorum cum pertinentibus in dicto comitatu Cantiæ per tempus non modicum continuarunt, quousque ipsi per Simonem de Burleie chiualer defuncti inde indebitè expulsi fuerunt, vt asserunt, cui quidem Simoni ad minùs veram suggestionem suam omnia prædicta maneria, terras, tenementa, & redditus, cum pertinentibus in comitatu Cantiæ, habendum & tenendum eidem Simoni & hæredibus suis in perpetuum per litteras nostras patentes concessimus, prout in eisdem litteris plenius continetur. Quæ quidem maneria, terræ, tenementa, & redditus, cum pertinentibus in dicto comitatu Cantiæ, ratione iudicij versus ipsum Simonem in parlamento nostro apud Westmonasterium anno regni nostri vndecimo, tento, reddita in manus nostras tanquam nobis forisfacta, sesita, & ad centum & vndecim libras per eschaetorem nostrum in eodem comitatu Cantiæ extensa fuerunt; subsequentérque ad supplicationem prædictorum decani & canonicorum, pro maiore securitate sua per litteras nostras patentes concessimus Iohanni Sleford personæ ecclesiæ de Balsham, Iohanni de Appulton, Thomæ de Oxted capellano, Iohanni Darg capellano, & Richardo Bret capellano, custodiam maneriorum, terrarum, tenementorum, et redituum prædictorum, cum pertinentijs in dicto comitatu Cantiæ, habendum & tenendum vsque ad finem triginta annorum ex tunc proximè sequentium, omnimodis exitibus, bladis, fœno, commoditatibus & alijs proficuis, & quibuscúnque aisiamentis maneriorum, terrarum, tenementorum, & reddituum prædictorum cum pertinentibus, præfato decano & canonicis & successoribus suis exceptis & reseruatis. Quæ quidem emolumenta per alias litteras patentes eisdem decano & canonicis prius concessimus, sicut dicunt. Nos considerantes benignum propositum & piam intentionem prædicti aui nostri, de gratia nostra speciali in complementum vltimæ voluntatis suæ, dedimus & concessimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris quantùm in nobis est, præfatis decano & canonicis tam dicta maneria de Ashetisford, cum Barton, Buckwell, Eseling Meere, & dictam parcellam in prato Elnsford cum toto stauro vivo et mortuo ibidem existent. quam dicta maneria de Elham & Colbridge cum aduocationibus ecclesiarum, fœdis militum, parcis, warrennis, piscarijs, wardis, maritagijs, releuijs, eschaetis, redditibus, leetis, seruitijs, franchesijs, custumis, priuilegijs, & omnibus alijs rebus & proficuis, ad dictum manerium & pratum, vel ad aliquam parcellam eorundem quouis modo pertinentibus siue spectantibus; habendum & tenendum eisdem decano & canonicis & successoribus suis in perpetuum. Concessimus insuper & licentiam dedimus, pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, prædictis duci & episcopo Lincoln. quòd ipsi concedere possint, quod manerium de Winchfeeld, vna cum aduocatione ecclesiæ eiusdem manerij, quæ prædictus Iohannes Kimberley sic tenet ad terminum vitæ suæ, & quæ post mortem eiusdem Ionannis Kimberley ad præfatos ducem & episcopum Lincoln. eo quod alij coniunctim fœffati sui dies clauserunt extremos, reuerti deberent post mortem ipsius Iohannis Kimberley, remaneant præfatis decano & canonicis, &c. In cuius rei testimonium has litteras, &c. Teste meipso apud villam Salop. sexto die Februarij, anno regni nostri 21.

This patent thus reciting the death of Simon Burleie, amongst other matters putteth me in mind to saie what followed vpon the death of that man, so intirelie beloued of the king: who (not ceasing to call his death to remembrance, and waiting opportunitie to reuenge the same) did in the one and twentith yeare of his reigne, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred foure score and seuenteene,

euenteene, giue licence to sir Iohn Bussie, to accuse Thomas Arundell the archbishop of Canturburie, and sometime chancellor to this king Richard the second of threefold treason: whereof the third article was, that by the said traitorous vsurping (meaning of the duke of Glocester, of Richard earle of Arundell, and other noble men, vsurping the gouernement of the realme, by a commission granted vnto them therefore by the said archbishop, then chancellor) sir Simon Burleie, and sir Iames Barnes knights, faithfull men vnto the king, were traitorouslie murthered and put to death. Whervpon the king, although for a time he fullie granted not that the motions of sir Iohn Bussie tooke place, yet afterward in reuenge of the death of sir Simon and others his freends, the archbishop was banished, the duke of Glocester murthered, the earle of Arundell beheaded, and the two Cobhams in like sort forbidden and exiled England. So hard it is for the greatest power of the nobilitie to contend with their prince, who being the god of the earth, and carieng the sword, can and will either by force, policie or authoritie iustlie with the same distribute the reward of rebellion.

This sir Simon died without issue, leauing his brother sir Roger Burleie his heire, of which sir Roger these persons now liuing are descended: sir Thomas Bromleie knight lord chancellor of England, Philip Howard earle of Arundell, Edward de Vere erle of Oxford, and Iohn Thin of Longleat in Wiltshire esquier, the sonne and heire of sir Iohn Thin of Longleat knight, the sonne and heire of Thomas Boteuile (otherwise surnamed Thin) and of Margaret his wife, the daughter of Thomas Einus esquier and of Ioise his wife, the daughter of Iohn Gatacre esquire and of Ioise his wife, the daughter of sir Iohn Burleie knight, sonne vnto this sir Roger Burleie knight (in the chronicles and bookes of the law called Beuerlee) brother to this sir Simon Burleie, as is before said. To which also may be added, as descended from this sir Roger Burleie these worshipfull persons now liuing, that is to saie Corbet of Lee, Ploiden of Ploiden hall, Mitton of Shropshire, Littleton, Einus, and others; whereof I haue not as yet the full and true descents, and therefore cannot lineallie conueie them, as I haue doone some of the others before recited.

Sir Iohn Denros knight, of diuerse chroniclers diuerslie named (for by some he is called Deuereux, by some de Euros, and by others de Euers) was constable of Douer castle and warden of the cinque ports, being sometime appointed to the custodie of Calis, as appeareth by Walsingham in these words, pag. 243. Anno dominicæ incarnationis 1380, qui est annus 3 Rich. 2, hoc tempore circa festum natalis Domini redijt à Calisia dominus Gulihelmus de Monteacuto comes Sarum, qui annualem custodiam egerat illus villæ, cui subrogatur dominus Iohannes Enros miles, ab antiquo exercitatus in armis. After which, for his worthinesse, he was made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, which office he held in the twelfe yeare of Richard the second in Michaelmas terme, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred eightie and eight, as appeareth in the records of Pellis exitus of that terme; where mention is made that the king gaue him yearelie during his life, to be paid at Michaelmas and Easter, foure score and eight pounds six shillings and eight pence out of the excheker for the sustenation of himselfe, of a chapleine, of seruitors, of wardens, and one carpentar, in the same castell of Douer; which office of warden of the cinque ports he likewise held in the fourteenth yeare of Richard the second, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred eightie and nine. To this man (as some haue) was Gefferie Clinton esquier lieutenant. Besides which office of the wardenship of the ports, he was the kings steward, and possessed both those offices at the time of his death, which suddenlie fell vpon him after the manner of an apoplexie in the feast of S. Sir Iohn Denros.

Peters chaire: to whom (as hath Walsingham) Thomas Persie, brother to Henrie earle of Northumberland, and vice chamberleine succeeded in the office of steward; and Iohn Beaumont, by some (but not rightlie) called Thomas, obteined the honor to be warden of the cinque ports.

Iohn de Beaumont. Iohn de Beaumont was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the sixteenth seuenteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth of the deposed king Richard the second.

Duke Edmund. Edmund duke of Aumerle and Yorke was constable of Douer castell and warden of the cinque ports, in the one and twentith yeare of king Richard the second, which office it seemed that he continued all the time of the gouernement of the same king Richard, vntill his deposition by Henrie the fourth, who comming to the crowne, not onelie deposed the king, but also remooued this duke of Yorke from the wardenship of the ports and Douer castell, placing sir Thomas Erpingham therein, as some haue. In which yeare of the one and twentith of that king, Arnold Sauage knight was lieutenant of the castell to this Edmund duke of Yorke, of whome is more spoken in my discourse of the dukes of England.

Sir Thomas Erpingham. Sir Thomas Erpingham knight was constable of Douer castell, in the third yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fourth, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and two: in which office he continued vntill the tenth yeere of the same king, being the yeere of Christ one thousand foure hundred and nine, who amongst others (as hath Walsingham) was one, before whome king Richard the second, in the three and twentith yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and nine, resigned his kingdome, and released his subiects of their oth of obedience vnto him.

Prince Henrie. Henrie (eldest sonnne to king Henrie the fourth, being prince of Wales, duke of Cornewall and erle of Chester) was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the twelfe yeare of the reigne of king Henrie his father. Of this Henrie prince of Wales I need not speake anie more, bicause he was after king of England, by the name of Henrie the fift.

Iohn Beaufort. Iohn Beaufort, marquesse Dorset, whome some appoint to be constable of Douer castell, in the reigne of king Henrie the fourth: which Iohn I suppose for this time succeeded Henrie prince of Wales.

Thomas erle of Arundell. Thomas erle of Arundell was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the second and third of the most valiant king Henrie the fift. This man being at the same time also treasuror of England, occasioned me to saie more of him in my discourse of the lord treasurors of England, wherevnto I doo refer thee.

Humfrie duke of Glocester. Humfreie duke of Glocester was constable of Douer castell; and lord warden of the cinque ports, in the first yeare of king Henrie the sixt, then being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred twentie and two: which office he continued in the two and twentith yeare of the after deposed king Henrie the sixt, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fortie and foure. Of this man is more spoken in my protectors of England, and in my discourse of the dukes of England. Beside which that is there set downe, I think it not amisse in this place to recite somewhat of him.

This duke, in the seauenth yeare of king Henrie the fift, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and nineteene, accompanied with the earle Marshall, and a goodlie troope of other men, was by the king being in the wars of France, sent to laie siege to the towne and castell of Yuorie, which the duke (after manie assaults) tooke by force, but the castell thereof was not yeelded vntill the thirteenth daie of Maie following: shortlie after which he also tooke the towne

towne of saint Germans. About the feast of Simon and Iude, in the fourth yeare of king Henrie the sixt, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and fiue, there arose grieuous contention betweene this duke protector of England, and Henrie Beaufort his vncle bishop of Winchester; whereby great force was assembled on both parts. But that dissention was afterward somewhat appeased, by the meanes of the prince of Portingall, who rode eight times in one day betweene the armies of these two great persons.

Sir Iames Fines knight, lord Sale, the sonne of sir William Fines, was chamberleine to the king, constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the six and twentith and seuen and twentith of king Henrie the sixt; of whome I haue more liberallie discoursed in the treasurors of England, as may appeare, and of whome I will also further hereafter intreat in the edition of my other trauels. Sir Iames Fines.

Humfreie duke of Buckingham was constable of Douer castell in the seauen and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt, being in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred and nineteene, which office he continued in the seuen and thirtith of the reigne of the same king; further holding the same office (as I for this time suppose) vntill his owne death, which happened in the eight and thirtith yeare of that king Henrie the sixt, being the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and sixtie, or thereabouts; of whom is more spoken in my discourse of the constables of England. Humfrie duke of Buckingham.

Richard Neuill earle of Warwike and Salisburie lord Aburgauennie, great chamberlaine of England, and deputie of Calis, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred three score and one: of whome I will speake somewhat, before that he came to be aduanced vnto this honorable place of warden of the cinque ports. This earle, taking part against the king, followed the faction of the familie of Yorke against the house of Lancaster; and in the three and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt, on the twentith daie of Maie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred fiftie and fiue, lieng at Watford or Wadeford beside S. Albons, did come to the part of Richard duke of Yorke, who with his companie pitched his campe in Keiefield besides saint Albons; at what time the king fixed his banner and power in a place called Goslew, sometime called Standforth in saint Peters street in saint Albons. Wherevpon a battell being had, the king was taken, to whome the duke of Yorke, this earle of Warwike and diuerse other came, submitted themselues, craued pardon, and went with the king to London, where the king and this earle were lodged in the bishops palace. Shortlie after which, a parlement began the ninth daie of Iune, and the said earle was made capteine of Calis, who after he had sometime remained there, he left the same; and on the seuenteenth daie of Februarie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fiftie and seuen, being the six and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt, came from Calis to London with a great band of men, all attired in red iackets with white ragged staues vpon them, and tooke vp his lodging at the Greie freirs. This doone, the king and queene comming to London on the seuenteenth daie of March following, there was on the fiue and twentith daie of March, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred fiftie and eight, a feigned reconciliation betweene the king, the queene, and the duke of Yorke, this erle of Warwike, and others; who at a general procession made in S. Paules church in London were thus placed to go in the same procession. First the king in his roiall habit with the crown kept the state, before whom went hand in hand the duke of Summerset, and the earle of Salisburie, the duke of Excester, and this earle of Warwike, and so one of one Richard Neuill.

faction,

faction, and another of the other sort. And behind the king, the duke of Yorke led the queene, whome the other states and companie followed orderlie.

But these hot coles of dissention for a time thus coldlie couered with cinders, did in the end breake foorth againe. For shortlie after this, in the same yere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fiftie and eight, in the seuen and thirtith yeare of the reigne of Henrie the sixt, when the king and queene were lodged at Westminster, there did on the ninth daie of Nouember a heauie quarrell arise betweene this earle of Warwike, and such as were of the kings house, growing to such malicious furie, as that they would haue taken awaie the life of the earle, who hardlie escaped their hands to his barge. But hauing so recouered himselfe out of danger, he sailed to his charge of Calis. Then not being there suffered fullie to settle (for what will not malice and desire of reuenge seeke to doo in prosecuting the effect of his intent) the duke of Summerset, by the queenes persuasion, and the kings authoritie, which was alwaies vsed as it pleased the stronger part, was aduanced vnto the gouernment of Calis, and a priuie seale directed to this erle of Warwike to giue place vnto him. But the earle, whose valiant mind could neuer stoope to his enimie, nor brooke anie iniurie by his superior, no not by his king, refused the same as well for that the duke was then his enimie, and placed by that faction which he hated; as for that the erle was appointed to that place by parlement; which caused him to thinke that he ought not to be remooued by anie other authoritie but such as came from a parlement: wherevpon by force and will he kept the same office. After which, in the moneth of October, in the eight and thirtith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the sixt, and in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie and nine, comming from Calis, he ioined with the duke of Yorke, and with the earle of Salisburie, who all togither directed a letter vnder their hands to the king from Ludlow, dated the tenth daie of October, excusing them of all their misdemeanours. But they not finding things to succeed to their minds, seuered themselues, and this earle of Warwike returned to Calis, where he still remained: but yet not in such safetie for himselfe and his liuing as he desired. Who after that he had thus presumptuouslie lifted vp his hand against our anointed king (an action of plaine rebellion, with what shadow soeuer he and his complices couered the same) was shortlie after, amongst others, at a parlement holden the same yeare attainted of high treason: wherby his liuings being taken from him, he prepared for preie and spoile. For the obteining whereof he rigged a great nauie, kept the narrow seas, fought with the Spaniards, killed manie of them, and tooke their great vessels, with one carricke of Ieane, by which he obteined great riches. Wherevpon in the yeare of Grace a thousand foure hundred and sixtie, being the nine and thirtith and last yeare of the deposed Henrie the sixt, the duke of Excester admerall was sent with a great nauie to distresse this earle of Warwike; but he durst not set vpon the earle now returning from Ireland, where he had bin to haue conference with the duke of Yorke. These things doone, and king Henrie the sixt deposed by king Edward the fourth, the same king Edward, the seuenth of Maie, in the first yere of his reigne, being in the yeare of our redemption 1461, made this earle (as is before said) constable of Douer castell: who being thus honored with the same, did (on the tenth daie of Maie following) constitute Otwell Worslie his lieutenant of Douer castell, as appeareth by a deed which I haue abridged in this sort.

THE

THE GRANT WHEREBY OTWELL WORSLIE IS MADE LIEUTENANT OF DOUER CASTELL BY RICHARD ERLE OF WARWIKE.

RICHARDUS comes de Warwike, dominus de Burgauenni, magnus camerarius Angliæ, capitaneus villæ & castri de Calis ac marchiarum circumuicinarum locum tenens, necnon constabularius castri Douorensis, custos & admerallus quinque portuum: omnibus, &c. Cùm nuper christianissimus princeps ac metuendissimus dominus noster Edwardus, Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ quartus, per litteras suas patentes datas septimo die Maij, anno regni sui primo Angliæ, prout in eisdem litteris, &c. Nos, &c: de fidelitate, &c: dilecti & fideles seruientis nostri Ottwelli Worsley armigeri ad plenum informati, &c: prefatum Otwellum locum tenentem nostrum castri prædicti, ac portuum prædictorum substituimus, &c. Datum decimo die Maij prædicti, anno prædicti domini regis Edwardi quarti primo.

After which, about foure yeares, to wit, in the fifth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, this earle of Warwike did by the like grant dated the sixt daie of Iulie, being the fift yere of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, substitute Iohn Guilford knight his lieutenant of Douer castell and the cinque ports. Thus this much of this earle for this time, of whom I will make a full discourse hereafter, not hauing leisure now to deliuer both what I know and haue collected touching him: onelie at this time more setting downe, that he married Anne sister and heire to Henrie Beauchamp duke of Warwike: by whome he had issue two daughters, Isabell married to George Plantagenet duke of Clarence; and Anne married first to Edward prince of Wales sonne to king Henrie the sixt; after whose death she was married vnto Richard Plantagenet duke of Glocester, after king, by the name of Richard the third.

William Fitzallen earle of Arundell, the son of Iohn earle of Arundell, and of Elenor the daughter of sir Iohn Berkleie knight, was constable of Douer castell and warden of the cinque ports, in the nineteenth, twentith, and two and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth; but after being displaced, he left the same to another. William Fitzallen.

Richard duke of Glocester vncle vnto king Edward the fift, was constable of Douer castell and warden of the cinque ports, in the first and last yeare of the reigne of the same yoong but neuer crowned king Edward the fift. This Richard was after king of England, by the name of king Richard the third, of whome I haue spoken more in my discourse of the constables of England, and of the protectors. Richard duke of Glocester.

Henrie duke of Buckingham constable of England, was also constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, after that the duke of Glocester had atteined the crowne; which office he kept vntill the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and three, in which he was beheaded in the first yeare of the same king Richard the third. Of this man I haue spoken more liberallie in my treatise of the constables of England set downe before. Henrie duke of Buckingham.

William earle of Arundell, as I gather the second time made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, about the first of king Henrie the seuenth, after that the same king had slaine king Richard the third at Bosworth field. Which William married Ione the daughter of Richard Neuill earle of Salisburie, by whome he had amongst manie other children, Thomas earle of Arundell, and Ione maried to George Neuill lord Aburgauennie. William earle of Arundell.

Henrie

Henrie prince of Wales.

Henrie prince of Wales, duke of Yorke, and marshall (as some saie) of England, and the kings lieutenant in Ireland, being second sonne to king Henrie the seuenth, was constable of Douer castle, and warden of the cinque ports, about the eleuenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth: of whome, being after king of England by the name of king Henrie the eight, we meane not here to speake anie more.

Arthur Plantagenet.

Arthur Plantagenet, bastard sonne to king Edward the fourth, was (as I haue read) made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports in the time of king Henrie the eight, and was at Bridewell in the right of his wife the ladie Elisabeth daughter and heire to Iohn Greie vicount Lisle, created vicount Lisle, in the fifteenth yeare of the same king, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and three. Which doone, in the three and twentith yeare of the same king, he attended on the king, when he met the French king betweene Bullogne and Calis. Then in the foure and twentith of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and three, he serued as pantler, of right belonging vnto him, when the ladie Anne Bullen was crowned. Which Arthur being committed to the tower for matters of treason, where he a long time remained, being after cleared and to be set at libertie, conceiued such great ioie thereof, that he died presentlie therevpon in March, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and one, being the three and thirtith of king Henrie the eight. He married as before is said, and died without issue.

Sir Edward Poinings.

Sir Edward Poinings knight, the sonne of Robert Poinings was made constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, about the seuenteenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the seuenth, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and one; which office he continued, vntill the fifteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, falling about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and three. During which his constableship of Douer castell, he had two lieutenants, wherof the first was Rafe Tuckeie of Bere esquier: after whose deth succeeded Iohn Cowpeldike esquire. But before this sir Edward Poinings was constable of Douer, he was in the yeere of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure score and fourteene, about the tenth yeare of king Henrie the seuenth, made capteine, or (as some haue) deputie of Ireland, and sent with Henrie Deane chancellor of that Iland, amongst the Irish, to purge the realme of such as fauoured Parkin Warbecke; but when he could not bring things to passe there as he would, he caused the earle of Kildare, whom he suspected to be an hinderance vnto his purpose, to be brought into England, but the earle purging himselfe was returned into Ireland and made deputie.

After this, in the 12 yere of Henrie the seuenth, in the yeare of Christ 1497, he was with the earle of Kent Iohn Lord Cobham, and sir Richard Guilford at Blackeheath field, where Iames lord Ludlie, and the Blacke Smith were ouerthrowne. Next, when king Henrie the seuenth died, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and nine, he was (when K. Henrie the eight came to the crowne) made one of the priuie councell. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and ten, being the second yeare of king Henrie the eight; this sir Edward Poinings, being knight of the garter, and controller of the kings house, was as capteine generall sent with one thousand and fiue hundred archers to helpe Margaret duches of Sauoie, and regent of the low countries, against such as molested hir gouernment. Which ladie receiued him with great honor, and so they ioined themselues with hir armie; which after manie other exploits performed, came at length to a towne called Strawlie, of great defense, and double ditched, where they planted their siege: at what time sir Edward Poinings, who euer was in the foreward

ward with his armie, caused such speedie trenches and passages to be made, that within three daies after the towne was surrendered, and sir Edward Poinings with the admerall of Flanders and others entered the same. This doone, they besieged Venlow, and when the English were quiet, and that sir Edward Poinings was at dinner with monsieur de Romie, they of Venlow issued out, set vpon the English, hurt some, and tooke two prisoners; whome after the English rescued, and got the victorie of their enimies. This doone, they left the siege of Venlow, and sir Edward Poinings departed to the court of Burgognie, where he was honorablie interteined, and richlie rewarded. Wherewith he passed into England, not hauing lost one hundred men in all that iourneie.

But within three yeares after, which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and thirteene, being the fift yeare of king Henrie the eight, this noble knight went with the king to the warres of France, commonlie called the winning of Turwine and Turneie: at what time in the battell there, sir Edward Poinings with six hundred men kept on the kings right hand, as the king went out of Calis to the siege of Turwine: and when Turneie was taken, this knight was made the kings lieutenant of that towne, hauing the custodie thereof committed vnto him; who valiantlie kept it in good order and iustice. After this, in the twelfe yeare of king Henrie the eight, he attended vpon the king of England, meeting the French king at Ard. Shortlie after which, he returned into England, and died in the Lent following, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and one, suspected to be poisoned in the banket at Ard. Who in his life time hauing two hundred pounds pension yearelie of the emperor, going out of the house of Burgognie, began to build a most statelie house at Ostenhanger, now commonlie called Westenhanger; which being by him left vnperfected, did after come to the hands of hir maiestie, who gaue the custodie thereof to sir Thomas Sackeuill lord Buckhurst; and is now in possession of Thomas Smith of London esquier, customer of the same citie: whose wealth in short time hath raised him to great reuenues of lands in the countie of Kent, and likewise elswhere. This sir Edward Poinings did marie Isabell the daughter of sir Iohn Scot of Kent knight, by whome he had issue.

Henrie Fitzroie earle of Richmond, and duke Summerset, the bastard sonne of king Henrie the eight (by the ladie Tailboise) in the absence of this sir Edward Poinings, was constituted constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports; of whom I haue spoken more in my discourse of the dukes of England. Henrie Fitzroie.

Sir Edward Guilford knight (the eldest sonne of sir Richard Guilford knight, and brother to sir Henrie Guilford knight of the noble order of the garter, controllor of the house, and one of the priuie councell to king Henrie the eight) was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports; of whome I am to intreat, after that I haue set downe this note of his father sir Richard Guilford: who assisting king Henrie the seuenth in the atteining of the crowne, was after controllor of the house, and one of the priuie councell to the said king Henrie the seuenth. Which sir Richard did after take his iourneie into the Holie land, where he died, and was buried besides the temple or church of our sauior in Ierusalem; of whom I thought good not to omit this speach, because that he was father to three such worthie gentlemen; as were sir Edward, sir Henrie, and George Guilford, of all which we onelie meane to intreat. Sir Edward Guilford.

This sir Edward Guilford, constable of Douer castell, which office he continued vntill the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, falling in the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and three, which sir Edward dwelling at Halden in the countie of Kent, in the parish of Rowlenden, was also one of the priuie councell to king Henrie the eight, as was also his brother sir Henrie Guilford, as is before touched. This sir Edward, being marshall of Calis,

did with fiftie men of armes richlie beseene, and one hundred archers on horsse-backe, receiue the emperor Charles the fift at the Turne pike, in the lordship of Marke, and brought him to Calis, on the fiue and twentith of Maie, and the foureteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption, one thousand fiue hundred twentie and two. After, in the same summer, whilest the wars were vehementlie pursued betweene the English and French on both parts; the capteine of Bullogne called Faiet, sent scoffing letters to the garrison of Calis, affirming that if the Calisians would issue out, he would incounter them halfe waie with foure thousand men. Wherevpon this sir Edward Guilford as yet marshall of Calis, whome the capteine of Bullogne called the firebrand, because it was his cognisance, set forth from Calis the 11 daie of Iune, with one thousand two hundred, sending a purseuant to the capteine of Bullogne, to ascerteine him that he was come with his firebrand, and willing him to keepe promise, which the officer did accordinglie: but monsieur the French bragger came not. Whervpon sir Edward Guilford came to Morgison, where he yet a while remained, expecting the comming of the capteine of Bullogne.

But when he saw that Faiet failed his word, he set fire on Morgison, burnt the villages about them, forraged the countrie, and returned with a preie of beasts and other pillages. The next daie following, this sir Edward deliuered a prisoner freelie without ransome, on condition that he should tell the capteine of Bullogne that he had beene at Morgison with his firebrand: which message the prisoner did accordinglie; in recompense wherof, the capteine of Bullogne brake his head. But sir Edward not contented with this, but still looking for monsieur Faiet, did on the fiue and twentith of Iune, ioine with sir William Sands treasuror: and they togither hauing a troope of one thousand and foure hundred men, issued out of Calis, went to the French pale, set fire on Whitsandbaie, and tooke the church, whervnto the people were fled, and caried manie prisoners to Calis. Againe, in the same yeare, about the two and twentith daie of August, in the battell which the lord admerall led into France, sir Edward Guilford was appointed capteine of the horssemen, by whome the currers and vewers of the countrie were placed and named. Then in the yeare following, in the end of August, in the fifteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and three, this sir Edward was againe appointed to assist Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, going with an armie roiall to make war in France: at what time also, as he had beene before in the armie of the admerall, so was he now againe made capteine of the horssemen, still continuing the office of marshall of Calis. During the continuance of which wars vnder the duke of Suffolke, he with the campe about the thirteenth daie of Nouember, remoued two miles from the castell of Bowhen, which was iudged impregnable: at what time there was a great frost which continued long.

Notwithstanding which, sir Edward Guilford capteine of the horsemen, viewed the castle of Bowhen or Bowhan, which he supposed might be woone; notwithstanding that the castell was inuironed with marishes, which by our mens iudgements made it inuincible. But sir Edward perceiuing the frost so strong, said that they might well besiege it. Whervpon obteining licence of the duke therfore, he set forth with the ordinance ouer the marish, which being espied by such as were in the castell, they were greatlie dismaid. At length sir Edward Guilford discharging three great shot against them, the castillians requited them with the like. After, as the English gunners were preparing to the batterie, the capteine perceiuing that his castell could not beare it out, yielded the same to the behoofe of the emperor and the king of England. Thus leauing this knight (who had for his lieutenant of Douer castell, after the death of Compledike, Richard Deering esquire) continuallie increasing his fame in wars, and his honour in peace, with great fauour of the prince

for

for his woorthie deserts. We saie that he married Elenor, the daughter of Thomas West lord Laware, by whome he had issue one onelie daughter and heire, married to Iohn Sutton of Dudleie after duke of Northumberland: which noble knight sir Edward Guilford died and was buried at Halden before named.

George Bullen knight lord Rochford, the sonne of Thomas Bullen earle of Wilt- George Bullen.
shire, was constable of Douer castell, and warden of the cinque ports, in the six and twentith yere of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand fiue hundred fiue and thirtie, in which office he continued vntill the foure and thirtith yeare of the reigne of the same king, falling in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fortie and two, hauing for his lieutenant of Douer castell the forenamed Richard Deering.

Thomas Cheineie knight, after the death of the lord Rochford, was in the foure Thomas
and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight made constable of Douer castell, and Cheineie.
warden of the cinque ports: which office he continued in some part of the time of foure princes, longer (as far as my memorie serueth) than any of his predecessors had doone before him. For he held the same in the time of king Henrie the eight, king Edward the sixt, queene Marie, and some small time in the begining of the reigne of queene Elisabeth, in whose first yeare by death he left the same; hauing for his lieutenants the foresaid Richard Deering and William Cripse esquire. And yet this sir Thomas Cheineie, possessing that office about the space of eighteene yeares, did not inioie it so long as the woorthie lord Cobham his successor hath possessed it. For the same lord Cobham (as after shall appeare) hath honorablie inioied the same by these eight and twentie yeares. But passing ouer that we are here to talke of sir Thomas Cheineie: who being a toward yoong gentleman, and full of courage, but not yet knighted, obteined of the king in the sixt yeare of Henrie the eight, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred and foureteene, to passe ouer with the duke of Suffolke and others into France, to answer a iusts proclamed at Paris, and challenged by Francis duke de Valois, at the coronation of Marie queene of France, daughter of king Henrie the seuenth, and wife to Lewis the twelfe of that name: at what time this sir Thomas Cheineie behaued himselfe right valiantlie. Who being after a knight, and the kings ambassador in France, did in the foureteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred twentie and two, send letters to the king his maister being at Calis with the emperor: in which were conteined, that sir Thomas Cheineie had mooued the French king to peace with the emperor, and restitution of the Englishmens goods, which he had wrongfullie deteined and spoiled: but the French king denied it. At length sir Thomas Cheineie with Clarenceaux, who denounced war against the French king, hauing a safe conduct from the French, departed, and came to Bullogne, where he was staied vntill the ambassador of France which had laien at Calis, were cleerelie deliuered out of Calis.

Then in the eighteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, this sir Thomas Cheineie being of the kings priuie councell, was sent by the king his maister to the French king as an ambassador congratulatorie, in that the king of England greatlie reioised at the libertie of the French king, and the end made betwixt him and the emperor, who had taken the French king at the battell of Pauie. After which, in the one and thirtith yeare of the same Henrie, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred thirtie and nine, he in the Christmasse time receiued at Deale vpon the Downs the ladie Anne of Cleue landed in England to be maried to king Henrie the eight, from whense this lord warden of the cinque ports, with diuerse dukes and ladies, brought hir to Douer castell, where she for a time did rest hir selfe. Beside which in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and foure, he with the

earle of Surreie, sonne and heire to the duke of Northfolke, did take a towne in the dominion of France called saint Requiers.

Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fortie and nine, being the third yeare of king Edward the sixt, he amongst others of the councell (for now he was of that number, and tresuror of the houshold) set his hand vnto a letter directed to the maior and citizens, wherein certeine of the nobilitie praied their aid against the duke of Summerset protector of the realme; which doone, in the sixt yere of the said king, being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and two, this sir Thomas Cheineie, in a muster of horssemen before the king at Greenewich of the nobilitie, did shew himselfe equall in number of horsse with the most of them, hauing of his retinue a hundred persons well horssed vnder his banner of the rose, with the sun beames. But king Edward not liuing long after, this lord warden did in the seuenth and last yeare of the same king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and three, among others of the councell set his hand to a letter sent vnto queene Marie, wherein queene Iane was allowed queene; and queene Marie sister to king Edward reiected from the crowne. After which being in the Tower (with queene Iane whome they had proclaimed) and misliking of the successe of things which they had attempted, he with others sought to get out of the Tower, to consult in London with such others of the councell as were there assembled, but he could not haue anie passage from thense. Yet in the end queene Marie preualling, and he escaping without anie danger for that which he had doone against hir, he did in the first yere of the reigne of the same queene oppose himselfe against Wiat, and such as succoured that rebellion. Wherefore he not onelie sent defiance vnto the said Wiat, but also came to Rochester with his power against him, at what time he shewed himselfe a dutifull subiect vnto queene Marie: notwithstanding all whatsoeuer before doone by him against hir. He maried two Wiues, the first was Frideswide, the daughter and one of the heires of Thomas Frowicke knight, chiefe iustice: by whome he had issue Iohn Cheineie (slaine at Mutterell, after that he had maried Margaret the daughter of George Neuil lord of Aburgauennie) Katharine married to Thomas Kempe knight, Frances married to Nicholas Cripse, the sonne of sir Henrie Cripse knight and Anne married to sir Iohn Perot knight. His second wife was the daughter and heire of Broughton knight, by whome he had issue Henrie, after in the fourteenth yeare of the queene now liuing falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred seauentie and one, called by writ to be one of the barons of the parlement house, by the name of the lord Cheineie of Tuddington in Bedfordshire. This worthie knight sir Thomas Cheineie died in the first yeare of the reigne of the noble queene Elisabeth, and was buried at Minster in the Ile of Sheppeie, whereof he was the greatest lord.

Sir William Brooke.

Sir William Brooke knight, lord Cobham, was made constable of Douer castell, warden of the cinque ports, and chancellor of the same, after the death of sir Thomas Cheineie, in the first yeare of the queenes reigne that now is; being the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and nine: of whom because I haue spoken more liberallie in my discourse of the lord Cobhams of Cobham, I will not here saie anie thing but this; that he hauing possessed this place by the space of eight and twentie yeares, being much longer time than anie of his predecessors, hath (in executing that office) caried himselfe with such honor and loue, that he woorthilie deserueth, and his countrie hopeth he shall inioie the same manie following yeares, to his owne honor, and his countries benefit: whome I will here leaue in his princes fauor, and set end to all my discourses inserted in the new augmented chronicles of Holinshed, with the succession of the lord wardens of the cinque ports.

¶ In

¶ In this yeare one thousand fiue hundred eightie and six, certeine of the lords of hir maiesties most honourable priuie councell made an appointment to haue met at Douer, to surueie a notable peece of worke there latelie performed about the hauen, to the benefit of the whole land. Howbeit the said lords, by means of other accidents of importance, staid at the court, and went not that iourneie. Neuerthelesse the lord Cobham, lord warden of the cinque ports, one of hir maiesties priuie councell, repairing thither (accompanied with diuerse knights and gentlemen of great worship) did take the view both of the worke finished, and also conferred about the businesse then in hand. Now for so much as that which is alreadie doone, is a perfect and an absolute worke, to the perpetuall maintenance of a hauen in that place, being such a monument as is hardlie to be found written in anie record, it might seeme absurd that no mention thereof should be made in this chronicle: and that the cost and businesse thereabouts imploied hath not beene vnnecessarie, may appeare by the reasons insuing.

The note of Reginald Scot esquier concerning Douer hauen.

First, Douer hath beene euer reputed the keie and locke (as Matthæus Parisiensis reporteth) or (as rather he should haue said) the verie doore and entrance into the realme of England, either for freend or fo, and also the readie passage vnto all nations, but especiallie into France, from whense it is not distant aboue thirtie English miles, and is commonlie passed in fiue or six houres at the most, and in a prosperous wind within halfe the time. Secondlie, it standeth in the most conuenient place of all this land to offend the enimie, and to defend either domesticall or forren freend. Thirdlie, a meane harbor would be there (in the opinion of all skilfull mariners) more beneficiall and commodious for the nauigation of England, than an excellent hauen placed anie where else about the coast thereof. Fourthlie, all our passengers through the narrow seas being distressed by violence of weather, or by inconuenience of pirasie, or else by force of the common enimie in the time of warre, might there haue present succor and refuge, and both speedie and easie passage thereinto, or otherwise be best rescued. Fiftlie, of late yeares, the considerations aforesaid haue mooued some noble princes of this land to bestow infinit treasure to gaine a harborough or hauen in that place, to their great honor, fame, and commendation, to the wonderfull contentment of all their subiects, and for the good and benefit of all the neighbors adioining, and strangers passing these narrow seas. Finallie, it hath pleased our most noble queene Elisabeth to vndertake it, who in all good actions and necessarie woorkes, for the benefit of the realme, and commonwealth of England, hath beene so liberall, carefull, and prouident, as thereby hir glorie and renowne is spread ouer all the face of the earth, and reacheth vnto heauen, where the king of kings sitteth, and heareth the praises and praiers, not onelie of hir owne people, but of all christians liuing in hir behalfe, for whose good (it seemeth) she was brought foorth and preserued in this world.

Considerations whie the building of Douer hauen is here recorded.

Douer the nearest place of England to France.

Douer the most conuenient place of England for a hauen.

Reasons whie a harbor at Douer would be so beneficial.

A true commendation of queene Elisabeth.

And now (I saie) for so much as hir highnesse hath at this present time taken order for the building of a new hauen in this place, and bountifullie imploied great summes of monie vpon the same (being begun with more probabilitie, iudgement, and circumspection, and accompanied with better successe than euer anie of hir highnesse predecessors haue heretofore had in this case, wherein the most difficult and dangerous worke is alreadie accomplished, so as there is now and euer hereafter will be a verie good hauen, except extreame negligence be vsed in mainteining the same) I thought it a most necessarie matter to be here recorded, to hir maiesties perpetual fame, and partlie also to giue light and incouragement to hir successors in the crowne of England, to attempt and vndertake, and the better to execute and accomplish the like famous enterprise. For actions of farre lesse importance are made memorable by historiographers, as in euerie chronicle may appeare.

The pent at Douer will mainteine a hauen there for euer.

In this discourse I thought meet to passe ouer the antiquitie of the towne and

port

port of Douer, with the liberties thereof; which togither with the ruines and misfortunes of fire are to be found extant in the perambulation of Kent, written by William Lambard esquier. Of Douer castell somewhat might here be said, but for so much as maister Lambard hath so largelie discoursed therevpon in his booke, which is likelie to remaine of continuance, I will make bold with the reader to referre him therevnto; and onelie giue this note (to wit) that whereas he iustlie complaineth of the miserable ruines therof; it hath pleased hir maiestie (in respect of the necessarie maintenance of the same) to bestow more charge of late in repairing and reedifing of it; than hath beene spent thereabouts (as it seemeth) since the first building thereof, whether the same were doone by Iulius Cesar the Romane emperor, or by Aruiragus then king of the Britains (king Edward the fourth onelie excepted) who (as Iohn Rosse reporteth) did throughlie repare it, bestowing thereon 1000 pounds, insomuch as it is now reduced to be a peece of great force and importance, and verie beautifull to behold. Wherin the honorable disposition of the lord Burleie lord high treasuror of England is to be commended, who was a principall furtherer thereof, and whose forwardnesse in all militarie affaires is had in admiration among all the best souldiours of England, although he himselfe an aged and a most graue councellor. And in these commendations if I should omit the praises of the honorable lord Cobham, lord warden of the cinque ports, and constable of the castle of Douer, &c: I should doo him great wrong. For by his prouidence and mediation, togither with the diligent trauell and industrie of Richard Barrie esquier, lieutenant of the said castell, that worke is accomplished, to the comfort and benefit of the whole realme. Within the wals whereof is now also raised such a mount at the north side thereof, as thereby the castell is double so strong as before. But omitting all other occasions and matters concerning Douer, I will now passe to my purpose.

In preamb. Cant. tit. Douer.

Douer castell reedified by queene Elisabeth.

Edward the fourth bestowed 1000 pounds upon reparations of Douer castell.

The situation of Douer harbour.

But yet, before I enter into these last works, I must giue you to vnderstand, that the verie situation of the place ministreth incouragement to the executionors, and yeeldeth great fauor and occasion to the attempt. For Douer cliffes stand to the sea north and east, the towne being placed at the foot of the northerne cliffes, the castle on the top of the easterne cliffes, called the Castell Raie: so as there is a naturall baie, through the which from by north issueth a proper riuer entring into the same baie: and thense runneth through the hauen into the sea. In times past, vntill of late yeares, that onelie baie hath serued them for a rode, and at manie times in some sort hath stood the nauie (but especiallie the fisher botes) in good sted. For in a great northernlie and westernlie wind, the ships were driuen from the Downes and the foreland to repaire thither, where they might lie safelie vntill the wind blew great from by east or south, and then were they driuen to depart thense vnto the Camber at Rie (which then was a notable good rode, though now utterlie decaied) or into the Isle of Wight. For in a sudden flaw or storme of wind at southeast, there hath bin seuen or eight ships broken all to peeces in one daie upon the said cliffes. To relieue and amend the same harborough, and somwhat to mitigate the foresaid inconuenience, there was a round tower built by one Iohn Clarke, priest, maister of the maison de Dieu, about the yere one thousand fiue hundred at the south west part of the said baie, which serued somewhat to defend the ships from the rage of the southwest wind, but especiallie to moore the ships which were tied therevnto. For manie great ringles were fastened to the same tower for that purpose, as it maie yet be seene, sith it standeth there at this houre. And hereby that part of the baie was made so pleasant, as euer after that corner hath beene named, and is at this daie called Little paradise. Neuerthelesse this was thought verie insufficient in respect of the place, for the safegard of such a multitude of ships as vsuallie laie for harbour in that rode. For besides all strange botes

A naturall rode for ships at Douer.

The hauen of Rie decaied, whereby more need of a harboure at Douer.

Ships lost for lacke of sufficient harbour at Douer.

The first benefit bestowed on Douer harbour.

Little paradise.

which commonlie repaired thither, it appeareth in the booke of Doomesdaie, that Douer armed yearelie at its proper charges twentie vessels to the sea by the space of fifteene daies, with one and twentie able men in ech ship. In the reigne of Edward the Confessor.

Now about the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and two, one sir Iohn Thomson clarke parson of the parish of saint Iames in Douer, being a man ingenious, and seeing the conueniencie and possibilitie of a good hauen to be made in that place, consulted with the chiefe and best mariners of the towne. Among them it was agreed, that humble sute should be made to the kings maiestie by the state of the towne, for his gratious fauor, and aid toward the making of a good hauen there. And it was also by them all thought meet, that the said sir Iohn Thomson should exhibit their petition to his highnesse: wherevnto he agreed, and drew a plot, and prepared a supplication in the name and behalfe of the towne, conteining the necessarie causes and reasons, deuises and instructions, for the erection and building therof. But he told them he was poore, and therefore vnable of his owne proper charges to follow the sute. In which respect they collected among themselues, and deliuered vnto him foure pounds ten shillings, which he accepted, and foorthwith repaired to the court; where he so demeaned himselfe, as he had present accesse to the king, who heard his sute with great fauor, and debated with him about the contents of his plot, and liked so well of his informations that he willed him to repaire home, and without delaie to returne to his presence accompanied with some of the best mariners or seamen of the towne, and so with commendations dismissed him for that time. When the maister of the towne vnderstood his graces pleasure, they immediatelie assembled themselues, and made choise of Edward Maie, Robert Iustice, Richard Cowchie, and Iohn Steward, as the fittest and skilfullest persons to vse conference, and to be imploied in that cause, being all mariners of good experience. These foure and the said sir Iohn Thomson without further staie resorted to the court, with whom when the king had communed, he conceiued of the necessitie of a hauen to be there had, and of the probabilitie and likelihood of good successe in the enterprise to be performed according to their suggestion. And because his maiestie vnderstood the poore estate of the towne, he granted his gracious aid for the supplie of their want of monie, deliuering at that time out of his owne cofers vnto them the summe of fiue hundred pounds, wherewith he willed them to make a beginning of the worke. At which time he bestowed on the said sir Iohn Thomson the maistership of the maison de Dieu of Douer which was a hospitall, valued at one hundred and twentie pounds by the yeare: the custome and dutie of the which house was (as the ancient townesmen informe me) to interteine and relieue souldiors, and others which came from beyond the seas, hurt or distressed, who were allowed some reliefe there by the space of certeine daies gratis: which though I find not directlie set downe in record, yet doo I know assuredlie the same to haue beene put in execution, wherewith the verie name of the house is agreeable, and as it were a credible witnesse. The king at that time also appointed the said sir Iohn to be principal surueior of the works, and vnder him the other foure to be ouerseers of the same.

Sir Iohn Thomson priest his supplication.

Fiue hundred pounds giuen by Henrie the eight towards a beginning of Douer works.

The maison de Dieu of Douer.

Surueiors and ouerseers.

Now am I to giue you to vnderstand, that the drift and deuise of the said sir Iohn Thomson was to erect a large wall (which he termed by the name of a pierre) from Arcliffe chapell being the southwest part of the baie directlie towards the east into the maine sea, about 131 rods in length: so as by that means the harborough was to be garded from the rage of all weather, comming from the north, northeast, northwest, and southwest, and so the entrance onelie at east southeast, wherinto when the ships were once brought, they might there lie safe in all weather, at the one side or the other. But the pierre was not finished by 530 feet so farre as the foundation thereof (which is called the Molehead) was laid, which foundation consisted

Sir Iohn Thomsons deuise discouered.

The Molehead.

sisted of great rocks, brought from a place neere hand, called Hakcliffe, or the castell Raie and Folkstone. This pierre was begun on S. Annes daie 1533, and it was compiled of two rowes of maine posts, and great piles, of fiue or six and twentie foot long, set at each side close togither, which were set downe and put in certeine holes hewed in the great rocks, laid for that purpose: but some of those piles were shod with iron, and driuen into the maine rocke of chalke, with a great engine called a ram. These posts and piles were combined and held togither with iron bolts, and were filled with mightie stones of chalke and with beach and other earth: but the bottome consisted altogither of great rocks of stone, which if they had not beene brought thither by a speciall deuise, must needs haue beene extreame chargeable, for manie of them were of twentie tun in a peece, and few vnder.

Douer pierre when it was taken in hand, and whereof it consisteth.

A notable deuise to carrie great rocks by water.

The practise of this cariage is now common, but it was before that time rare and vnknowne in England, and inuented there by a poore simple man named Iohn Yoong, who first with a nutshell, and after with an egshell, and lastlie with a small vessell, made proofe what weight those things could raise and beare in the water; and hauing by that experiment made triall, or at least a probable coniecture, that stones of great weight might be raised and caried in the water by greater vessels: he discouered his experience to such as were officers in the worke, who presentlie put in practise and execution the same deuise, and making prouision of great and strong barrels and pipes of wood, caried them to Folkstone, and at low water fastened thereto with chaines such huge stones as laie on the shore neere the low water marke (where the quarrie or mine of those rocks is) so as when the floud or full sea came, the said vessels with the stones therto fastened rose vp and swam. And if the stone were of such quantitie as two or three emptie casks could not life it up, then did they ad a barrell or two more, which would not faile to do it: then did they drag with small botes the casks and stones thervnto tied, to the place where they were disposed to sinke them, and so the worke wherein consisted the greatest difficultie (in appearance) was with most ease and least charge accomplished. And for this deuise the said Iohn Yoong had a yeerelie stipend giuen vnto him by the king during his life. With these stones, as also by this meanes was the greatest worke doone, and with great cost and labour these piles were filled up. The chalke and filling therof being brought from the north pierre, was conueied thither in a great bote called a Gaboth, which had nine keeles. There stands yet of the timberworke of the old pierre eightie foot in length, and ioines vpon that part of the pierre where stood a fort named the blacke bulworke.

Foure pence a daie.

A Gaboth.

Now that which was doone, on that side, with the helpe of nature at the other two sides made an excellent rode or harborough for the time it continued, and had maintenance. The king for his part spared no charge, for he spent hereabouts (as I am crediblie informed) fiftie thousand pounds, nor yet did forbeare anie trauell which might further the worke. For in person he purposelie repaired thither diuerse and sundrie times, being distant from the court fiftie miles at the least; yea his highnesse had such care that it should be well performed, that no expert man in water worke, either on this side or beyond the seas, but (if it might be) he was brought thither, or at the least conferred withall. And during the time of all the worke, the kings coffers seemed to stand wide open. But alas, the kings care and charge, and the continuall trouble and trauell of officers was such about the worke present, that the prouision for the future maintenance thereof was vtterlie neglected. For the kings absence at his being at Bullongne, his sicknesse at his returne, and finallie his death meeting with the nonage of his son king Edward the sixt, made an end of all this worke: which being once in the state of decaie, there was no reparations nor further proceedings therein, till the time

The charge of the pierre.

The kings care for Douer pierre.

The kings repaire to Douer.

The cause of the decaie of the pierre.

of

of queene Marie; in the beginning of whose reigne (by the space of two yeares) there was some rumbling thereabout. But the workmen and officers were not well paid; and after bad paiment, no paiment, and so all was giuen ouer. Sir Anthonie Aucher was treasuror in these works, and manie other inferior officers also there were, but especiallie of clerks. Officers about the pierre.

But now I am to declare vnto you the lamentable ruine and decaie of this worke, before the end and finishing whereof there was brought along the coast from by southwest a maruellous quantitie of beach and bowlder stone, wherof there had beene neuer anie seene before in those parts of that coast, and a great quantitie thereof rested vpon the backe of the pierre, especiallie before the blacke bulworke, which (so long as it might lie there without further annoiance) was (in appearance) a singular helpe for the strength and preseruation of the said worke, but it fell out otherwise. For beside that, that an easterlie great wind would remoouë and driue it from that coast, and consequentlie from the pierre, which then would lie naked as before, vntill the south and westerne wind turned it backe againe; the pierre through negligence decaieng, especiallie at the blacke bulworke (where the greatest abundance of beech vsuallie rested) it passed through the decaied places thereof in such measure, as in short time thereby grew a shelfe of beach from that point of the pier to the east part of the baie, butting to the Castell Raie: so as no entrance thereinto for anie ship remained. And the more that the furthest point of the pierre decaied and waxed shorter, the neerer was the shelfe brought vnto the shore: insomuch as if the residue of the pierre had not bin preserued, that shelfe would soone haue beene brought to the verie towne, and so haue choked vp the baie, and bereft all possibilitie of euer hauing a harbor in that place. The ruin of Douer pierre. Stone called beach or bowlder choked vp Douer hauen.

The decaie of the pier grew now more and more, partlie (as is said) through want of prouidence and cost to be imploied therevpon, and sufficient prouision to mainteine the same: but especiallie through the disorder of the poorer sort of the townesmen, who dailie purloined timber, iron, and all that was anie thing woorth, which they could pull or catch from the decaieng places of the pierre. And now (by means of this shelfe) the hauen waxed woorse than euer it was, insomuch as oftentimes a bote that drew but foure foot of water could not enter into the mouth thereof, and sometime noue at all: for the baie was altogither shut vp, so as the harborough was become a pent, out of the which nothing could passe out or in, sauing the water that soked through the beach. But the riuer, which issueth out of the towne at a water gate standing at the northeast end of the said pent, in continuance of time would make an issue through some part of the same beach into the sea, sometime at one end, sometime at another, sometime verie shallow, and neuer verie deepe; which issue was alwaies their hauens mouth, vntill a contrarie wind did stop it vp againe, and then had they no entrance at all, vntill the riuer had made a new fret, or that they had digged a chanell through the beach, which manie times they were driuen to doo. Two causes of the decaie of Douer pierre. Sometime no harborough at all at Douer.

The losse of this hauen, and the losse of Calis, which happened about one time, made such an alteration, or rather desolation in and of the towne, as was lamentable and woonderfull to behold. For of a braue, rich, and populous towne, it presentlie became a poore and desolat village, reteining onlie the name and liberties of the famous port of Douer. Neuerthelesse, the necessitie and expedience of a good hauen in that place did still remaine, and a conuenient meane also was left for the accomplishment therof, as it seemed to diuerse which were wise and of good experience: insomuch as that verie matter, which was supposed to be the destruction of the late harborough, should now become a principall help and furtherance to a new hauen of greater importance, and better securitie than euer it was before. For (as you How Douer was made desolat. That beach which destroied the pierre helpeth now the hauen.

you haue heard) Douer cliffes naturallie defend this baie from all tempests comming from northest and northwest; the pierre yet remaining gardeth it from the west and southwest winds; and the shelfe of beach crossing from the end thereof to the Castell Raie, had made such a close pent, as if anie ships could be conueied therinto they might there rest in great safetie.

The roome within this close baie conteineth almost fortie acres, and the riuer (as I haue said) running quite through the same immediately into the maine sea at south: so as the said pent being surrounded at euerie high water, and lieng almost bare at euerie ebbe, the ouze or sleech grew to be foureteene or fifteene foot deepe, the bottome thereof being a maine rocke of chalke: insomuch as a great multitude of ships might be placed there in good securitie, if the entrance could be made good. These things considered by men of good capacitie and experience, sundrie deuises and conceits were exhibited thereabouts, wherof some seemed verie probable; and were the rather heard and commended, for that the worke was so necessarie and beneficiall to the commonwealth. And in that respect, it pleased the queenes maiestie to grant to the towne of Douer, towards the reparing of the hauen, the free transportation of thirtie thousand quarters of wheat, ten thousand quarters of barleie and malt, and foure thousand tun of beere, without paieng either custom or impost: which was a gift of no small importance.

A bountifull gift of queene Elisabeth towards the reparing of Douer hauen.

For (beside great summes of monie alreadie leuied and imploied vpon the beginning of these works) the licence or patent was sold to a couple of merchants of London named Iohn Bird, and Thomas Wats, after the rate of three shillings and foure pence for euerie quarter of wheat, and two shillings and eight pence for euerie quarter of barleie and malt; and the licence of beere being sold to diuerse others amounted to foure thousand marks at the least. Besides all this, it was enacted in the parlement holden the three and twentith yeare of the reigne of hir maiestie, for and in the considerations aforesaid, and for that there was a probable plot contriued by skilfull men, to be performed for a conuenient sum of monie, that for euerie ship, vessel, or craier, wherof anie of hir maiesties subiects were owners, or part owners, being of the burthen of twentie tuns or vpwards, lodging or discharging within this realme, or passing to or fro anie forren countrie, during the space of seuen yeers then next insuing from fortie daies after the end of the same session of parlement, there should be paid for euerie such voiage by the maister or owner of all such vessels, &c: the summe of three pence for euerie tun of the burthen of such ship, &c.

The patent of the queenes gift sold vnto two merchants.

The act of parlement for Douer hauen 23 Elisab.

Three pence the tun of euerie vessell allowed towards Douer hauen.

Hereby there grew great summes of moneie to be yeerelie leuied toward these works, amounting to 1000 pounds yeerelie at the least, and yet the time not expired by two yeeres. After this, hir maiestie being carefull that the hauen should with expedition be taken in hand, directed hir letters patents, dated the nine and twentith daie of March, in the foure and twentith yeere of her reigne, to the lord Cobham lord warden of the cinque ports, &c: sir Thomas Scot, sir Iames Hales knights, Thomas Wootton, Edward Bois, the maior of the towne of Douer present and to come, Richard Barrie lieutenant of the castell of Douer, Henrie Palmer, Thomas Digs, Thomas Wilford, and William Partrige esquiers, all which were of the shire, and men of great wisedome and iudgement, and no small trauellers in matters concerning the commonwealth: some of them maruellous expert in affairs and matters of the sea, some in fortifications, some hauing trauelled beyond the seas for experience and conference that waie, and to see the order of forren seaworks and hauens, and none without singular vertues. In which respect they were commissionated and authorised by those presents, to doo, and foresee to be doone from time to time all things needfull and requisit to be imploied

The tonnage amounted to 1000 pounds yearelie.

The tenure of the queenes commission for Douer hauen.

about the reparing and mending of the said hauen, and as might tend to the furtherance of the said seruice; and to choose officers, and assigne their stipends, and the seuerall fees of all ministers, attendants and clerks needfull for the substantiall, necessarie, speedie, and cheape dooing thereof, and therein to set downe particular orders and directions, as might be for the furtherance and accomplishing of the said works most expedient.

Now for the performance hereof, manie plots by sundrie persons were deuised, and first of all one Iohn True was commended, or at the least commended himselfe to the lords of hir maiesties priuie councell, to whome he made great shew to be an expert enginor, and by their lordships he was sent to Douer, and presented to be generall surueior of the works, as one in whome they reposed great hope of furthering and finishing the said hauen; whereof he made no doubt, but resolutelie promised the speedie execution and accomplishing thereof. His deuise and determination was, to make within the said baie neere to the shelfe of beach, a long wall from the water gate (out of which the riuer issueth into the harborough) to the blacke bulworke, in length two hundred rods. This wall was to be made of excellent stone at Folkstone, the which he framed after a strange and contrarie kind of workmanship. And there was for this purpose alredie perfectlie hewed of the same stone seuen thousand foot, and six thousand foot more was scapled; he bestowed and spent thereabouts one thousand two hundred foure score and eight pounds, as appeareth in the accounts of the treasurors for that time being; and yet there was not one stone of his said long wall laid, nor that hitherto hath come to anie profitable use. But this wall if it had beene, or rather could haue beene finished, it would haue cost a hundred thousand pounds, and yet would neuer haue serued the turne. For a stone wall is so contrarie to the nature of that sandie foundation, as it can make no good coniunction nor perfect pent.

Iohn True surueior generall of Douer hauen.

The deuise of Iohn True.

Stone hewed at Folkstone, amounting to 1288 pounds.

Infinit charge to accomplish the stone wall.

For the furtherance of his deuise he would haue plucked downe a great part of the old pierre, wherof there was then too little remaining: he detracted the time, for he had ten shillings a daie allowed vnto him for his fee, which perhaps he was loth to forgo. He either could or would not render anie reason to the commissioners of his doings and finall purpose, but alwaies said he would make them a good hauen, neither would he set downe anie time certeine for the accomplishing thereof. All these matters with his negligence, delaies, and vntowardlinesse of his works, being aduertised to the lords of hir maiesties councell, he was dismissed.

True had ten shillings a day for his fee.

Iohn True is dismissed.

After whom, one Ferdinando Poins, who had beene conuersant and acquainted with water works in the low countries, and had dealt much about Woolwich and Erith breaches, offered his seruice for the accomplishing of these works; affirming, that it was an easie matter to bring the same to passe, in such sort as there should soone be a good harborough; refusing not to haue taken the worke to do by great, either by a plot of his owne deuising, or else by the plot agreed on by the commissioners, and allowed by the lords of the councell. But this Ferdinando Poins, though he seemed a verie good executioner either of his owne, or another mans deuise concerning such affaires: yet was he verie loth to discouer his order and maner of working, or anie other deuise of his owne, least (as he said) he might be preuented by some other that would vndertake to doo it by his deuises, better cheape than himselfe could affoord it, and so he to loose, and other to gaine the benefit of his inuention. Howbeit, in the end he was content to be imploied anie waie, so as therewithall he might haue monie before hand: for Woolwich works did so sticke in his fingers, as moneie was verie palpable and plausible vnto him.

Ferdinando Poins.

In fine, he vndertooke to make certeine groins or nocks, which at the hauens mouth should cause such a depth, as thereby the whole harborough should lie drie

Poins his groine.

at a low water, whereby the works about the wals might the better and more conuenientlie be performed, and the present entrie amended. For it was concluded that there should be made a perfect pent within the baie, conteining in quantitie about sixteene acres, which should be inuironed with a long wall, reaching from aboue the water gate neere to the Castell Raie, extending in length about a hundred and twentie rods along within the shelfe of beach, directlie towards the end of the pierre, where the blacke bulworke was placed; and at the end of the said long wall, a crosse wall of length about fortie rods, reaching from that wall directlie crosse to the shore at the northerne cliffe, not far from the towns end. And this should make a perfect pent to conteine and reteine the water of the riuer, which (when the sluse standing in the crosse wall should be opened) might be of force to make and mainteine a depth for an entrance or hauens mouth for shipping to come into the rode, which lieth betwixt the maine sea and the pent.

The pent 16 acres.

The length of the long wall.

The crosse wall.

The rode for ships.

In this worke there appeared great difficultie, and so much the more, in that (for the most part) the place where the wall should stand, was continuallie surrounded and also the sea did euerie tide ouerflow the same, and besides that annoiance, the crosse wall also must crosse the riuer, the course whereof could not be diuerted anie other waie but with extreme charge. The speciall cause whie this harborough was continuallie surrounded, euen at the low water, was for want of a depth at the hauens mouth, which might at an ebbe conuele thense into the sea (more speedilie and abundantlie) all those waters which remained vpon the face of the hauen. To the execution hereof (I saie) the said Ferdinando Poins was appointed, and towards his charge therabouts there was first deliuered vnto him one thousand pounds, by force of a warrant sent by the commissioners for Douer hauen, to Thomas Smith of Ostinhanger esquire, farmer of hir maiesties customes inwards in the ports of London, Sandwich, Chichester, Southampton, and Ipswich, with their créeks and members, and the créeke of Woodbridge, being a member of the port of Yarmouth, who is neuerthelesse called by the name of Customer Smith, because in times past his office was by letters patents to collect the said custome, and to yeeld account thereof, as other customers vsuallie doo, hauing for his fée one hundred and three score pounds yearelie. Now for that he was so trustie and sufficient a person euerie waie, there was committed vnto his charge the receipt of all such summes of monie as were due, either for the aforesaid tunnage, or for the licence of frée transportation of corne and béere, the which summes as néed required, were by him to be deliuered to the treasuror for Douer harborough vpon the councels direction, and a warrant of six of the said commissioners hands.

One thousand pounds to Ferdinando Poins.

Customer Smith.

There might be much written in the renowme and commendation of this man, for his great affaires and aduentures, as also for other singular vertues: but for that he yet liueth, and is generallie knowne, it maie with modestie be deferred; yet thus much I haue said of him, for that he was a speciall fauorer and furtherer of these works, neuer making delaie of anie paiment appointed or required, but rather disbursing great summes of monie out of his owne cofers to set forwards the same. After the receipt of this thousand pounds, the said F. Poins had two hundred more, as it appeateth in those accounts. Trulie, this Ferdinando Poins applied the works industriouslie, and performed some thing profitablie for the draining of the harborough, by making two groins, whereby there was a depth made at the hauens mouth. But as it is thought, his worke either was or might haue béene performed with lesse than halfe that monie: which if he had doone, I would more willinglie haue published his praises. By the premisses it maie appeare, that the life of the hauen consisteth in the pent, and consequentlie in the long wall and crosse wall, without the which no pent could be made, so as wals must be erected. But now

the

the question grew to be how and whereof they should be framed which were to be wrought in the sea, vpon the sand or beach, through a riuer, &c: and the same wall to withstand the violence and rage of the sea at the one side, and to hold and reteine a mightie weight of fresh at the other, so as no water might soke through or vnder the same. Varietie of deuises.

Maister True (as you haue heard) would haue made stone wals verie costlie, and without limitation of time. Maister Ferdinando Poins would haue raised them with ouze and beach shoueled and cast togither without anie more adoo. An other would haue made a coffin dam, wherof the cost would haue béene infinite. Pet and Baker, being skilfull shipwrights, with certeine other coparteners, thought a wooden wall most conuenient; and presented to the commissioners a module thereof, deuised and framed (for the most part) by one Andrew a carpentar, then seruant to the said Pet: which deuise maister William Burroughs, a verie expert seaman, excéedinglie liked and commended. Maister True his deuise was reiected as impossible and intollerable. Maister Poins his workemanship was easie for a plaine man of the countrie to conceiue and performe: but verie few could be persuaded that his wall would be tight inough to make a pent, consisting onlie of slub and beach shoueled together, and lieng so hoouer: for that was his deuise. Neuerthelesse, sir William Winter (a man verie skilfull and of great experience in sea matters, being sent to Douer by the lords of hir maiesties priuie councell, with maister William Burroughs and others, to surueie and confer about that hauen with the said commissioners) vnderstanding Ferdinando Poins had delt in the inning of Woolwich & Erith marshes, being also willing to doo him good, gaue fauourable eare vnto him, as to one that propounded an easie and a cheape platforme, and not much vnprobable in his opinion, whose desire was to haue it well performed, and with as small charge as might be, for that he was the greatest preferrer of that bill in the parlement house, and yeelded the best reasons for a hauen to be there placed. Sir W. Winter sent to Douer to surueie the harbor, &c.

At this assemblie were proposed other sundrie mens deuises; namelie, of one Thomas Brooker gentleman, Iohn Stoneham, carpentar, Bedwell, &c: and among the rest sir Thomas Scot, being a man carefull for the affaires of his countrie, and therewithall verie perspicuous, being wearied with manie fruitlesse conferences, delaies, strange and vntoward deuises, chargeable and vaine attempts, and contrarie procéedings; and among other things, hauing had great experience in Romneie marsh matters (the greatest businesse whereof consisteth in making and reparing of wals to defend the same marsh from the inuasion and inundation of the sea) and dailie seeing the nature and effects therof, weieng also in his mind, that Romnie marsh wals are of greater bulke and force than these need to be, for that they lie more open to the maine sea, and without comparison more subiect to the weight and violent rage thereof; and further knowing that the marsh wals are placed not farre from thense vpon that coast, vpon a foundation in all respects like vnto the same, if not woorse (for sometimes they build vpon a verie quicke sand, where one maie thrust downe a pole of a doozzen or twentie foot, and not find or feele the bottome) and after he had compared these workes together, perceiuing no impediment whie one rule should not direct two workes of one kind, he conferred with his neighbours of Romneie marsh therein, who allowed and confirmed his deuise, and afterward readilie attended on him to Douer, there to approoue his opinion with their reasons and experience; and not so onelie, but also to vndertake and performe what soeuer he had set downe or promised in that behalfe. The residue of the commissioners (hearing and conceiuing sir Thomas Scots reasons, ioined and confirmed with experience not far fetcht, but ratified by neere neighbours, being persons of good account, which were expert from their childhood in the practise of those kind of works) Sir Thomas Scot. The wals of Romneie marsh subiect to the raging seas. All the commissioners ioine with sir Thomas Scot, and allow his deuise.

works) inclined greatlie vnto his motion; and the rather, for that they knew him to be such a one as would not seeke for priuat gaines. Howbeit, they which exhibited the woodden worke, could not well conceiue here of, nor easilie consent herevnto. And no waie was thought by them more fit to preferre their owne worke, than to make some offer to doo it by great, which the lords of the councell greatlie desired, as whereby they might vnderstand the vttermost charge and time required for the accomplishing thereof. But the price of the woodden wall grew to be so large (for fiue thousand and fiue hundred pounds was the lowest rate of their demand for the long wall oneiie) that it was much misliked. For first there was no likelihood or possibilitie that the same should be set fast and vnmoueable wher the slub or sléech is fiftéene foot déepe at the least, and the maine rocke immediatelie vnderneath it. Secondlie, if the same could be erected, yet it must in short time be so shaken by reason of the weight of the pent water on the one side at low water, and by the violence of the sea on the other side at the floud, that through the vnstedinesse thereof, it could not continue tight. Thirdlie, the nature of the sand and slub was thought to be so different from the condition of woodden boords and planks whereof this wall was to consist, that though there were no weight or wether that could impech the stedie standing thereof, yet there could be no such firme coniunction betwixt them, but that the verie weight of the wall it selfe must néeds cause the same to decline to one side or other, whereby water would draine betwixt, by reason of the thinnesse of the slub or sleech, which could minister no certeine staie therevnto, nor likelihood that the same should so vnite with the wood, as to stand stedie, and to make a perfect pent in that place: but to helpe that matter, they meant to haue shored and braced the said timber wall, in such sort as the same should haue staid the whole worke: yet no bracing could (as the best opinion was) haue preuailed to bring that wall to be good or stedie. Fourthlie, it was thought that such a wall so placed, would be subiect to more than ordinarie decaie, by reason that anie woodworke lieng in water, especiallie when it is sometimes wet and sometimes drie, will in short time rot and disioint: so as if the same could be repared (whereof there was great doubt made) yet the reparations would be in respect of charge verie intollerable. Fiftlie, the delaie of time herein was also disliked, for two yeares being demanded for the accomplishing of that one wall, no time could be promised. Sixtlie, they being demanded whether they had euer séene (either on this side or beyond the seas) anie such wall or worke; they answered, No: but affirmed it to be in their opinions so probable, as they would aduenture to vndertake it for thirtie pounds the rod, but in what space to finish it they could not saie. Seuenthlie, there was required for the building of this wall 7000 tun of timber, which all Kent and Sussex (without vnrecouerable hurt in depriuation of their timber) was not able to yeeld: and the necessarie carriages for such a prouision could haue béene by no meanes procured, without the vndooing of the inhabitants, and spoile of the countrie. These causes were of force inough to ouerthrow a woodden wall. The deuise neuerthelesse deserued commendation.

Seuen inuincible reasons against the woodden wall.

These matters thus mentioned were afterwards debated before the lords of the councell, and these reasons with manie others were deliuered vnto their lordships by maister Thomas Digs, the first elected surueior of the works, as from the commissioners. The credit of the parties, who were to vndertake this woodden wall, and their reasons preuailed so much, as diuerse noble and wise men grew to conceiue good liking thereof. But the lord treasuror, whose voice and iudgement in all causes of importance hath in all his time worthilie caried the swaie, allowed rather of the marsh works; saieng that if he erred therein, as not seeing but hearing the matter in question, he would erre with discretion, as led by the

The lord treasurors resolution.

reasons

reasons of the commissioners; who had séene and tried the experience of that kind of worke.

Diuerse liked of Poins his worke, or at the least of his communication: partlie (as it is said) for the cheapnesse supposed, though in déed the contrarie fell out in demand: partlie for the expedition promised, which could neuer haue béene performed: partlie for that he was knowne to be a speciall executioner in Woolwich breaches, being workes defensatiue against inuasion of waters, as yet vnaccomplished, though no small charges haue béene therein imploied, for the recouerie of two thousand acres of excellent marsh land, lieng seuen miles from London, in the parishes of Plumsted, Erith, &c: lost by a breach made in the wals there with a tempest, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and thirtie, to the vndooing of manie, but speciallie of sir Edward Boulton knight: partlie also he was hearkened vnto, for that he was reputed to be a good enginor; partlie for his experience in forren works, partlie for his resolutenesse: but especiallie for that he made a shew of more cunning than he would vtter; so as although his deuise for the erection of the wals was finallie reiected; yet was the matter brought to further conference. For he was commended to the lords of hir maiesties priuie councell, and namelie to sir Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretarie to hir highnesse; to whome was happilie referred the consideration and chiefe direction of all matters concerning these works: wherin he dealt from time to time, with as great care, trauell, and circumspection, as though his owne estate had depended vpon the well proceeding thereof. Whatsoeuer was thought necessarie to be doone thereabouts, was alwaies aduertised by the commissioners vnto him, and his opinion and direction required, and he without good conference and probabilitie would enter into no action concerning this matter.

Of Woolwich and Erith breaches.

Secretarie Walsingham the chiefe director and furtherer of Douer hauen.

Now therefore he wrote to sir Thomas Scot, requiring him to send vp some sufficient person, acquainted and exercised in Romneie marsh works, to satisfie the lords of the councell in all such doubts as should be obiected, speciallie by maister Burroughs, who had more liking of the shipwrights maner of worke, than either of the Romneie marsh works exhibited by sir Thomas Scot, or of Plumsted works propounded by Ferdinando Poins. Wherein sir Francis Walsingham shewed maister Digs his defense, and his owne good liking of the earthen wals; onelie requiring, that sir Thomas Scot would throughlie informe himselfe by conference with the marshmen, to answer certeine obiections which he there inclosed, sent downe vnto him in writing, concerning the passage of the long wall, and the distance thereof from the shore, the ligth and tightnes of the same, the conueniencie of the foundation, the manner of stuffe, the time of finishing, the breadth below and at the top, the vndertakers thereof, and of their assurance, &c.: and lastlie, that some sufficient person should be sent vp, to confer in these matters. All which points were so answered by sir Thomas Scot, as sir Francis Walsingham was greatlie satisfied thereby. Concerning the dooing thereof by great, sir Thomas Scots aduise was, that (séeing it was a princes charge) it might rather be performed by daie workers and good ouerseers, than by great; wherein no man would aduenture, in respect of the quantitie of the charge and difficultie of the works, without certeintie of great gaines. Neuerthelesse, if it were so set downe by the lords of the priuie councell, that it should be doone no other waie but by great; he himselfe would vndertake it better cheape than anie other had profered to doo it by fiue hundred marks, and to that effect would put in verie good and sufficient assurance. Presentlie after the receipt of those letters, sir Thomas Scot sent to the court a kinsman of his, named Reinold Scot, who had béene deputed a surueior of Romneie marsh by the space of foure yeares togither; and Reinold Smith, who had béene clearke of Romneie marsh, and a continuall dealer about those wals by the space of thirtie years.

Maister secretaries letter to sir Thomas Scot.

No dealing by great, in matters of excessiue charge and danger.

years. These two repairing first to Douer, to consider of the earth, which should serue to make the wals of the pent of Douer hauen, and to search where such earth as would serue that turne might most conuenientlie and néerest hand be had, with pasture for horsses which should be imploied for carriage thereof, procéeded to the court at Richmont, where they attended on maister secretarie Walsingham on the mondaie and tuesdaie before Easter daie 1583: and after conference had with him, they deliuered vnto him certeine notes in writing from sir Thomas Scot, conteining necessarie orders, and recounting the charges, businesse, and offices, &c: incident to the erection of these walles, imitating as neere as time, place, and matter would giue leaue, the maner of Romneie marsh works: wherein he remembred or rather required a yeerelie assemblie of commissioners at Douer in Easter wéeke, as is by the lords of Romneie marsh at Whitsuntide, with the election of officers, and set downe the dutie and charge of ech officer, the order of the works, what prouision of stuffe should be made, to wit, of timber, thorne, faggots, néedels, keies, béetels, piles, pasture, earth, with totall sums of all officers fées, of all stuffe and prouision, of all the labourers, and of all the cariages: which estimat was little, or nothing differing from the charge as it fell out, sauing that where he set it downe that both walles might be finished in two summers, he accomplished them in one quarter of a yéere, beyond promise or expectation.

Sir Thomas Scots notes.

Douer pent finished in three monethes.

Maister secretarie Walsingham (hauing perused these notes, and seene the maner of the works and rates set downe therein) liked verie well thereof: howbe it, he strictlie examined the parties aforesaid, how those works could be performed at so low prices, and especiallie, how so manie courts could be prouided without commission, or griefe to the countrie, euerie court hauing a horsse and a driuer, and all for twelue pence a day, in a place where pastures are for the most part barren, and hard to be gotten: and both that and all other things, but especiallie vittels extreame déere. But being satisfied herein by the said Reinold Scot and Reinold Smith, he thought good neuerthelesse to send them two, accompanied with Thomas Digs esquier, and William Burroughs gentleman, to confer with sir William Winter, the said Fedinando Poins, and the Plumsted men, which were workemen in Woolwich and Erith breaches, who propounded to the said workemen certeine questions at the house of sir William Winter at Tower hill. Wherein they were demanded amongst other things, whether they euer had heretofore made anie wals, whereby water hath beene pent to anie highth, and vpon what foundation or soile they were set, and of what substance their wals were made, and whether they could remedie such wals if they leaked, or could worke in water: and finallie, what they would aske for a rod dooing, and what suerties they could put in for the tightnesse of their worke.

Reinold Scot and Rafe Smith examined by maister secretarie about the wals of the pent.

Questions propounded to Poins and the Plumsted men.

Ferdinando Poins and his Plumsted men answered verie comfortablie to euerie question, they séemed ignorant in nothing, and promised to performe whatsoeuer was required, sauing assurance. But they knew not the order of Romneie marsh works, neither could they possiblie haue accomplished this: for they were onelie good dikers and hodmen, which arts were little pertinent herevnto. Maister secretarie being aduertised how Ferdinando Poins and his pioners of Plumsted shewed themselues in this conference, wherein neither their owne disabilitie, nor the difficultie of the worke by themselues was anie thing at all doubted of, thought it not amis to aduertise the residue of the lords of the councell thereof: so as if those works might in such wise be by anie thought possible to be performed, then might the marsh works with much more assurance be trusted vnto; and that did maister Burroughs now verie well conceiue and note: neuerthelesse, it was thought expedient by their lordships, that Poins and his workemen should repaire to Douer to a finall conference in those matters; who perchance might be somewaie at the least imploied in those businesses. And therefore maister secretarie sent down to sir Thomas

Thomas Scot, that their lordships had receiued the resolution he grew vnto, vpon conference with the marshmen of Romneie, touching the procéeding in the plot of Douer hauen, and had both well considered and allowed of the same; and that their lordships also had appointed, that on the tuesdaie after Easter wéeke, master Burroughs and maister Poins, with certeine marshmen of Plumsted, should be sent downe to méet and confer further with him about the going forwards with the same plot at Douer: at which time such order might be taken and agréed on among the commissioners, for the making of all necessarie prouisions for the same, as should be thought most expedient.

Sir Thomas Scots deuise allowed by the lords of the councell.

On the ninth daie of Aprill next insuing, the parties aboue specified came to Douer accordinglie, where all the commissioners for that harborough met them, who hauing receiued letters from the lords of the councell to set downe a finall resolution; after long debating of matters, agréed that Romneie marshmen should vndertake the worke; and for the better and more spéedie procéeding therein, the commissioners made election of all necessarie officers, and rated their wages in this sort. The treasuror, which was sir Iames Hales knight, to haue for euerie fiftie pounds receiued and disbursed, six shillings eight pence, and for his clearke fiue pounds yearelie. Iohn Smith the expenditor twentie pounds yearelie, his clearke fiue pounds yearelie. The common clearke twentie marks, and each sworne man during his attendance eight pence a daie. The generall surueior (that is to saie) maister Digs esquier twentie marks yearelie, which he gaue to Alexander Mindge his deputie.

The resolution at a conference at Douer.

Officers elected at Douer.

It was there also ordered, that the deputies surueior, the expenditor, and clearke, should take present order for the inlarging of the waies for carriages to passe; for thorne, fagot, béetels, needels, keies, piles, bauin, and carriages for them, before Whitsuntide following. These things were committed to their charge; but they were afterwards eased by purueiors appointed for those and other purposes; they hauing more to doo otherwise than they could well ouercome. Hauing now discouered the first and second estate of Douer harborough, euerie mans deuise for the amending, or rather erecting of a new hauen in that place, with declaration of his maiesties bountie, and the care of the whole state iointlie and seuerallie in that behalfe: I am to make description of the things performed, and of the manner of the execution thereof, in which thing consisted the difficultie, and (as some thought) the impossibilitie of this enterprise.

First therefore you are to vnderstand, that before a hauen could be there erected there must be made a pent, to conteine abundance of water issuing from the land, which being let out at a sluse, should open and mainteine the hauens mouth; the violence whereof should scowre it so, as neither beach, sand, nor slub might there remaine. The working of these wals in the sea and thorough the chanell, was the great thing to be brought to passe, as hath beene before said. The discouerie therefore of these workes will not be vnprofitable to posteritie, nor vnnecessarie for the time present. Herein I will omit all contentions and factions concerning these procéedings, as also all iniurious practices against those works, whense soeuer they sprang: but I would gladlie giue to euerie one his due commendation, which cannot be doone; because the ein I should grow too long. I thought méet also to omit a controuersie rising about the placing of the hauens mouth, excellentlie disputed betwixt persons of good acount.

The commodities of the pent.

The question was, whether were most conuenient a more readie and spéedie entrance in times of danger, when contrarie winds permitted no entrie or abode in anie harborough, though this entrance were somewhat more shallow, whereby the greatest ships in those cases should be excluded: or a déeper hauens mouth in an other place more conuenient for great ships, with a more calme ingresse, and a quieter

quieter rode, the hauens mouth somewhat more easterlie, and therefore not so good to enter into at a southwest wind, which distresseth men most in those seas: wherein (I saie) I forbeare to repeat the arguments of ech side, and the circumstance of that matter (being now decided and ouerruled) in such sort as I doo the works of the pent, the description whereof maie be profitable to all that shall haue to doo either in hauens or great water breaches. For both Plumsted and Erith marshes, or anie like breaches by this means doubtlesse maie easilie and most assuredlie be recouered. In the declaration hereof also, the parties which haue deserued commendation or consideration maie perhaps in some sort haue a kind of recompense: for other reward was not looked after, or sought for by the best executioners hereof, sith the better sort imploied their trauell with great charges, the meaner sort their readie furtherance to their power, the poorer people their labor at a small rate to the preferring and performance of this worke; and all with such forwardnesse and willingnes of mind, as the like hath not béene knowne or seene in this age: the beholding whereof would haue amazed anie man vnacquainted with Romeneie marsh works from whense the patterne hereof was fetcht, and the officers and chiefe workemen thereof brought by sir Thomas Scot to Douer. These works were digested and ordered by them, euen as a battell is marshalled by officers of the féeld. And trulie it was expedient that good direction should be vsed in this behalfe, for there were to be imploied fiue or six hundred courts about a wall of small bredth at one instant, none to be idle or hindered by an other, for the staie of one court a verie little space might be to the works an incredible hinderance.

Woolwich breach recouerable.

Euerie degrée willing to set forward this worke.

Six hundred courts imploied at once in these works.

The nature and names of the offices and officers herevnto perteining you haue alreadie heard. For as they were at the first set downe by sir Thomas Scot, so in all respects was it ordered and concluded in that behalfe; sauing that because these works were so great, and required such expedition, as the expenditor was ouercharged with busines, though an expert man trained vp in Romneie marsh in those affaires, trustie, diligent, and euerie waie sufficient: vnto whose office naturallie belonged the purueiance of all necessaries, anie waie apperteining to the mainteinance of the wals. There was appointed by the commissioners (as chiefe purueior) a gentleman of good sufficiencie named Iohn Kéies, by whose countenance and discreet dealing men were brought to yéeld willinglie anie of their commodities towards the helpe and furtherance of these proceedings for their iust values, which was dulie answered vnto them, so as no man was séene to complaine of anie iniurie or hard dealing. But when the works, or rather the workers grew to be greater and more in number than was expected, (which came to passe by reason of the multitude of courts and workemen, who proferred their seruice so fast, as from the rate of two hundred, which was at the first set downe, they increased to six hundred) all pastures néere the towne being imploied that waie, manie men were content to make their owne prouision, conditionallie to be admitted into the works, insomuch as some hired pasture for their working horsses seuen or eight miles from Douer, and neuerthelesse came to worke with the first, and continued the whole daie with them that wrought longest. For they came at six of the clocke in the morning, and departed at six of the clocke at night, except extraordinarie causes in preuenting inconueniences of great and fowle tides caused them to worke longer. Diuerse brought thither courts from besides Maidstone and Seuenocke, being thirtie or fortie miles from Douer; and in the end the officers were driuen to put backe and refuse such as made sute to bring courts into the works; and yet had they for their horsse, their court, and their driuer but onelie twelue pence a daie. Which because it séemeth incredible, I thought good to discouer and vnfold to the reader in such sort, as he might be resolued and satisfied

Iohn Smith the expenditor.

Iohn Kéies gentleman chiefe purueior.

A horsse, a court, and a driuer for twelue pence the daie.

fied in the certeintie thereof, and throughlie conceiue not onelie the possibilitie but also the reason of it.

First therefore the time of yeare when that worke was to be done must be considered, which was intended, and by proclamations in certeine market townes notified to haue had beginning the thirtéenth of Maie (when in those parts barleie season is ended) and from that time till haruest or haieng time little is to be doone in husbandrie; and assoone as haruest should begin, their purpose was to leaue this worke vntill the yere following. So as in this meane time, that is to saie, from Aprill till haruest, the seruants, and speciallie the cattell of farmers are rather chargeable than anie waie gainefull vnto them, and therefore at such a time to raise profit by them is double aduantage. Neuerthelesse, he that should make his best commoditie herein, was to looke circumspectlie into the matter, and then might he sée that it was requisit to haue two courts: for one boie might driue them both, because whilest the one was driuen, the other was filled, and the same being vnloden or discharged, he went for the other, leauing that to be filled. This filler was a labourer allowed to euerie man which had two courts, for whome the owner of the two courts had ten pence the daie: so as he had for his filler, his driuer, his two horsses, and his two courts two shillings and ten pence the daie, which amounteth to seuentéene shillings the wéeke. He paied out of the same for the boord of his filler and driuer six shillings weekelie, and so had the owner of cléere wéekelie gaine for his two seruants and two horsses nine shillings, which must all this while haue lien at his charge.

There were among this number certeine double courts, which had double wages; because they were furnished with two horsses in a court, being double in quantitie to the rest, and were speciallie imploied about the cariage of sléech, a more weightie mould than either the chalke or the earth. A single court conteined in length fiue foot, in bredth two foot, and in depth sixteene inches: wherevnto the expenditor looked verie narrowlie, as also to the sufficiencie and diligence of euerie workeman and horse, so as vpon euerie default their wages was totted and defalked, or the offendors excluded from the works, or some times punished with stocks and other imprisonment. The quantitie of one court or tumbrell.

An entrance into this worke was made in the beginning of Maie, one thousand fiue hundred foure score and thrée, in the fiue and twentith yeare of hir maiesties reigne, with six courts onelie at the crosse wall; and such was the towardlines thereof, as yéelded so great a brute and promise of good successe, that from that daie forward there were continuallie cariages brought (at the rate before set downe) beyond all expectation: in so much as by the 27 of Iune, there were assembled in those works 542 courts, and almost 1000 workemen. And truelie, there consisted so great difficultie in marshalling this multitude (for all were to worke at once, none might staie for other, or be impediment to others worke) as without the paterne of former experience the worke could hardlie haue béene performed. The first entrie into the works.

Heerein Richard Coast and William Norris iurats, and the aforenamed Reginald Smith clearke of Romneie marsh were chéefe directors, and as it were marshals, as hauing dailie experience in the like works. For in Romneie marsh there are euerie yeare commonlie imploied at one time about making or mending of some one wall 200 courts at the least, in each court for the most part being two oxen, for whome the owners hire feeding in the marsh, as they can agrée with the landholders, and yet haue had hitherto for their court and driuer but ten pence the daie. And this togither with their manner of working would be woonderfull, famous and much spoken of throughout England, if the continuance of so manie hundred yeares exercise thereof had not qualified the strangenesse and admiration of it. Romneie marshmen chéefed irectors in the works.

A benefit to man and beast.

For here (though at Douer it could not be so, bicause they wrought altogither with horsbeasts) the nights féeding preuaileth so much ouer the daies working, that bullocks brought to those works leane and out of flesh, are returned from the works most commonlie in verie good plight.

The stuffe or substance of the wals.

The stuffe carried by these courts for the erection of the walles at Douer, was earth, being of a haselie mould, chalke and sléech, wherevnto the carriages were seuerallie imploid, the most number for earth, whereof the greatest part of the wall consisted; the second for chalke, which mingled and beaten togither with the earth, did make the same more firme, and was placed in the midst of the wall; the smallest number for sléech, which serued for the out sides onlie. For the same being beaten with béetles to the sides of the wall, would by and by cleaue so fast and close therevnto, as thereby the wals were strengthened; and therevpon also the arming might be set much more firmelie than vpon anie other mould. This also preserued the wall from annoiance by rage of waters, almost as well as if they were otherwise armed with thorne and faggot.

The disposing of the works.

Henrie Guilford esquier, capteine of Arcliffe castell.

There was prouided néere to the castell called Arcliffe (whereof Henrie Guilford esquier, being one that tooke especiall care and paines in setting forward that businesse, was then capiteine) two acres and a halfe of ground for the prouision of earth for the walles: which ground was distant from the crosse wall about twentie score tailors yards, and for the same the owner had ten pounds, and the soile remaining to himselfe, which in short time will recouer to be as good as euer it was. At an other place, also called Horsepoole sole, lieng behind S. Iames his church, was more earth prouided, which was altogither imploied vpon the long wall, as being neerer therevnto. Hereof euerie court brought commonlie to the walles in one daie about twelue lodes. The chalke was had from diuerse places of the cliffes, somewhat néerer to the wals than the earth, and these brought about seauentéene or eightéene lode a daie. The sleech was for the most part had at the west part of the hauen in a place called Paradise. And to these seuerall sorts of stuffe were seuerall cariages appointed and disposed, as might most conuenientlie serue the turne, and as occasion serued; for somtimes more and sometimes lesse of each sort of mould was necessarilie imploied. Somtimes also the sléech was had close at the side of the wals, and therefore fewer cariages imploied that waie.

Now to make a perfect triall of the worke before the daie limited that all the courts should come in, there was an experiment of great importance performed, which was the making of a baie head, and therby a pent to keepe the water in or out of a péece of the hauen called Little paradise, which place conteineth about three acres and a halfe of ground in great depth, wherein there riseth manie springs. And in the place where this wall or baie head should be made, the ouze and sléech was twentie foot deepe at the least. Herin also was laid first a pinstocke, and afterwards a sluse of great charge, the streame whereof méeting with the course of the great sluse increaseth the force thereof to the benefit of the hauens mouth.

The beginning of the great works at Douer.

On the thirteenth daie of Maie, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand fiue hundred eightie and three when the courts, which (by proclamations made one moneth before in diuerse market townes) were to come to begin the works, there were more of them prepared and readie furnished for the purpose than were expected. Howbeit, the same was brought to passe by the meanes of sir Thomas Scot and other of the commissioners, who brought both their owne and their neighbors carriages, persuading all whom they thought able and meet, to set forward, and giue incorragement to the execution of these works. But Romneie marshmen, and such as knew those works, were they indéed which onlie gaue light to others of the true and right maner of working, and of the commoditie insuing hereby; and they in effect supplied

those works, vntill the countrie did see which waie to saue themselues, and make profit thereof. But such was the multitude alreadie assembled, that (to auoid the difficultie and confusion of so manie courts working togither at the beginning, and to doo the better and greater seruice afterwards) the whole course was altered by sir Thomas Scot, by whome it was thought most méet to enter into the execution of both walles (to wit, the long wall and crosse wall) togither, and to diuide the courts into two parts: with whome the said Richard Barrie esquier lieutenant of Douer castell willinglie ioined, vndertaking the charge or ouersight of the long wall, as sir Thomas Scot did of the crosse wall; and by that meanes all the workmen and courts did with much more conueniencie and spéed accomplish their worke.

Reasons for the difficultie of the crosse wall.

The crosse wall was of more importance, and the difficultie to make it was greater than of the long wall, for manie respects. First, for that the crosse wall standeth néerer to the maine sea than the long wall, and by that meanes this worke more violentlie impugned, and sooner interrupted than that of the long wall. Secondlie, they carried the crosse wall through the chanell (a thing verie strange and difficult) and so did they not the long wall. Thirdlie, the ouze and sleech was déeper vnder the crosse wall than vnder the long wall. Fourthlie, the crosse wall was to be made déeper or higher, and broder or wider than the long wall. Fiftlie, the tide was to hinder this worke, by approching sooner, by rising higher, and by more violent raging than it did at the other. Sixtlie, the weight of the pent water was to lie altogither vpon this wall, and consequentlie the water would search thereinto more dangerouslie. Seuenthlie, in this wall there was a sluse to be laid, which without great circumspection would haue indangered the whole worke. Adde vnto these, that the crosse wall was more suddenlie vndertaken, and of more importance. For vnder fiftéene thousand pounds none euer made offer to doo it before this time: for the first purpose was to begin with the long wall onlie, or rather a péece thereof, as a worke sufficient to be performed in one summer.

Now if the long wall was thought a worke so difficult, dangerous, costlie, and tedious, what may be thought of the crosse wall? Trulie, had not the other commissioners béene comforted herein by sir Thomas Scot, the impossibilitie presupposed would haue discouraged and ouerthrowne the whole enterprise. But he with good comfort and confidence entred vpon the crosse wall, and maister lieutenant on the long wall: insomuch as the one was called sir Thomas Scots wall, the other maister lieutenants wall. And certeinlie they might well so be termed, in respect of the paines, care, and costs imploied vpon them by those two gentlemen. Sir Thomas Scot dwelt twelue long Kentish miles from Douer, yet did he seldome faile to come from his house to the beginning of the worke euerie mondaie morning while the walles were in hand; and from that daie vntill saturdaie in the euening, when he returned home. He lightlie came first to the walles, and departed with the last: and it behooued him so to doo, in as much as by his meanes onelie this manner of worke was vndertaken, and all other deuises reiected. He laie in one Iohn Spritwels house, who kept an inne in Douer, called the Greihound, and there did he and his followers and seruants, togither with maister lieutenant and his companie receiue their diet at a déere hand. For although the castell stand within a quarter of a mile of the worke, and as neere to the towne; yet was the lieutenants industrie and charge such, as he or his seruants did neuer lightlie returne home from fiue of the clocke in the morning till after supper; but remained alwaies there with sir Thomas Scot, in continuall businesse and extreme charge, not onelie in respect of their owne table, but also in regard of strangers, who came to sée them and the workes, whose charges they commonlie defraied. Besides that, they did (not seldome times) bestow rewards bountifullie vpon the poore workmen, who vpon sundrie occasions

This worke vndertaken and other reiected by sir Thomas Scots meanes.

were

were driuen to worke longer than the rest, and with more difficultie; for some at some times wrought in danger of life, and ofttimes in the waters vp to the wast or shoulders. And among the rest (to whome I could rather wish a liberall recompense than a due praise) there was in these works a poore man named Iohn Bowle, borne and brought vp in Romneie marsh, whose dexteritie of hand, fine and excellent inuentions in executing difficult works, and whose willing mind and painfulnesse for his owne part, with furthering and incoraging of others, ought in some calling to haue beene honored, and in his poore estate should not be forgotten. As touching the residue of the commissioners, they for their parts (if they were in health) did almost dailie visit the works, with as great care for the good proceedings thereof as was possible.

Bowle a notable good workman.

Commissioners.

Treasuror.

Sir Iames Hales was this yeare chosen by the generall voice and consent of the commissioners, and with the good allowance of the lords of the councell, treasuor for the works (as sir Thomas Scot was the two yeares precedent) and did not onelie discharge the office and dutie thereof with commendation and iust account, which amounted almost to fiue thousand pounds; but beside his often repaire at other times during the works, he did continue there by the space of one whole month, while sir Thomas Scot (by meanes of a sicknesse taken vpon the wals) was absent, and all that time kept a bountifull table, and vsed great diligence, in continuall ouersight and furtherance of the works, whereof Thomas Digs esquier was generall surueior commended thervnto by the lords of the councell, who although he made his chiefe abode then at London, yet did he often repaire to the works, and seriouslie bent himselfe to set forward the same there, being also a carefull sollicitor in that behalfe. Certeine of the iurats and chiefe magistrates of the towne, were by two at once dailie assigned to be directors and setters foorth of the carriages, and to see the courts well filled: these also did refuse their allowance, being eight pence the daie, and did neuerthelesse verie diligentlie attend vpon their charge: their names were Iohn Watson, Iohn Garret, William Willis, Thomas Brodgat, &c.

Two iurats called directors.

There were eight men called guiders standing at eight seueral stations, or places of most danger, to guide and helpe the driuers distressed or troubled with their cattell or courts, and to hasten them forward; for the default of one did make staie of the whole companie, and these had eight pence the daie. There attended also at the wals eight men called vntingers, to loose and undoo the tackle of euerie court immediatlie before the vnloding or sheluing thereof, and were allowed eight pence the daie. Then were there eight sheluers, which pulled downe the courts as soone as they came to the place where it was needfull to vnlode, and these were chosen of the strongest and nimblest men, hauing ten pence the daie. There were also eight tingers, whose speciall office was to lift up the courts immediatlie after they were vnloden, and to make fast their tackle; for the driuers hasted foorth without making anie staie, otherwise all the companie must haue tarried for them; these had eight pence the daie. The number of the laborers which were to shouell abrode and laie euen the earth, chalke, and sleech, as soone as it was vnloden was vncerteine, they had six pence and eight pence the daie. A great manie marshmen were assigned to laie the sleech vpon the sides of the wals, and were called scauelmen, and had twelue pence the daie. The number of beetlemen also were vncerteine, who serued to beat or driue the sleech to the sides of the wals, and to breake the great stones of chalke laid on the wals; as also to leuell the earth, and to worke it close together, hauing for their wages eightpence the daie. Manie marshmen also were appointed to arme the sides of the wals, after they were sleeched, and had twelue pence, and some sixteene pence the daie.

Eight guiders.

Eight vntingers.

Eight sheluers.

Eight tingers.

Laborers.

Scauelmen.
Beetlemen.

Armors.

The

The order of arming was in this maner. First beginning at the foot of the wall, they laid downe a row of fagot, through euerie one of the which they driue a néedle or stake about foure foot long, hauing an eie or hole at the great end. Then doo they edder it with thorne and other prouision for that purpose, and lastlie driue a keie or wooden wedge (being one foot and a halfe long) through the eie of the néedle to kéepe downe the edder, which staith downe the fagot. Also there was an inferiour purueior for fagot, thorne, néedles, keies, &c: who for his horse and himselfe was allowed for euerie daie he trauelled two shillings. The clerke of the works, who kept all the reckonings of the expenditor (through whose hands all the monie passed) he at fiue a clocke in the morning, togither with the expenditor, called euerie one that wrought that daie, and saw euerie court furnished, and recorded all this in his booke, and such as were absent had no allowance that daie: if they came late, their wages was totted at the expenditors good discretion. There was one Iuline appointed to attend vpon Poins his groins, he was a Dutchman, and more expert in those kind of water workes than Poins himselfe, his wages was first (I meane in Poins his time) two shillings a daie, afterwards (to wit) whilest these workes were in hand, and better husbandrie was vsed, he had but foure grotes a daie. And thus much touching the offices and officers duties.

The order of arming.

Inferior purueiors.

Clerke. Expenditor.

The groine kéeper.

Euerie court was most commonlie filled ouer night, and in the morning at six of the clocke they all approched orderlie to the place where the wall should be made. The first driuer for good consideration was chosen to be a sufficient and a diligent person, and that court to haue a good gelding: for as he lead the danse, so must they all follow. When the first court came nigh to the place where he should vnlode, one vntinged it, and the driuer procéeded with his court, either into the ouze or water, or as néere therevnto as they could; and bringing his horsse about in his returne, when the taile of the court was turned to the water side, the shelter plucked downe the lode, as far into the chanell as he could. The driuer neuer staid, but went foorth for a new lode: the tinger runneth after and pulleth vp the court, and fasteneth the tackle, and goeth presentlie with spéed to doo likewise to another; and so dooth the vntinger. When the whole course of courts (being about two hundred) were vnloden, the laborers with their shouels and béetles plied to make euen the wall against another course came.

The maner of the wall worke.

Sometimes they wrought a whole daie or two, and laid downe manie thousand lodes of earth and chalke, and no increase seene at night of the worke, either in higth or length, in so much as manie supposed that the earth was rather washed awaie than sunke. And in truth, some part thereof was carried awaie with the floud in a rough tide; for all the water in the hauen was manie times discoloured therewith; especiallie, vntill sir Thomes Scot tooke order, that before euerie floud, not onelie each side of the wall, but the end also should be armed with fagot; and in the morning or after noone (when returne was made to the works) the end where they were to procéed, should be vnarmed againe: which néeded not be doone to the sides, for they carried the whole breadth of the wall with them. But in truth, the weight of the wall, with the continuall passage therevpon, made the whole worke to sinke to the verie rocke; being from the top of the chanell sixtéene foot, and from the face of the water at the floud, almost as much more. But in the end, it was a woonder to see how the multitude of carriages (being well plied) preuailed, euen ouer the floud: which though it rose exceeding fast, and was come to the verie brinke or vppermost lane of the wall, a new course of courts came from time to time and supplied the want; which if it should haue staid a minut longer, would haue turned to great losse: for they could haue wrought no longer that tide.

How the wall was saued from being wasted.

In

In this maner they procéeded, vntill there was made of the crosse wall about fiue and twentie rods, which they wrought alwaies (as they went) aboue the high water marke (otherwise it could neuer haue béene performed) and so they passed through the chanell or riuer, and caried the wall beyond the same three or foure rods, so as the backe water or chanell had no issue to passe downe into the sea; but as it rose aboue the flats, and ran awaie before the end of the wall; whense they continuallie droue it further and further by lengthening the same. Howbe it, by this meanes they wrought alwaies in the water, which was verie discommodious. This riuer therefore manie men would haue had turned some other waie; otherwise it was thought, that this wall could not haue béene made, the turning whereof would haue béene diuerse waies inconuenient. First, for the extreame charge; secondlie, the hauens mouth would (for want héereof) haue soone béene swarued vp; thirdlie, Poins his worke, which cost one thousand and two hundred pounds, should haue bin hereby frustrated; fourthlie, the hauen (all that time) and all passage vnto Douer had beene vtterlie taken awaie, to the great hinderance and vndooing of the townsmen there. But sir Thomas Scot, who imploied his head and mind to séeke all aduantages for the setting forward of this worke, and had conceiued a perfect plot for the finishing of the same, caused a cut to be made in the wall, and a small sluse to be laid in the verie place where the chanell did first run, which serued (for the time) not onelie to giue naturall passage to the riuer, and to mainteine the hauens mouth: but as a bridge also for the courts to passe ouer the water, to the further end of the wall; which now by this means remained drie and free from water vntill the floud, to the great aduantage and commoditie of the worke.

The inconuenience which would haue followed the diuerting of the riuer another waie.

A sluse made for diuerse good purposes.

This sluse was composed with two arches, in length sixtie foot (besides the splaies) at each end, in breadth eight foot, and in depth also eight foot, and the charge thereof amounted not to aboue one hundred marks. In truth, the laieng of this sluse was a verie dangerous and difficult peece of worke, and the executioners thereof worthie of commendation, for with great courage to doo their countrie seruice they aduentured their liues in more perill than I can well expresse. Manie were astonied to behold the dangerous case of the workemen, and diuerse departed from the place as being loth to sée the poore mens destruction. Wherein the said Reginald Smith, and the Romneie marshmen dealt with great dexterisie and courage; when all other almost had giuen it ouer, persisting in continuall and extreame trauell thereabouts, by the space of two daies and one night without intermission.

A difficult and dangerous worke.

After the cut was digged thorough the wall, the sluse was laid by peecemeale, at the direction of him and the foresaid Richard Coast, William Norris, and Iohn Bowle, whose hands were as busie also as anie others in the dooing thereof. And as they were trauelling hereabouts, the weight of the wall it selfe, with the earth cast out of the trench therevnto, and the multitude of the beholders standing thereon, made a clift or crase therein, consisting of manie hundred lodes of earth; which declined towards the cut where they wrought to laie the sluse, and was redie to fall vpon them all, so as they were faine to sustaine the side therof with shores which they supported chéefelie with their owne force. Which if they had not doone with great art and labour, by the space of diuerse hours together, the wall had fallen into the place where the sluse should haue béene laid, to the destruction of sundrie people, and to the discomfort of manie belonging to the works. But these marshmen neuer gaue ouer, till euerie sticke thereof was laid, at what time ech man reioised that meant well to the works, and diuerse bestowed rewards vpon the workemen, and praise was giuen to God for his fauour shewed in that behalfe.

This

This worke being thus performed, the courts (which during that time were altogither set to worke at maister lieutenants wall) did now diuide themselues againe, and returne to worke as before at sir Thomas Scots wall, and at euerie side wrought with singular diligence and great facilitie. And God so fauored those works, as there were not lost in all that summer by meanes of foule wether aboue thrée daies and a halfe, wherein either courts or laborers were put from their worke, and in all those busines not one person slaine, and yet almost in euerie action belonging therevnto there was imminent danger, as first you heard in the laieng of the sluse. And manie times in digging of chalke, they stood in the cliffe and vndermined it, so as sometimes an hundred lode fell downe at once from vnder their feet, and sometimes from aboue their heads; and yet through Gods goodnes, and their diligent care, all escaped without hurt: sauing two persons, vpon whom great chalke rocks and much abundance of earth did fall, and yet were recouered without losse of life or of lim. In the passage also of the courts, if (by chance) either man or boie had fallen downe amongest them (as sometimes some did) the hill was so stéepe at some places, and the court was so swift, that there could be no staie made, but the courts must run ouer them, and yet no great harme hath happened that waie. And I my selfe haue séene a court loden with earth passe ouer the bellie or stomach of the driuer, and yet he not hurt at all therby. Manie courts also being vnloded (for expedition) were driuen at low waters through the chanell, within the pent, from maister lieutenants wall, whereby they gained more than halfe the waie: and so long as by anie possibilitie they might passe that waie, they were loth to go about. And when the flood came, the chanell did so suddenlie swell, as manie horsses with their courts and driuers which rode in them were ouertaken, or rather ouerwhelmed with water, and were forced to swim, with great hazard of life, though ther at some tooke pleasure. For sometimes the boies would strip themselues naked, and ride in that case in their courts through the chanell, being so high, as they were ducked ouer head and eares: but they knew their horsses would swim and carrie them through the streame, which ministred to some occasion of laughter and mirth. Finallie, this summer, being in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred eightie and thrée, was verie hot and contagious, and the infection of the plague that yeare more vniuersallie dispersed through England than in manie yeares before, and that towne verie much subiect therevnto, by means of throughfare and common passage, and had béene extremelie visited therewith not long before, so as the towne was abandoned of most men; yea, of some of the inhabitants themselues for that cause: and yet God blessed so the works, as in this extraordinarie and populous assemblie, there was in no part of the towne anie death or infection either of townsmen or workmen, which resorted thither from all the parts of England.

God's blessing and fauour shewed to the works of Douer.

Dangers happilie escaped.

Boies plaie.

And one thing more in mine opinion is to be noted and commended herein, that is to saie, that in all this time, and among all these people, there was neuer anie tumult, fraie, nor falling out, to the disquieting or disturbance of the works, which by that means were the better applied, and with lesse interruption. For they neuer ceased working the whole daie, sauing that at eleuen of the clocke before noone, as also at six of the clocke in the euening, there was a flag vsuallie held vp by the sargent of the towne, in the top of a tower, except the tide or extraordinarie busines forced the officers to preuent the houre, or to make some small delaie and staie therof. And presentlie vpon the signe giuen, there was a generall shout made by all the workers: and wheresouer anie court was at that instant either emptie or loden, there was it left, till one of the clocke after noone or six of the clocke in the morning, when they returned to their businesse. But by the space of halfe an houre before the flag of libertie was hanged out, all the court driuers entered

The flag of libertie.

into a song, whereof although the dittie was barbarous, and the note rusticall, the matter of no moment, and all but a iest: yet is it not vnworthie of some briefe note of remembrance; because the tune or rather the noise therof was extraordinarie, and (being deliuered with the continuall voice of such a multitude) was verie strange. In this and some other respect, I will set downe their dittie, the words whereof were these:

* Or six.

O Harrie hold vp thy hat, t'is eleuen* a clocke,
and a little, little, little, little past:
My bow is broke, I would vnyoke,
my foot is sore, I can worke no more.

This song was made and set in Romneie marsh, where their best making is making of wals and dikes, and their best setting is to set a néedle or a stake in a hedge: howbeit this is a more ciuill call than the brutish call at the theatre for the comming awaie of the plaiers to the stage. I thinke there was neuer worke attempted with more desire, nor proceeded in with more contentment, nor executed with greater trauell of workmen, or diligence of officers, nor prouided for with more carefulnesse of commissioners, nor with truer accounts or duer paie, nor contriued with more circumspection of the deuisers and vndertakers of the worke, nor ended with more commendation or comfort: sauing that vpon the seuen and twentith of Iulie, being S. Iames his daie, the verie daie when the crosse wall and the long wall met, and were ioined together, and in effect finished (for both wals were brought aboue the high water marke, and nothing remained to be done of the same but highthening, which might be doone at anie time after) sir Thomas Scot the principall piller of that worke fell sicke vpon the wals, and was conueied thense in a wagon to his house, where he remained six wéeks, more likelie to die than to liue, whose ladie and wife (being a most vertuous and noble matrone, and a liuelie paterne of womanhood and sobrietie, the daughter of sir Iohn Baker knight, and the mother of seuentéene children) vsed such diligent attendance and continuall care for hir husbands recouerie of helth, as thereby she brought hir selfe into so weake state of bodie, as being great with two children, she fell sicke; and after hir vntimelie trauell, being deliuered of a sonne and a daughter, she ended hir mortall life.

A commendation of them which wrought or had anie charge about Douer works.

Sir Thomas Scot fell sicke in Douer works.

The death of the ladie Scot.

This sicknesse of sir Thomas Scot, and that which fell out therevpon, was no small discomfiture to him and all his. And the workmen at Douer made such mone for his sicknesse, and also for his absence, that euerie stréet was replenished with sorrow and gréefe; and the people would be comforted with nothing more, nor anie waie be better incouraged to worke lustilie, than to be told that sir Thomas Scot was well recouered, and would shortlie be amongst them againe. And in truth, they translated their barbarous musicke into a sorrowfull song, and in stéed of calling to Harrie for their dinner, they called to God for the good health and returne of their best freend sir Thomas Scot, and that with a generall and continuall outerie, euen in their old accustomed tune and time. But the courts proceeded in highthening the wals, vntill they were raised about two foot higher than they were on S. Iames his daie, when the wals met togither; so as the crosse wall is ninetie foot broad in the bottome, and about fiftie foot in the top. The long wall is seuentie foot in the bottome, and almost fortie foot in the top, in so much as vpon either wall two courts may méet and passe, or turne without troubling ech other. The length of the crosse wall is fortie rods, the length of the long wall a hundred and twentie rods. The charge of these two wals, with the appurtenances, amounted to two thousand and seauen hundred pounds, as appeareth in the expenditors books. If there were anie issue or draining of water vnder the wals, it was soone stopped by the peise of the wall it selfe, which neuer left sinking till it came

The bredth, depth, length, and charge of the long and crosse wall, with the arming, &c.

came to the foundation of the rocke, except (by some ouersight of the workmen) some part thereof were set vpon the beach, which should by order haue béene first remooued, and in that case they benched it, digging a trench at the foot of that part of the wall, and filling the same with earth, they made it verie tight, and so might anie such place be perfected and amended if need should require. But at this houre there leaketh not a drop of water vnder or through anie part of the wall that anie man maie perceiue or see: so as a full pent shrinketh not anie whit at all betwixt tide and tide, whereas the allowance of one foot leakage or fall at the least was required of them, which exhibited the plot of the woodden wall, which being measured from the top or face of the high pent diminisheth almost one quarter thereof. And thus betwixt the first of Maie and midst of August, this pent, which was thought vnpossible to be doone in three yeares, was perfectlie finished in lesse than three months, and remaineth in so good and sure state, as the longer it standeth, the better and tighter it will be.

A necessarie remedie if water draine vnder the wall.

Expedition necessarie and profitable.

If neuer anie thing should be added herevnto, this pent (by reason of the abundance of water reteined therein, and issuing out of the sluse) would maintein a good hauen in that place: for the violent course therof will alwaies open the hauens mouth, and make a fret there, euen downe to the rocke, although it be distant from the same threescore rods; in somuch as at this instant there maie come in at quarter floud a barke of fortie or fiftie tun, and at full sea a ship of three hundred tun and vpwards. But when the two iuttie heads are once finished (which are now in hand) so as the hauens mouth be perfected, anie ship whatsoeuer may enter in thereat, and remaine within that rode in good safetie. But at manie other times heretofore there hath béene sure triall had of the good effects of this pent, so now in this last moneth of October one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six, one gate of the sluse being by mischance broken, so as by the space of foure daies there could be no water reteined within the pent, to scowre the mouth of the hauen, the same was so choked and swarued vp with sand and beach in that space, as no bote could enter in, or passe out of the same: insomuch as Edward Wootton esquire, being then at Douer to passe thense in an ambassage from hir maiestie to the French king, was forced to send to Sandwich for a craier, to transport him to Calis, because no bote of Douer lieng within the rode could passe out at the hauens mouth. But assoone as the said gate of the sluse was repaired, euen the next tide following, a vessell of three hundred tun might and did easilie passe in and out thereat, one pent of water had so scowred and depthened the same. Whereby it maie appeare, that neither the cost bestowed, nor the worke performed, hath béene vnprofitablie imploied, or vnnecessarilie vndertaken.

The state of the wale.

A sure triall latelie made of the good effect of the pent.

A gate of the sluse broken.

Edward Wootton esquire ambassador into France.

The effect of the pent.

Now you shall vnderstand, that the small sluse which was first made and laied in the crosse wall in such sort, and for such purpose as hath béene declared, was taken vp after the said walles were finished, and a sluse of far greater charge was made by the aforesaid Peter Pet, who vndertooke to doo it by great, and had for the same foure hundred pounds, the laeing whereof did cost two hundred pounds more at the least. This sluse conteineth in length fourescore foot, in bredth sixtéene foot, in depth thirtéene, and hath in it two draw gates. It was one whole moneth in laieng, all which time the said lord Cobham made his abode there, and kept a most honorable and costlie table, furthering those works not onelie with his continuall presence and countenance, but also with his good direction, and that not at starts, but from morning till night, and from daie to daie, vntill the full accomplishing thereof.

Of the sluse.

The lord Cobham remaineth at Douer one whole moneth.

And in the meane time sir Francis Walsingham hir maiesties principall secretarie was not vncarefull of this action, as being the man without whom nothing was doone, directing the course, and alwaie looking into the state thereof, and gaue continuall life thervnto, by prouiding monie for it, whereof when anie want

Sir Francis Walsingham principall frend to these works.

Of the late works.

approched, he neuer failed to see or rather to send a sure supplie. Since the finishing of these wals and sluses, there hath beene much worke and charge imploied about one of the iuttie heads, and beautifieng of the harborough, wherin one George Carie of Deuonshire esquire, and one Iohn Hill an auditor, haue béene the principall directors. But because that worke remaineth as yet vnperformed, the report thereof shall also remaine to be made by others that shall hereafter haue occasion to write of such affairs.

The note of *Iohn Hooker* alias *Vowell* concerning the sudden and strange sickenesse of late happening in Excester.

¶ At the assises kept at the citie of Excester, the fourteenth daie of March, in the eight and twentith yeare of hir maiesties reigne, before sir Edmund Anderson knight lord chiefe iustice of the common plees, and sargeant Floredaie one of the barons of the excheker, iustices of the assises in the countie of Deuon and Exon, there happened a verie sudden and a strange sickenesse; first amongst the prisoners of the gaole of the castell of Exon, and then dispersed (vpon their triall) amongst sundrie other persons: which was not much vnlike to the sickenesse that of late yeares happened at an assise holden at Oxford before sir Robert Bell knight, lord chiefe baron of the excheker, and iustice then of that assise; and of which sickenesse he amongst others died. This sickenesse was verie sharpe for the time, and few escaped, which at the first were infected therewith. It was contagious and infectious, but not so violent as commonlie the pestilence is; neither dooth there appeare anie outward vlcer or sore.

The originall cause of this infection whereto imputed.

The origen and cause thereof diuerse men are of diuerse iudgements. Some did impute it, and were of the mind, that it procéeded from the contagion of the gaole, which by reason of the close aire, and filthie stinke, the prisoners newlie come out of a fresh aire into the same, are in short time for then most part infected therewith; and this is commonlie called the gaole sickenesse, and manie die thereof. Some did impute it to certeine poore Portingals, then prisoners in the

Barnard Drake esquier.

said gaole. For not long before, one Barnard Drake esquier (afterwards dubbed knight) had béene at the seas, and meeting with certeine Portingals, come from New found land, and laden with fish, he tooke them as a good prise, and brought them into Dartmouth hauen in England; and from thense they were sent, being in number about eight and thirtie persons, vnto the gaole of the castell of Exon, and there were cast into the deepe pit and stinking dungeon.

The mischiefe of nastie apparell.

These men had béene before a long time at the seas, and had no change of apparell, nor laine in bed, and now lieng vpon the ground without succor or reliefe, were soone infected; and all for the most part were sicke, and some of them died, and some one of them was distracted: and this sickenesse verie soone after dispersed it selfe among all the residue of the prisoners in the gaole; of which disease manie of them died, but all brought to great extremities, and verie hardlie escaped. These men, when they were to be brought before the foresaid iustices for their triall, manie of them were so weake and sicke that they were not able to go nor stand; but were caried from the gaole to the place of iudgement, some vpon handbarrowes, and some betwéene men leading them, and so brought to the place of iustice.

The sight of these mens miserable and pitifull cases, being thought (and more like) to be hunger starued than with sickenesse diseased, mooued manie a mans hart to behold and looke vpon them; but none pitied them more than the lords iustices themselues, and especiallie the lord chiefe iustice himselfe; who vpon this occasion tooke a better order for kéeping all prisoners thensefoorth in the gaole, and

The assise at Exceseer appointed to be quarterlie kept.

for the more often trials: which was now appointed to be quarterlie kept at euerie quarter sessions, and not to be posted anie more ouer, as in times past vntill the assises. These prisoners thus brought from out of the gaole to the iudgement place, after that they had béene staied, and paused a while in the open aire, and somewhat

refreshed therwith, they were brought into the house, in the one end of the hall neere to the iudges seat, and which is the ordinarie and accustomable place where they doo stand to their trials and arreignments.

And howsoeuer the matter fell out, and by what occasion it happened, an infection followed vpon manie and a great number of such as were there in the court, and especiallie vpon such as were neerest to them were soonest infected. And albeit the infection was not then perceiued, because euerie man departed (as he thought) in as good health as he came thither: yet the same by little and little so crept into such, as vpon whom the infection was seizoned, that after a few daies, and at their home comming to their owne houses, they felt the violence of this pestilent sickenesse: wherein more died that were infected, than escaped. And besides the prisoners, manie there were of good account, and of all other degrees, which died thereof: as by name sargeant Floredaie who then was the iudge of those trials vpon the prisoners, sir Iohn Chichester, sir Arthur Basset, and sir Barnard Drake knights; Thomas Carew of Haccombe, Robert Carie of Clouelleigh, Iohn Fortescue of Wood, Iohn Waldron of Bradfeeld, and Thomas Risdone esquires, and iustices of the peace.

This sickues was contagious and mortall.

Principall men that died of that infection.

The losse of euerie of them was verie great to the commonwealth of that prouince and countrie: but none more lamented than these two knights, sir Iohn Chichester, and sir Arthur Basset; who albeit they were but yoong in yeares, yet ancient in wisedome, vpright in iudgement, and zeaous in the ministration of iustice. Likewise Robert Carie, a gentleman striken in yeares, and a man of great experience, knowledge, and learning: he had beene a student of the common lawes of the realme at the temple, and verie well learned both therein, and vniuersallie seene in all good letters: an eloquent man of his speech, effectuall in deliuerie, deepe in iudgement, vpright in iustice, and considerat in all his dooings. The more worthie were these personages, the greater losse was their deaths to the whole common wealth of that countrie. Of the plebeian and common people died verie manie, and especiallie constables, reeues, and tithing men, and such as were iurors, and namelie one iurie of twelue, of which there died eleuen.

Sir Iohn Chichester, and sir Arthur Basset bemoned and commended.

Eleuen of the iurie with other officers die of this sickenesse.

This sicknesse was dispersed through out all the whole shire, and at the writing hereof in the fiue of October, one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six, it is not altogither extinguished. It resteth for the most part about fouretéene daies and vpwards by a secret infection, before it brake out into his force and violence. At the first comming, it made the people afraid and dismaid, manie men then pretending rather than performing the amendement of life. So long as the plague was hot and feruent, so long euerie man was holie and repentant: but with the slaking of the one, followed the forgetfulnesse of the other; euen as it is with a companie of shrewd children, who so long as the rod is ouer the head, so long feare of correction frameth them to aptnesse, conformitie, and obedience,

Affliction draweth men to God, &c.

¶ In the chronicles of Ireland, vpon occasion of seruice in the highest office there, mention was made here and there of sir Henrie Sidneie his saiengs and dooings, where promise did passe (by means of discoursing his death) that the reader was to looke for a full declaration of his life and death in the chronicles of England, as course of time should giue direction. Now therefore hauing entred into the eight and twentith yeare of hir maiesties gratious gouernment, and the yeare of Christ 1586, the time most fitlie openeth a readie waie into the historie concerning that nobleman, penned by one that could not be ignorant of his affaires, considering the neerenesse and necessarinesse of his seruice, and therefore as a truth to be receiued.

An introduction to the historicall remembrance of the Sidneis, the father and the sonne, &c.

This

The note of *Edmund Melinax* touching sir Henrie Sidneis life and death. His education in his youth.

This right famous, renowmed, worthie, vertuous and heroicall knight, by father and mother verie noblie descended, was from his infancie bred and brought vp in the princes court, and in neerenesse to his person vsed familiarlie euen as a companion, and manie times a bedfellow. After that by course of nature and lawfull descent, this yoong prince wae inuested in the kingdome and imperiall crowne, he aduanced this gallant noble gentleman (partlie as it seemed for the singular loue and entire affection he formerlie bare him) to be a principall gentleman of his priuie chamber. For he was then reputed for comelinesse of person, gallantnesse and liuelinesse of spirit, vertue, qualitie, beautie, and good composition, of bodie, the onelie od man and paragon of the court. And from time to time this good and most godlie king held such delight in his pleasant, modest, and sweet conuersation and companie, as he would sildome or neuer giue him leaue to be absent from him, till his last breth that he departed this life in his armes at Greenwich. Such excéeding expectation and hope was conceiued of this honorable gentleman in his yonger yeares, as he was speciallie chosen and sent ambassador to Henrie the first then French king, concerning matter verie important, being at that time not fullie one and twentie yeares old, and performed his charge with that singular commendation, wisedome, spirit and dexteritie, as at sundrie times not long after, he was emploied in ambassage both in France and Scotland, yea sometime twise in one yere.

His emploiment in ambassage.

Foure times lord iustice, thrise lord deputie of Ireland.

He was foure seuerall times lord iustice of Ireland, and thrée times by speciall appointment and commission sent deputie out of England: at each which seuerall time, he by his wisedome and good gouernement appeased and suppressed a great and an actuall rebellion, the seeds whereof were for the most part sewen and the fire kindled (though smoothlie and cunninglie hid and couered) before his comming, or in the time of his time of his absence. In his first deputation he suppressed the rebellion of Shane Oneill, and floured the top of the castell of Dublin with the archrebels head. In his second he suppressed the most dangerous insurrection begun and long continued by some of the Butlers. In the third the commotion of the erle of Clanricard, and his two gracelesse hopelost sonnes Shane and Vlike Bourke.

He suppressed by force and policie thrée actuall rebellions.

He reuiued and put in execution the lawes for the abolishing of coine and liuerie.

Immediatlie after his first arriuall deputie, he called the old statutes and ordinances for the abolishing of coine and liuerie (the ancient festering sore and creeping canker of that countrie and commonwealth, to be reuiued and put in due execution, against sundrie persons of calling and note, who were therewithall sharplie touched, whereupon followed a long time after great good to the countrie, and a speedie releefe to the poore oppressed people of that realme. He deuised that the remoter prouinces should be gouerned by presidents, after the imitation of the marches of Wales, from whense he tooke his patterne, being himselfe at that time president, holding opinion that there could be neither better nor a more expedit and easie means to reforme and reduce that barbarous countrie to perfect obedience and ciuilitie, than planting of presidents in the remoter prouinces, to the end vniuersall iustice might be currant amongst them, whereby the poore might be deliuered from the woonted exactions and tyranies of the lords and great ones (by whom they were dailie spoiled and oppressed) and tast the sweet benefits and pleasant fruits of peace and quietnesse, the onelie singular commoditie, and the most happie blessing of wise, politike, and discreet gouernement.

He deuised the planting of presidents in the remoter prouinces.

He deuised the lawes for the distribution of the Irish countries into shire ground.

He both first deuised, and consequentlie prudentlie executed, the plot for the diuision and distribution of the Irish countries into shire ground, whereby insued the currencie of hir maiesties writ, which before that time was either not knowne, or at least neuer vsed amongst them. He in his gouernement aduanced and increased

creased the reuenues of the crowne by waie of custome, impost vpon wines, compositions with the Irishrie for rent and seruice, and other direct and commendable means, as out of casualties creating rents certeine, ten thousand pounds yearelie. And by good deuise and policie he had both intended, and would haue brought to passe and performed a farre greater increase, if enuie, spite, and malice of that vnhappie countrie had not crossed him, and opposed themselues all that they could, by purse or credit against his honorable, worthie, and commendable seruices and desseins: an example of rare note to be duelie followed, and carefullie executed by his successors, that Ireland may in short time be reduced to beare Irelands charges, and made both honorable and profitable to the crowne (as were to be wished.) He repared the castell of Dubline, being vsed a long time before as a ruinous, vncleane, and filthie place, of no reckoning and accompt stored onelie with mechanicall persons, and some of woorse sort (the constable and his familie excepted) and left the same a conuenient and fit house for the gouernour to lie in, to which vse it now serueth and is imploied.

He increased the reuenues ten thousand pounds yerlie.

He builded the bridge of Athelon ouer the riuer of Shenin, arched it with masonrie and freestone, strong wall and battlement, and made it of that strength, togither with that spaciousnesse and bredth, as two carts maie (in maner) meet afront. By building of which bridge ouer so swift and great a streame, the passage was set open and made free out of the pale into Conaught, which before (by reason of the strenablenesse of the water) was not passable, which daunted and appalled the rebells and traitors more, and kept them in greater awe and due obedience, than anie deuise or policie before had doone, or other plot lightlie could then doo. He likewise began the walling and fortifieng of the towne of Carickfergus in Vlster, reedificng of the towne of Athenrie in Conaught, the strengthening of Athelon with gates and other fortifications, the foundation and plot of the bridge of Caterlagh, and made a strong goale at Molingar, and walled the same about with stone, to imprison rebels, theeues, and other malefactors. And likewise he begun manie other needfull and necessarie works in sundre other places which tended to the great furtherance and aduancement of seruice, but he left them Quasi opera inchoata: for he being called awaie so soone, time would not permit and allow him to finish and fullie to end them, or (it may be) by fatall appointment the time is not yet come the countrie deserueth so great a good and benefit of Gods eternall blessing.

His buildings, fortifications, and other necessarie works, for the benefit and good of the countrie.

He found hir maiesties records laid as it were in an open place, whither anie man (that vouchsafed his paines) might come that would, not defended, but subiect to wind, raine, and all kind of weather, and so in a sort neglected, that they serued now and then (as I haue by good men and good meanes crediblie heard reported) in steed of better litter to rub horse heeles, which he with great care and diligence caused to be perused and sorted, and prepared an apt place within the castell of Dubline, well trimmed and boorded with a chimneie in the roome, where neither by the moisture of the wals, nor vnseasonablenesse of the weather, nor other meanes they could be subiect to harme. He prepared fit and conuenient places and seuerall diuisions to laie them apart, according to their seuerall natures, and appointed one of discretion and skill to looke on them, who also for his better incoragement was assigned a conuenient fee for his labor. He also caused the statutes, policies, and ordinances of that realme, which laie hid and not knowen to manie (though not destroied but kept in safetie) to be searched, surueied, and ouer viewed by men of the best learning, skill, and discretion he could find or come by in that realme, giuing them in expresse charge to peruse and read all, and to collect such and so manie of them as they should in their discretions iudge and discerne to be expedient and necessarie to be published and knowen, to the

He built conuenient rooms for the keeping and preseruation of the records which before were neglected.

He caused the statutes of Ireland to be imprinted, which neuer before were published.

He procured some Englishmen to be sent ouer, for the better administration of iustice

the end the same might be imprinted, as afterward they were, that no man thenseforth might pretend ignorance in the lawes, statutes, and ordinances of his owne countrie where he was borne, which euerie man by our lawes is bound to know. And because he both saw and by experience found what defect grew in the administration of iustice, by reason of kinred, affinitie, corruption, partialitie, as otherwise; he deuised, and earnestlie sought to haue Englishmen sent ouer to supplie the cheefe places of iustice. And for the better increase of hir maiesties reuenue and profit, he praied the like to serue in the rooms of hir highnesse attorneie generall and solicitor.

A great furtherer of all publike works.

The great loue he got him in all places where he serued.

No man had a greater desire to aduance the publike euerie waie than he had, and in opinion greatlie magnified and esteemed all them that were of that mind: for he would manie times saie that those were things memorable, of perpetuitie, fame, and last, where all priuat things died and perished with their priuat persons. Wheresoeuer he was bestowed to serue, he had such a rare gift, gallant courtlie behauior, and comlinesse of person, as he gained the harts of manie, and such vniuersall liking and louing of all sorts of people toward him, as they were euer desirous and neuer wearie of him; but speciall sute commonlie made of the grauest, best, and wisest sort amongst them, when he was reuoked, to haue him returne and continue again amongst them. He was (as best became him) verie aduised, circumpect, and carefull in the seruice of the state, not onelie setting apart, but in a sort neglecting all busines of his owne, in respect of his charge. He was a perfect orator by nature, hauing such readinesse and facilitie of speech, flowing eloquence, sweet deliuerie, and passing memorie (for he seldome or neuer forgat anie thing he either read or heard) as he was speciallie noted a most rare man of all that did heare him. Such ample instructions he would giue for the framing and writing of his letters, or anie other thing he committed to be conceiued and put downe in writing, and dispose the same in so good order and fine method, as a verie simple man, if he reteined and remembred but a part of that he said and deliuered, might supplie himselfe with matter inough to the purpose to write of.

His carefulnesse in the seruice of the state.

Verie expert and able he was of a bad clerke in time to frame a good secretarie.

And when by occasion he happened vpon some dull conceipted spirited fellow (as Ireland and Wales now and then bred some such) to whome he had giuen instructions to write, who afterwards brought him the same to signe, not couched in sort as he liked or would haue it; his temperance, courtesie, and discreet modestie was such, as he would neuer shew choler and impatience, rent the paper in peeces, or publikelie disgrace the writer, but bid him not be discouraged for that fault: he could giue him the like instructions againe he gaue him before but willed him then to marke and remember them better. At ech seuerall time he was sent deputie into Ireland, he was by occasion and as time fell out, furnished with a new secretarie. The first was maister Edward Waterhouse, now knighted, and one of hir maiesties councell in Ireland. The second maister Edmund Tremaine, who after was preferred to be a clearke to hir maiesties councell on hir highnesse person attendant. The third (who although it was thought of manie who were in that case well able to iudge) neither in paine, desert, birth, nor breeding was much inferiour to the other two that were before him; yet in fortune, reward, or other recompence so far behind them, as this noble gentleman (who trulie honored vertue) master to them all three, would manie times in sort lament, and deepelie bemone to his good friends, commending highlie this mans paine and diligence, attributing his hard hap to his owne mishap, the time so serued he could not doo him good, which manie times and by sundrie means he had earnestlie attempted to doo; affirming often in solemne and earnest protestation as well to him as others, that it greeued him not a little, his fortune was so bad, to come to him now in the declination and

wane

wane of the moone: for he was the sole onelie man he had imploied about him in that neerenesse and credit of seruice, wherein he had vsed him, that euer had quailed vnder his hands (for that was the terme he vsed) howbeit, he well hoped time or some good man (in respect his seruice was publike and not priuat) would repaire that then he could not doo. For he deemed the man right woorthie regard and consideration that had serued him so long (and that in his great and roiall seruices, in so painefull and toilesome a place) without anie great wages, fee, or other enterteinment growing to him in perpetuitie or other waies; which was either burthenous to his purse, or proceeding by or from him by anie other degree, to the gentlemans benefit, increase of credit, or further aduancement, in recompense of his long seruice.

Of great facilitie in dispatch of common causes.

He had both a speciall care and likewise a singular gift in dispatch of common causes, and the people in like manner had a passing maruellous desire to be heard and dispatched by him. Therefore as well in part to satisfie their humors and affections, as more completlie to performe the due and full measure of his charge (which was to heare and helpe all as neere as he could) he applied himselfe greatlie thereunto, and would spare no paines, but indure maruellous toile and trauell to rid and dispatch awaie sutors: which he could doo with such dexteritie and woonderfull facilitie, as the same might seeme no wearinesse and tediousnesse at all to him (that was halfe a hell to some others) but rather to be reckoned a kind of recreation and pastime. He made manie beholding vnto him, for he (as much as laie in him) did benefit manie, and had more than an ordinarie desire to doo for all his friends and faithfull followers; and so carefullie, earnestlie, and painfullie he would trauell to aduance their particular sutes, were it sometimes to speake to hir maiestie hir selfe, or to the bodie of hir graue and honorable councell, or to anie priuat councellor apart, as though he had purposelie followed his owne most weightie causes.

A great desire to doo for all men.

A tender father to his children and a louing master to his seruants.

And as he was a most deere, kind, tender, and louing father to his children (for none could loue and esteeme his children more than he did) and noting in them great minds and hautie courages, which drew them by degrees to excesse in expense, and more than an ordinarie liberalitie, he would sometime fatherlie aduise them thus; that if they meant to liue in order, they should euer behold whose sonnes, and seldome thinke whose nephews they were: so he was an affable, gentle, courteous, constant, and honourable maister to his seruants. For he would often saie, it was an easie matter for them to keepe him, but hard to recouer his loue and fauour, if they had once lost him. And when anie of his noble and most louing friends would commend him greatlie (as manie times they would) that he made much of his old seruants (for few that came to him euer went from him, but such as were first aduanced by him to better preferment) he would answer plesantlie after his wonted mirth; Lord I giue the thanks, that of those thou gauest me I haue not lost one. He was maruellous affable and courteous of nature, of easie accesse, and pleasantlie familiar with anie that had occasion to repaire vnto him, and strict and precise in the obseruation of good order. For he would seldome breake it in anie respect, but vpon euident, knowne, and most iust cause, or when he was ouerruled (as sometimes he was) by such as had souereigne power to direct and command him. Extraordinarie courses he alwaies vtterly misliked, especiallie when order was peruerted, or iustice hindered, whereby the common societie of mans life is onelie preserued and mainteined; which two things speciallie purchased him such vniuersall goodwill euerie where (and namelie amongst the officers of hir maiesties most honorable household, with whome he would manie times be familiarlie conuersant) as they haue often wished he might haue beene honored with a white staffe, to haue borne office with authoritie amongst them.

Solitario homini atque in agro vitam agenti opinio iustitiæ necessariæ est.

He was intirelie beloued of the officers of hir maiesties household.

His name was so tempered with modestie, pietie and patience, as he seldome shewed heat or choler, how greuous soeuer the offense was which was giuen him. He was a fast friend where he professed friendship, and no reuengefull fo when he was offended; and hardlie would he be remooued in friendship from his friend or follower, but vpon most iust, certeine, and knowne cause, which he could not smulther, and would not hide from the partie. I haue manie times heard him saie, and by occasion haue seene the same written in his owne letters, that he was dubbed knight (by that noble and vertuous prince king Edward) the selfe same daie sir William Cecill (then principall secretarie, now lord treasuror of England) was, by meanes wherof and that sir William Cecill was (yea euen in those daies) esteemed a most rare man, both for sundrie and singular gifts of nature, learning, wisdome, and integritie: and partlie by the friendlie good offices of that true paterne of humanitie and courtesie, sir Iohn Cheeke, then schoolemaster to the king (a choise deare friend to them both) that there began such an entrie of acquaintance, knowledge, loue, mutuall goodwill, and intire friendship betwixt them as continued alwaies stedfast, firme, and vnuariable after till his dieng daie. Nihil autem est amabilius, nec copulantius, quàm morum similitudo bonorum. In quibus enim eadem studia sunt, eademque voluntates, in hijs fit vt æquè quisque altero delectetur ac se ipso. So that manie times in his life time he would acknowledge and confesse how greatlie he and his were bound in good will, and tied in dutie and friendship, to this right worthie and noble personage, Verus pater patriæ: to whom manie ages nor worlds can scarce once affoord a fellow or peere. For speciall fauors, louing courtesies, and amiable benefits and good turns they had receiued by his meanes, and at his owne hands sundrie waies.

He was dubbed knight the same daie sir William Cecill was.

He was of that euen temperature, commixtion, and perfection, as it was hard to iudge, whether to attribute more commendation and praise to his gouernement in the time of peace, or to his good hap and policie in warre, he was in both so fortunat. In his iourneis he would comfort his souldiors with these words; My good friends and most louing companions: and where soeuer he came, his chiefe and principal care was to foresee their wants, and to prouide for their necessities. And when it so fell out (as sometimes it did) that he had not wherewithall to supplie the same, he would bestow vpon them so good countenance and honorable kind speaches, as the same would haue contented and satisfied them much better than some other gouernor could haue doone with halfe a supplie of that he would: so great a conqueror he was of hearts, and of the good wils of all men, that serued with and vnder him. He was alwaies most vpright in iustice, yet of himselfe naturallie inclined to mercie (where he hoped it would worke amendment.)

Fortunat in warre, and no lesse happie in peace.

Passing well beloued of his souldiours.

He was vpright in iustice, yet withall inclined to mercie.

He greatlie honored all men of science and skill, in what good art soeuer, and was most apt and readie to pleasure them: for he would manie times saie, Science was to be honored wheresoeuer it was to be found: Nam nemo nascitur artifex. He was so zealous in all vertue and godlinesse, as he neuer omitted in court nor campe, at home or abrode, publike morning and euening praier; which he did attend deuoutlie vpon his knees, besides his other priuat praiers & meditations euerie daie he did arise, and go to bed, which he seldom failed. He would neuer in publike assemblies, consultations, field, or feast, omit anie thing that apperteined to his office or honor: and alwaies delighted to keepe an orderlie, liberall and honorable house (greatlie to the reliefe and comfort of the poore) according to the reputation and degree of his place and calling. He had steward, treasuror, controllor, auditor, clearke controllor, clearke of his kitchen, and maister cooke, besides other ordinarie clearks and inferior officers and ministers of houshold, who could in their degrees well and skilfullie execute their seuerall rooms and places; and knew in honor, state, and ceremonie in assemblies, solemnities, and feasts, how to serue him

He reuerenced all men of science.

He omitted not morning and euening praier.

Liberall and honorable in hospitalitie.

him as he should be. His knowledge in Ireland was far greater than anie one mans of our time hath beene, aswell touching the naturall conditions, guise and maners of the people generallie, as each particular prouince seuerallie: and for the perfect and sound gouernement of the whole vniuersallie, no one man could saie more. Others that haue succeeded him, haue built vpon his foundations, and framed their plots of gouernement after his deuises: but the originall came from him, it must be confessed by them all, if they vouchsafe him but onelie that apperteineth vnto him by iust desert, and most meere right.

His skill far exceeded other mens in knowledge and secrets of Ireland.

And here due place is offered (although happilie to some it maie seeme a digression) to speake somewhat of the planting of presidents; because the same hath beene vnder hand obscurelie and cunninglie carried, and according to mens fansies and imaginations diuerselie reported; and some of his shadows haue seemed to cloth themselues with his vertues, and attribute his onelie seruices as well in that, as in some other things, to their owne priuat and peculiar praises. To repeat the matter from the beginning, after this noble knight and right worthie gouernor, had found how necessarie a thing it was, the planting of presidents in the remoter prouinces of Ireland; he certified his opinion ouer: which was well conceiued, liked, and digested; both of hir highnesse, and also of hir graue and right honorable councell. So that not long after, certeine speciall men where thought of to be chosen, and speedilie sent thither, as in deed there were; and sir Iohn Perot appointed president of Mounster, and sir Edward Fitton for Connagh. The first by reason of his sickenesse, feeblenesse, and that some parts and lims of his bodie were suddenlie become benummed, neuer possessed the place he was assigned vnto; but sir Iohn Perot was forthwith sent, and presentlie succeeded in the roome he should haue had. At whose seuerall arriuals (for the one came somewhat after the other) ech was immediatlie dispatched to his seuerall charge, with ample authoritie, commission, and instructions deriued from the deputie for their seating and placing in those two offices. And after he had in this sort stalled them both, he made his present repare into England, before whose returne againe, these two presidents were (as it seemed) for vrgent cause, and by speciall fauour, licenced to come ouer againe. So that their roomes in their absence were supplied (in a sort) by interchange of commissioners; whereby not long after insued great hurt, wast, spoile, and disorder in either of those two prouinces.

He placed sir Iohn Perot and sir Edward Fitton presidents.

Sir Edward Fitton was afterwards made treasuror at the warres, and in that roome paied the due debt to nature; and sir Iohn Perot returned no more to his former office. By meanes whereof, a supplie of others was thought of, and sir William Drurie was appointed president for Mounster; and capteine Nicholas Malbie, a gentleman hir maiesties seruant, was assigned for the seruice in Connagh. Howbeit, the name of lord president being thought a little too high and great for this gentleman, in respect of the meanesse of his liuing and hauiour; he bare the name onelie of colonell, and chiefe commissioner of Connagh; hauing neuerthelesse equall authoritie as sir Edward Fitton, late lord president there had in the said prouince. These two discreet, worthie, and expert marshall men, were placed by like authoritie, instructions, and commission, as their predecessors had beene; the lord deputie in person accompanieng them to their seuerall charges, and so left them setled. And maister Malbie, for the better credit and countenance of the place he was to enter then into, was dubbed knight in the church of Athelon, and with that addition and increase of title was left in his charge, who after did acceptable and commendable worthie seruice.

He placed sir William Drurie president of Mounster, and sir Nicholas Malbie colonell of Connagh.

But now to returne to the place where I left: as for the view and knowledge of the soile, hauens, ports, promontories, necks of lands, and creeks, or whatsoeuer secret or mysterie else was to be vnderstood; take it from the north to the south,

He had seene and knowne more of Ireland than anie one, yea of that countrie birth.

from the east to the west: no one man (yea although he were of that countrie birth) had seene more, or obserued so much as he had doone. His manie, long, and painefull iourneis compared and laid togither (if they maie be well sorted, and truelie and sincerlie reported) testifie no lesse than I haue said. For better manifestation whereof, his circular discourses (as he named them) put downe, and written with his owne hand, which are extant and to be seene, will make the matter more than euident and apparent.

The loue and affection the Irshrie bare him, drew manie of them to ciuilitie.

He often inuited the gentlemen of the better reformed Irishrie, newlie reclaimed to ciuilitie, to comelinesse in habit, and cleanlinesse in diet, house, and lodging; which partlie in respect of the great loue & affection they bare him, and partlie of freendlie feare to offend him, manie afterwards obserued and followed. This one thing amongst manie others, was noted verie rare in him; that being a big, well liking, and complet full bodie; he could content nature, and satisfie himselfe with so little sleepe as he did. For he seldome kept his bed aboue six houres (if he were in health) neither after he arose would he take in the daie time anie kind of repose. And when he had occasion to trauell, were it in post for speciall seruice, or other ordinarie iourneie; he would manie times raise vp, and throughlie wearie most of his traine and companie: for he had that abilitie and strong constitution of bodie, that none could lightlie indure the continuall laborsome toile and trauell at all times and seasons as he could; nor that hardnesse of diet for the time as he himselfe would doo. Nothing euer offended him more than vnkindnesse and ingratitude; speciallie where he hoped (and the world thought) he had deserued otherwise (whereof sometimes in the course of his life he had his part) and when he was vexed and oppressed with that extreame, vnnaturall, and most cruell corrosiue fit, his reuenge was commonlie vpon himselfe, it went no further; which he could not so cunninglie hide, but manie times amongst his friends he would outwardlie bewraie it, by some shew and outward action: so that the greefe and passion of his inward tormented mind would manifestlie appeare, which was to him (as it seemed) for the time some ease and contentment.

Summa & perfecta gloria constat extribus hijs: si diligit multitudo, si fidem habet, si cumadmiratione quadam honore nos dignos putat.

Little giuen to repose and ease in the night.

He would in his iourneis wearie and laie vp most of his companie.

Nothing offended him more than ingratitude.

In his dealings his word was his woorst.

When he had occasion offered to deale in matters great or small, his sinceritie, plaine, and naked dealing was euer such, as he would commonlie knit vp his speeches with this phrase; My word is my woorst, and so they should find it. He had that passing readinesse of speech, and delectable sweet oratorie deliuerie (when he was yoong) as now and then (as occasion fell out) that he was forced to speake at length in solemne sittings or publike assemblies (as sometimes he was) that he would readilie make and coine words out of his owne forge, and could in such good sort, so apt, fashion, fit, and grace them, as albeit they were neuer either heard, vsed, or receiued before: yet his mouth seemed a sufficient warrant to others for their naturalization, admission, and common vse afterwards. He was naturallie pleasant, and verie merrilie conceipted; yet withall graue, wise, discreet, expert, readie in matters of councell, both inuentiue and iudicious, a good antiquarie, skilfull in storie, pedegree, and armes, languaged (for he profited greatlie both by trauell and conference) and not meanelie learned. Which noble vertues and excellent qualities he manie times did and could well shew, as time, place, and occasion required, with an heroicall presence and maiestie. He was so stored with such sound grounds and principles for ciuill policie and gouernment, as it would greatlie haue delighted, yea the best and ripest wits to haue heard him discourse at length in those matters: and he was a speciall rare man, that learned not at euerie time somewhat from him he had not heard before worth his comming. So friendlie, courteous, and sociable he was with all his assistants, collegues, and companions; as they intirelie loued and greatlie honored him.

He would now and then coine words.

Some description of his vertues.

Sociable with his assistants.

In Ireland he made speciall choise of two worthie councellors, whome for their faithfulnes

faithfulnes in councell for the state, good will and freendship towards him, and for their integritie and sinceritie euerie waie, he intirelie loued and assuredlie trusted. One was sir Lucas Dillon who yet liueth, the other maister Francis Agard who is now departed: both these so agreed and concurred in opinion with him, and applied their wits and endeuors so dutifullie, and with so great zeale and affection to the aduancement of seruice, and the good and quiet of the countrie, as ech in emulation freendlie contended with other who should doo the best seruice. To the one he would saie, Lucas mihi solus relictus est; the other he commonlie called Fidus Achates. Much more might be said (though a great deale too little) of this complet, honorable, and right worthie gentleman, who priuat and publike carried himselfe alwaies so iustlie, vprightlie, and eeuenlie, as (for the most part) noble fame went afore him, and loue followed and accompanied him as a shadow whersoeuer he went. He had an intention, which proceeded by degrees to motion in parlement, to haue erected some publike schooles and nurseries of learning, which by degrees and in time might haue growen to an vniuersitie, for the better reformation of the barbarisme of that countrie, and offered a large yeerelie portion of his owne to the furtherance of so good a purpose. But I know not how, Nondum venit hora, it tooke no place in deed, though in the beginning great apparance and shew in words was made to haue verie manie venerable fautors, and more worthie and rich furtherers.

He made speciall choise of sir Lucas Dillon and Francis Agard.

Much more might be said of this honorable gentleman.

His intention to haue erected certeine nurseries of learning.

In one thing his fortune was most hard, and he more than twise vnhappie, that his seruice (for the most part) was subiect to the eare, and not obiect to the eie, by meanes whereof his noble vertues and deserts were manie times suppressed, and seldome or neuer seene, but his faults often told and willinglie heard; and so consequentlie his seruice obedient to great misreport, slander, and calumniation. As it fell out among other matters for his last seruice in Ireland, that manie gaue out how he had taken that realme to farme, in respect of the composition he made with the queene: so that whatsoeuer paine and trauell he tooke, either for the aduancement of the reuenue of the crowne, or maintenance and defense of the prerogatiue roial, it was giuen out and spread abrode, that what he did was for himselfe and for his owne gaine and benefit; where in truth in that seruice he spent his yeares, sold his lands, and consumed much of his patrimonie to the hindrance of his posteritie, without anie great recompense or reward (though others perhaps that were both before him, and since haue succeeded him, haue gained by the place and countenance of that seruice.) He held both the cheefe offices of Ireland and Wales togither at one time, and was likewise companion of the most honorable order of the garter (such was his speciall fauor and grace with hir maiestie) which no one priuat subiect hath held at once, and inioied so great titles and dignities togither, at the least that I haue heard or read of; were he not a king's sonne, vncle, or nephue: so that his fortune in shew and apparance was great, though in respect of gaine and benefit to himselfe, nothing equiualent with his vertues. Which ample authoritie and large scope of dominion and gouernement procured him (and not his owne deserts) manie enuious, heauie, and potent enemies. Howbeit, his innocencie was euer his buckler and shield of defense against them: so that their complaints (though for a time they might and did a little hinder him) yet seldome or neuer they preuailed against him. And when he had passed ouer such cloudie mists and ouerthwart storms, he would pleasantlie saie vnto his freends; Salutem ab ijs qui oderunt nos: for the more they contended to suppresse him, the more (like the camomill being foiled and troden) his vertues rose vp and appeared, and their malice was both vnfolded and controlled.

His seruice was subiect to the eare and not to the eie, whereby his vertues manie times were suppressed.

He was deputie of Ireland and president of Wales both at one time.

This noble knight, graue councellor, complet gentleman, and most worthie and rare subiect, departed this life at the bishops palace at Worcester, the fift daie of Maie

He died at the bishops palace at Worcester.

Maie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred eightie and six (being 57 yeares old complet, wanting onelie one moneth and fifteene daies) about foure of the clocke in the morning, after he continued seuen daies sicke of a kind of cold palsie, as the physicians decreed of the disease, which happened vnto him (as it was of manie said, and of mo thought) by reason of an extreme cold he tooke vpon the water in his passage and remooue by barge betweene Bewdlie and Worcester, not long after he had beene purged, and his bodie not fullie setled, but his pores remaining still open (as it is most like) by reason of an extraordinarie loosenesse which consequentlie followed the taking of his physike which could not be stopped; hauing then beene lord president of hir maiesties councell established in the dominion and principalitie of Wales six and twentie yeares complet, without anie change or alteration, or absolute transferring the roome or authoritie to anie other in the mean time. For whose death there was great mone and lamentation (especiallie by those vnder his gouernement) as hauing lost that speciall noble man, whome for courtesie they loued, for iustice amongest them they highlie honored, and for manie other his rare gifts and singular vertues they in his life time greatlie esteemed, and at his death maruellouslie beemoned, lifting vp both hands and hearts to almightie God, and heartilie wishing, and humblie praieng a like might succeed in the place as he had beene.

His death greatlie bemoned.

And like as he liued and continued euer in much fame, great countenance, credit and honor; so his buriall was prepared and performed accordinglie. For his bodie by easie iorneies and short remooues was conueied from Worcester vnto his house at Penshurst in Kent, verie honorablie and well attended with great traine, ceremonie, and all other things apperteining to funerall order, honor, and solemnitie: where he was honorablie interred the one and twentith daie of Iune following. He was before imbowelled, and his intrals buried in the deans chapell in the cathedral church at Worcester; his heart brought to Ludlow, and buried in the toome with his deere beloued daughter Ambrosia, in the little oratorie h made in the semicollegiat parish church there, wherein he erected this monument. To this town of Ludlow especiallie, and so in like maner to Tikenhill house he carried euer good liking and affection, as might appeare by his often resort and abode at those two places in the time of his presidencie, as by some other tokens and worthie remembrances he left in perpetuitie to remaine vnto them that should come after, as certeine demonstrations and signes of his former good will.

His corps was buried at Penshurst.

His affection to Ludlow and Tikenhill.

Neither must I here forget (except I should herein forget myselfe) to speake of the church of Hereford, whome (when by occasion of iustice he was resident there with them) as they intirelie loued and greatlie honored, so he in like sort accepting and acknowledging their kindnesse and good will (such was euer the setled vertue and passing bountie of his good nature) that he presented them, and left to continue and remaine to posteritie amongst them, a speciall note of remembrance. By meanes of which honorable and freendlie gift and courteous token so louinglie bestowed, and left to that societie and companie (as the last pledge of his former affection and good will borne towards them) he hath beene since manie times honorablie remembred, and (no doubt) is and still hereafter maie and will be both esteemed, loued, honored, and held (as he alwaies deserued) in fresh and fresher memorie amongest them. With this report concerning sir Henrie Sidneie (a noble man neuer sufficientlie commended) accordeth that of C. O. set downe in his Eirenarchia, where amongst diuerse honorable personages, I find this note of coherence:

His good will to the church of Hereford.

Henricus Sidneus.

Quid cunctos memorem, superest tamen vnus, & ille
Vndique non minima memorandus laude, parentum

Stemmate

Stemmate ab antiquo, sed & illis clarior ipse
Henricus Sidneus, eques gemino ordine splendens,
Quem ter legatum dominæ vice sceptra tenentem,
Iúsque ministrantem iam vidit Hibernica tellus,
Nec vidit modò, sed sensit, verita est, & amauit,
Vt nemo vnquam alius (vulgo notissima res est)
Intrârit maiori illas cum gentis amore,
Rexerit obsequio, luctúue reliquerit oras.
Sola nec illius testatur Hibernia laudes,
Verùm etiam Albionis pars altera Cambria, cursu
Interlabentis rapido diuisa Sabrinæ,
Præfecti illius præconia grandia narrat.
Cuius præsidio iam multos tuta per annos
Florvit, vt dubium sit, eo fœlicior almo
Præside lætetúrue, an iudice gaudeat æquo.
Iampridem dines legatum Gallia vidit
(Elisabetha) tuum, præstanti corpore pulchrum, &c.

The time of my ladie Sidneis death.

The ninth daie of August next following died the most noble, woorthie, beneficent, and bounteous ladie, the ladie Marie Sidneie, his onelie spouse and most deere wife, who was eldest daughter vnto that renowmed duke Iohn late of Northumberland, and sister to the right honorable and most woorthie the earles of Warwike and Leicester, most zealouslie, godlie, and penitentlie, as by the testimonie of some honorable and other graue personages is well auouched, and was intoomed at Penshurst in the same toome with her deere and honorable husband. During the whole course of hir sicknesse, and speciallie a little before it pleased almightie God to call her hense to his mercie, she vsed such godlie speeches, earnest and effectuall persuasions to all those about hir, and vnto such others as came of freendlie courtesie to visit hir, to exhort them to repentance and amendement of life, and dehort them from all sin and lewdnesse, as wounded the consciences, and inwardlie pearsed the hearts of manie that heard hir. And though before they knew hir to exceed most of hir sex in singularitie of vertue and qualitie; as good speech, apt and readie conceipt, excellencie of wit, and notable eloquent deliuerie (for none could match hir, and few or none come neere hir, either in the good conceipt and frame of orderlie writing, indicting, and speedie dispatching, or facilitie of gallant, sweet, delectable, and courtlie speaking; at least that in this time I my selfe haue knowen, heard, or read of) yet in this hir last action and ending of hir life (as it were one speciallie at that instant called of God) she so farre surpassed hir selfe, in discreet, wise, effectuall, sound, and grounded reasons, all tending to zeale and pietie, as the same almost amazed and astonished the hearers to heare and conceiue such plentie of goodlie and pithie matter to come from such a creature. Who although for a time she seemed to the world to liue obscurelie, yet she ended this life, and left the world most confidentlie, and to God (no doubt) most gloriouslie, to the exceeding comfort of all them (which are not few) that loued or honored hir, or the great and renowmed house whereof she was descended. They left behind them yet liuing most deere pledge and noble and worthie resemblances descended of them, three sonnes, all forward, martiall, and valorous gentlemen, and one onelie daughter, matched in marriage vnto the right honorable Henrie earle of Penbroke, whome God hath alreadie blessed with goodlie, rare, and towardlie issue: sir Philip Sidneie, his sonne and heire, Ad quem hæreditas gloriæ & factorum imitatio pertinet, a gentleman of great hope, and exceeding expectation, indowed with manie rare gifts, singular vertues, and other ornaments both of mind and bodie, one generallie beloued

Sir Philip, sir Robert and maister Thomas Sidneies: Marie countesse of Penbroke, William lord Herbert of Cardiffe.

The commendation of sir Philip Sidneie.

loued and esteemed of all men, who matched in marriage with the daughter and heire of sir Francis Walsingham knight, her maiesties principall secretarie, by whom he hath alreadie a goodlie babe, but a daughter. And if his good fortune by almightie Gods good appointment, answer his noble deserts and woorthinesse, he is most like to prooue a famous, great, and rare personage for the seruice of his countrie and commonwelth. And the glorie, renowme, and fame of so worthie a father can neuer die, hauing left so noble a son, not onlie to continue, but rather (in sort) to surpasse his fathers worthinesse, fame, and vertues; and therfore to be well hoped (and vndoutedlie almost expected) he may in time succeed him in his offices, or if it please God in some better and greater. To the atteining wherof he is thus farre in good degree alreadie aduanced (imitating therein his fathers perfect paterne) that he hath bin imploied ambassador to the emperor when he was not aboue one and twentie yeeres old (as his father at like age was to the French king) in which iornie by the waie, he had on hir maiesties behalfe to visit and treat with sundrie princes, other potentats, and great ones: which he performed in such exquisit order, and aduised wise course, omitting nothing he should doo, nor supplieng anie thing he should not doo in ceremonie or otherwise, as he exceedinglie therein satisfied hir maiestie, both by his letters and report, and won to himselfe great credit and singular commendation.

Quidem autem ad eas laudes quas a patribus acceperunt addunt aliquam suam.

He was sent ambassador to the emperor.

Not long after his returne from the iourneie, and before his further imploiment by hir maiestie, at his vacant and spare times of leisure (for he could indure at no time to be idle and void of action) he made his booke which he named Arcadia, a worke (though a meere fansie, toie, and fiction) shewing such excellence of spirit, gallant inuention, vtrietie of matter, and orderlie disposition, and couched in frame of such apt words without superfluitie, eloquent phrase, and fine conceipt, with interchange of deuise, so delightfull to the reader, and pleasant to the hearer, as nothing could be taken out to amend it, or added to it that would not impaire it, as few works of like subiect hath beene either of some more earnestlie sought, choislie kept, nor placed in better place, and amongest better iewels than that was; so that a speciall deere freend he should be that could haue a sight, but much more deere that could once obteine a copie of it. Which his so happie and fortunat beginnings so amplie set out both his sufficiencie for the publike, and what he can doo in exercise priuat, that manie mens eies are drawen into exceeding hope and expectation of his speedie further aduancement, which to the honor of himselfe and his house I dailie praie for, and most heartilie wish him.

His Arcadia.

An additament.

¶ This note you find here before set downe, touching sir Philip Sidneie, being a member of the discourse made of his father, was brought and deliuered to the impression before there was either speech, or could be no imagination of his fatall end, which soone after happened: who for that he was reckoned for his modestie, courtesie, affabilitie, and other speciall vertues, amongest the verie prime gentlemen for his yeares that this age hath bred, or our countrie affoorded; and so complet a man to euerie perfection, as the memorie of him ought not to be forgotten, I haue entred the note verbatim, without adding or altering as it came first to my hands.

Nihil laudabilius, nihil magno & præclaro viro dignius placibilitate, & quasi ornatus vitæ est temperantia & modestia.

Lord gouernor of Vlissingen, commonlie called Flushing.

This right worthie, and thrise renowmed knight sir Philip Sidneie lord gouernor of Vlissingen, hauing spent some time in hir maiesties seruice in the low countries, with great honor, speciall credit, and estimation; and withall, hauing obteined by his vertue, valor, and great policie such an entrie of entire good will, trust, and authoritie with the states, as his counsels and persuasions could much more preuaile and worke singular effect with them than anie one mans could doo in anie cause whatsouer that happened to fall in question or debate amongst them: therefore

therefore earnestlie following the course he then tooke in hand for the aduancement of that seruice, and to win fame (the onelie marke true nobilitie either dooth or ought to leuell at) he imbarked himselfe at Vlissingen, accompanied onelie with three thousand footmen, and bending his course to Axell, which lieth in the countie of Flanders, vsed both such diligence and secrecie in this expedition, as he surprised the towne, before they could haue intelligence of his comming, without losse or hurt of anie one of his companie. By meanes whereof, the forts and sconses there neere abouts adioining, being striken vpon the sudden into such a feare and amazement, as doubting some further perils to them intended, than anie at the present well appeared; voluntarilie and simplie gaue themselues and their holds into his hands, and yeelded to his disposition and mercie. And so after he had well refreshed himselfe and his companie in this towne he had thus new taken, he departed thense, and remained in the countrie not far off, ten or twelue daies next following, till he had vittelled the same and put in a garrison, and left monsieur Pernon there gouernor.

He surprised Axell in Flanders.

Now in the meane time of his staie attending these seruices (and because he would alwaies be occupied in some honorable action) he brake a sluse, forced a trench, and cut out a banke, that made such an open passage and entrance into the sea, as since it hath drowned and destroied the whole countrie (being well neere now worne into a channell) the same hauing beene the best and most fertill soile in those parts, and far exceeding anie territorie neere thereabouts, to so great a preiudice and annoiance of the enemie, as by common and well grounded opinion, neither by sluse, or lightlie anie other draine or deuise, that countrie can possiblie be recouered or regained. And this enterprise was atchiued without making head or other offer of offence, inuasion, or resistance by Mondragon, who was of purpose imploied with sufficient force to defend the countrie, and to haue impeached all these attempts and actions.

He drowned the countrie by making an entrie into the sea.

No resistance made by Mondragon.

Moreouer, his aduise for the seruice intended at Grauelin, (dissenting in opinion from others, who were thought the most expert capteins and best renowmed and sorted soldiors) gaue such a sufficient proofe of his excellent wit, policie, and ripe iudgement; as his onelie act and counsell, with the losse of a verie few of his companie, wrought all their safeties, which otherwise by treacherie had beene most likelie to haue beene intrapped. And so consequentlie going forward in other seruices, at an incounter with the enimie not far from Sutphen, where he that daie most valiantly serued (for he bare the inuincible mind of an ancient woorthie Romane, who euer where he came made account of victorie) he receiued hurt by a musket shot a little aboue the left knee, which so brake and rifted the bone, and so entered the thigh vpward towards the bodie, as the bullet could not be found before his bodie was opened. Of which hurt notwithstanding he liued (though in great paine and extreame torment) six and twentie daies following, and died the seuenteenth daie of October betweene two and three of the clocke in the afternoone at Arnam in Gelderland. By whose vntimelie death (to the hartie and inward sorow of manie) in the most florishing and prime time of his yeares (for he was scarslie complet one and thirtie yeares old) there is presented vnto vs a verie rare example, and that in no common case; that father, mother, and sonne (in line of bloud and societie in that neerenesse, as none can be neerer) should come to their fatall ends and fall of name and familie, within the compasse of lesse than six moneths: and that each died so far off by distance of place one from another, as where they died they were but strangers, where by birth and propertie they could pretend no interest. Whereby we maie note a notable lesson to our good (though in this example we be taught to our griefe) the variablenesse

Grauelin.

His hurt at the incounter neere Sutphen.

The daie of the death of sir Philip Stonele.

Prima societas est in ipso conaingio, proxima in liberis.

A state for three liues soone determined.

of fickle fortune, and the small securitie in all humane and worldlie things whatsoeuer: Et quid Deus solus est in omnibus suspiciendus.

Wierus of Elaue a learned physician.

The night before he departed, leaning vpon a pillow in his bed, he wrote a line or two by waie of letter to Wierus, a verie expert and learned physician, to praie him to come vnto him. And because it maie thereby the better appeare, how sound and perfect he remained in sense and memorie (notwithstanding his most extreame griefe and paine) till he rendered his debt to nature; I thought it not inconuenient in this last place to remember: Mi Wiere veni, veni, de vita periclitor, & te cupio; nec viuus nec mortuus ero ingratus; plura non possum, sed obnixè te oro vt festines. Vale. Tuus P. Sidneius.

Not manie daies before he sent these few words here before recited, he wrote a large epistle to Belerius a learned diuine, in verie pure and eloquent Latine (in like sort as manie times he had doone before to some great ones (vpon occasions) and to others of learning and qualitie) the copie whereof was not long after, for the excellencie of the phrase, and pithinesse of the matter, brought to hir maiesties view. And surelie rare he was, aswell in that kind, as in manie other qualities of equall raritie. Yea most rare and rarest vndoubtedlie he would haue prooued, if so it might haue pleased God to haue left us so rare a iewell of vertue and courtesie. A testimonie of diuerse most famous and lerned men, who had him in speciall liking and admiration, allow him no lesse than I write of him. And amongst others, here I will remember Henrie Stephans in his epistle before his Greeke testament dedicated vnto him, who writeth thus: Factum est enim nescio quomodo, vt quibus te videre & tua consuetudine frui datum fuit interuallis, magis ac magis propensam meam in te voluntatem senserim. Heydelbergæ primùm videre te mihi contigit, aliquanto pòst Argentorati: longo pòst tempore, Viennæ Austriæ: sed Argentorati magna facta est accessio ad illum amorem quo te Heydelbergæ prosequebar: Viennæ rursum, is etiam quo te Argentorati prosequutus fueram, magnum incrementum cepit. Nec mirum sanè meum illum in te amorem ita creuisse, quum tuæ, quæ eum excitauerant ingenij dotes, non parum creuisse viderentur. Atque vtinam crescere non desinant, donec talis tantúsque euaseris, vt tuæ etiam Angliæ celebritas incrementum à te accipiat.

Omnis virtus nos ad se allicit, facitque vt diligamus eos in quibus inesse videatur, tamen iustitia & liberalitas id maxime efficit.

He greatlie abounded in sundrie good vertues, which euer, where he came, procured him loue, but chieflie in iustice and liberalitie (a woorthie and most speciall note in a gouernor) which gained him heartie loue coupled with fame and honor. For the which especiallie, those vnder his late charge and gouernment so greatlie loued, esteemed, honored, and in a sort adored him, when he was aliue; as they had made earnest meanes and intreatie to haue his bodie remaine there still with them for memorie when he was dead; and promised, that (if they might obteine it) to erect for him as faire a monument as anie prince had in christendome, yea though the same should cost halfe a tun of gold the building. As his life was most worthie; so his end was most godlie. The loue men bare him had left fame behind him, his friendlie courtesie to many procured him good will of all. God hath taken him, we hope to his comfort; we haue lost him, we feele to our greefe: his diuine will is doone, our humane minds must be satisfied, and humblie wish (for it were a presumption to hope) to haue his life. For he had that great care and regard to the conseruation of his fame and honour entire, when he was gone; that he had made a most bountifull and liberall will, which if the same be performed according to his simple, sincere, and good meaning; it will appeare he died not indebted to anie, neither to those that were neere his person, familiars, or domesticks, nor to anie other he was indebted vnto by bond or borrowing, nor otherwise in credit for wares or merchandize, or in other degree whatsouer, he

His bountifull will.

had

had to treat or deale with him in; yea not so much as for common courtesie and goodwill: but he ordered and appointed him satisfaction, and honorable contentment. His bodie was most honorablie conueied from Arnam to London, where it remained at the Minories certeine daies, and from thense brought and remooued to the place of his interrement; where with great solemnitie and funerall honor, amongst the monuments of his most renowmed parents and woorthie ancestors, he was buried.

And here behold the end of two worthie persons, who for that their deuises answered in a sort the state of both their fortunes, I thinke it not impertinent in this place to speake of. The father bare for deuise, placed vnder his armes: Quo me fata vocant, applieng the same to his good hap in his yoonger yeares when fortune smiled, and time and friends flattered, and none more accounted of and esteemed than he. The sonne, suspecting future haps, and not trusting ouer much in present fortune, bare for his deuise, placed in like maner vnder his armes: Vix ea nostra voco: signifieng thereby, that he would not call those his owne, which he knew not how worthie he was to beare, nor how long he should inioie and keepe them; sith that both states and persons are subiect to time and mutation, as by his vntimelie death appeared. And albeit this was his last word and deuise, which accompanied his funerall; yet not sealed before as occasion fell out, and as time wrought alteration in his deepe and noble conceipt, at iusts, torneis, triumphs, and other such roiall pastimes (for at all such disports he commonlie made one) he would bring in such a liuelie gallant shew, so agreeable to euerie point, which is required for the expressing of a perfect deuise (so rich he was in those inuentions) as if he surpassed not all, he would equall or at least second the best. Wherein (as he rightlie deserued) he euer gained singular commendation.

Their words and deuises.

There are fiue speciall points required in euerie deuise to be perfect.

There grew some diuersitie of opinion (amongst their well affected friends) in one point of comparison touching the helps of nature, that were distinctlie placed in them both. Some gaue commendation to the father for his gallant toong, and others to the sonne for his readie pen: both were rare gifts in them both, and both two gifts placed in both. And when some of the fathers familiars would tell him, how men were of opinion that he could nothing so well frame his mind in writing, as he could delieuer the same in speaking: he would saie that it seemed so onelie to them, that neuer heard him read his owne letters.

The father commended for his toong, and the sonne for his pen.

He left (besides his other fatherlie blessings and liberalitie for increase of patrimonie) to his yoonger sonnes, that happie and rich inheritance Cicero so highlie commendeth; whose words here I will recite, for better impression of the matter hereafter in their minds to whom of right it apperteineth. Optima autem hæreditas à patribus traditur liberis, omnique patrimonio præstantior gloria virtutis rerúmque gestarum, cui dedecori esse nefas & vitium iudicandum est.

The happie inheritance he left to his yoonger sons.

And thus far goodwill hath led me, and dutie bound me, to remember and commend these two noble and worthie persons the father and sonne, as perfect examples for vs to follow (for they now dwell too far off to heare their owne praises) who as when they liued, the one I long and faithfullie serued, the other I deerlie loued and greatlie honored, euen from his yoonger and tender yeares: so in regard of mine owne meane fortune, albeit I must acknowledge it my great mishap and verie heauie crosse (almost at one instant) to loose two such noble patrons and furtherers of my good and benefit, on whome onelie I depended, and to whome wholie I had dedicated my good will and humble seruice: yet in respect of them now departed, to whome both dutie and courtesie bindeth me to wish and praie all happinesse (for seeking their fauors and good wils aliue with diligence: reason willeth me to esteeme their images dead with reuerence) this consideration then

Blessed are the dead from hense-forth, now saith the spirit, that they rest from their labors.

greatlie stirreth me vp to exceeding comfort to speake in saint Iohns words: Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur; amodò iam dicit spiritus, vt requiescant à laboribus suis: opera enim illorum sequuntur illos. Who as in their liues they had great honors, ample credit and authoritie heaped vpon them, the better to grace them amongst vs; so being departed hense from vs, noble fame and good report soundeth foorth both their praises euerie where to accompanie their memories, to dwell and remaine still euer fresh and liuelie florishing with us. And they haue (by the scale of their vertues) atteined (I hope) the highest type and degree of honor (which all men in this world should mightlie contend for) which is the crowne of eternall life, wherewith (I trust) they be now both decked and crowned in great glorie, ioy, blessednesse, and eternitie. And here to end the memorie of them, it shall not be amisse, to record an epitaph made and published, for the perpetuating of the name of sir Henrie Sidneie, neuer sufficientlie commended.

¶ IN MORTEM ILLUSTRISSIMI VIRI DOMINI

Henrici Sydnei, Edwardi sexti in Galliam, Mariæ in Hispaniam, & serenissimæ nostræ reginæ Elisabethæ in Galliam & Scotiam, legati, aureæ periscelidis & Sancti Georgij equitis aurati, vicémque olim regiæ maiestatis Hiberniæ ter gerentis, & Walliæ 26 annis præsidis & regiæ maiestatis à concilijs: Henricus Dillon.

LVMINIBUS mentis perlustrans sæpe studebam,
Paruum quàm filum cuncta caduca tenet:
Sic enim multis tribuit fortuna secunda,
Sic donat multos ista nouerca malis.
Insula nostra dijs superis inuisa videtur,
Fortunæ lapsu labitur illa simul.
Nullus patronus fidus, nec verus amicus,
Quin subito casu morte ruente perit.
Clarius hoc luna monstrat dignissimus ille
Sydneus Henricus, nominis ille decor.
Qui nos protector viuax defendit & autor,
Qui fuerat patriæ, spésque salúsque suæ.
Ter patriam curua petijt comitante carina,
Aduentus dignus laubibus ille fuit.
Palladis imbutus musis hic armipotentis,
Hostes imperio se dedidere suo.
Legibus instituit priùs armis omnia vinci,
Legibus expulsis attamen arma tulit.
Hostes sub pedibus calcauit Marte feroce,
Sedibus in summis constituítque bonos.
Henrici virtus valuit plus omnibus armis,
Aspectu primo quisquis amaret eum.
Ostendit vultu naturæ dona sereno,
Verbis erexit docta Minerua virum.
Constans & lenis minimè permobilis ira,
In bello nullis ille secundus erat.
Dapsilis in cunctos, ratio tamen omnia rexit,
Qui vulgi famam spreuit habere leuis.

In patriam tandem cursu felice reuersus,
E medio lapsus culmina summa rapit.
Wallicus en consul superis præconia fudit,
Magna sic pompa terra tegebat eum.

Laus Deo.

Sustulit è sacro me nudum fonte poëtam
Henricum Dillon Sydneus ipse manu.

IOANNES CAWELL IN EUNDEM.

MOTIBUS aduersis versatur machina rerum,
Quolibet & moles voluitur ista breui.
Gignitur instanti quod crescit tempore longo
Diuersas formas inde subire studet.
Culmine fatali sensim deflectitur ipsum,
Interitus falcat lubrica fata sua.
Illis inseritur porro motùsque localis,
Omnes amplexu continet ipse suo.
Sydneus his heros faustum produxerat æuum,
Fluctibus & nullis exagitatus erat.
Summis hic attauis cretus natione Britannus
Extendit stirpem viribus ille suam.
Posthabuit partum semper sectando decorum,
Maiorum laudes auxit honore suo.
Musarum teneros studio deuouerat annos
Auspicijs miris inde beatus erat.
Quæstor fiscalis signatus munere primo,
Térque vicem regis gessit amore loci.
Per multos præses regnauit Wallicus annos,
Distribuens æquè iura cuique sua.
Aurati fulgens equitis signitus honore,
Consilio princeps illius vsa fuit.
Tantum vitali filo decreuerat heros
In partes totum soluitur omne suas.
Sicque nouis corpus formis transfertur ad vnum,
Pars terrena perit, cœlica forma manet.
Nobilis Henricus Mæcenas verus amicis,
Hostibus armatus sæuus habendus erat.
Wallia læsa iacet, casus & Hibernia plorat,
Vertitur in luctus regia tota domus.
Ipse baro Dillon consultum iure dolebat,
Soluitur in lachrymas nocte diéque suas.
Quorsum sic lugent, cum Sydneus alta petebat?
Turpi pro mundo sydera pura tenet.

Laus Deo.

Now to leaue matters of the dead, and to touch affairs of the liuing, somewhat out of place in respect of the moneth; but occurring in the same yeare (which, preposterous

preposterous course could not for the present time be auoided, but hereafter maie be redressed) you shall vnderstand, that not long after the beginning of Hilarie terme in this present yeare 1586, for foure seuerall respects well worthie the remembrance, and therevpon breefelie to be put downe in this historie, there did befall this accident that hereafter followeth. It so being, that one Thomas Louelace late of Staple Inne gentleman, had diuerse waies so wilfullie behaued himselfe toward maister Leonard Louelace esquier, his neere kinsman, as that the said Leonard Louelace was inforced to attempt a sute of waste against the said Thomas which being in course of law ordered for the plaintife: yet did the said plaintife offer verie fauourable conditions to the defendant, hauing long time beene by so manie malicious practises pursued by his said kinsman, as he deserued to find no fauor at all the plantifes hands. But yet so deeplie had an old cankered and inueterat hatred possessed the heart of this defendant, that these new fauours towards him could nothing mollifie or remoone the same. Which vngracious humor, hauing long boiled in his vnquiet brest, he conceiueth this course to put it on foot, sounding in the highest degree of danger, to the liues and persons of his two neerest kinsmen, and pestilent to their whole posteritie.

Thomas Louelace treacherouslie sought to spoile his neerest kinsmen of their liues to haue his lands, by example of T. S. who before had sought to spoile his eldest brother of his life, after he had defrauded him of his goods and cattels, and was neuer punished therefore.

For considering with himselfe, that the late laws of king Henrie the eight doo giue vnto the crowne the lands and possessions of tenants intaile atteinted of treason, so long as there be anie issues remaining vnder the same estate intaile; and weighing with himselfe, that the plaintife in the foresaid sute might by his verie late mariage be likelie to haue children (during whose liues he could by no colerable meanes make himselfe waie to the whole inheritance of his said cousin) he now obserueth it to be the onelie due season, aswell to cut off his kinsman from his life, and all other things which we hold pretious in this world, as to make himselfe capable of all his lining, by colour of a remaindor limited vnto him and his line by the will of one Iohn Louelace esquier. For full accomplishment of which intent, because the life of maister Richard Louelace, next brother to the plaintife, was a barre to one part of his purpose; he calleth him likewise within the compasse of the same danger, and frameth his drift after this manner.

Considerations wise enough, if they had beene accordinglie vsed and applied.

A third brother of the plaintifes, desirous of seeing the vniversities abrode for the studie of the ciuill law, and being latelie notised to haue beene professed in religion there; from him he deriueth the groundworke of his desperate deuise, counterfeiting letters to come from the third brother to the plaintife, and the said maister Richard Louelace; which letters did set forth an intent of most dangerous treasons against hir maiesties most gratious person, whereof the plaintife was put downe to be the compasser, and the said maister Richard Louelace the executioner. When it was compacted betweene the defendant, and a certeine lewd fellow, who was before manie waies beholding to maister Leonard Louelace, that he hauing access without suspicion, should either leaue these letters in the plaintifes studie, or else bestow them vnseene in some other place; which being so doone, there should be no time left by the defendant for such present proceeding as such causes required. But maister Leonard Louelace, being gone from his London lodging before this messenger came, he returning homeward, and not well aduised what to doo, thought better to hazard the successe of his message, than to seeme to doo nothing at all; and therefore not far from Grauesend, did suffer the same letters to fall from him, as was sufficientlie perceiued by an honest poore man, who was not far off about the topping of a tree.

Note the manner of his drift.

These letters were presentlie taken up by a boy, who was by the said fellow allured by monie, to make deliuerie according to their direction. This boy being seruant in a vitteling house, did carrie them home and cast them vpon a cupboord as papers spotted with mire and of no valure. There comming that night a waifaring

Note how God will haue lewd dealing and ill meaning reuealed.

faring man, did esteeme of them accordinglie, and carrieng them to an house of office, going ouer a few lines, did find them to conteine a dangerous intention of most weightie importance; and therevpon carried them to the lord Cobham, who with requisit speede directed the same to the lords of the councell. Who according to the qualitie of the cause, hauing in their due respect of preseruing hir highnesses safetie, a verie honorable care ouer the gentlemens good fame and credit who were to be touched in so foule a cause: whose former good course of life had cleared them from anie slender suspicion of so great a villanie, as the lord Cobham had likewise before informed: they therevpon thought good to refer the ordering of this so strange a case to the lord treasuror; who for his great wisdome was likelie soone to discerne (for his most tender well wishing of hir highnesse well dooing) and most speedilie to preuent all danger; and for his singular zeale to iustice, to deale indifferentlie with the parties in question.

The lord treasuror in the absence of maister Leonard Louelace, hauing called before him maister Richard Louelace; and being by him informed of such sensible circumstances, as did directlie induce his lordship to be of opinion, that all this villanous practise should proceed from the defendant, he in courteous and honorable manner, without baile, bond, or maineprise, did dismisse the said maister Richard Louelace to his owne libertie: and did giue present direction for the apprehension of the defendant, and other his complices; who as vpon his comming before their honors, did by manie aduised oths make colourable purgation of this obiected action; so yet by some amazednesse of his countenance, and by certeine repugnances in his owne answers, he left a more setled suspicion that it should be his dooing. Wherevpon the lord treasuror well regarding and perusing the letter, and finding by the close touching and setting together of the same, that although the indicter lacked not a malicious kind of learning; that yet in his orthographie there were certeine such slips committed, as by a custome of negligent writing were likelie to grow into an habit with him. Those verie words did his lordship interlace vnder the forme of another matter, and had him to write the same; who keeping his former custome, did verie iustlie fulfill his lordships expectation. Which being well conceiued and compared with the former forme of letters, did seeme to haue some difference rather in policie than in substance: but the same slips and imperfections of orthographie did clearlie discouer the workeman of this whole matter.

The lord treasuror had the discussing and sifting out of the matter.

The conclusion of the former points premised in the beginning, must be this short aduertisement of good substance. First, to what desperat dispositions and most inhumane actions, that cankered humor of malice driueth them vnto, whome it hath deepelie touched and attached. Secondlie, how woonderfull is the working and goodnesse of God, in preseruing innocencie from the most dangerous and subtill drifts of the aduersarie. Thirdlie, how profitable it is to those countries and commonwealths, where the councellors doo rather seeke with sharpenesse of iudgement to discerne and discouer the qualities and causes, before they applie the princes displeasure, or the heauie burthen of laws to the first appearance of anie suggestions. Lastlie, how necessarie it is to the good estate of gouernments, that iustice be dulie deliuered: which in this case was in so due and honorable manner performed, vpon the hearing of the cause before the lords in the star chamber; as that the posteritie to come maie from thense fetch a right fruitfull president, to take head of such odious practises. And now to set downe the matter according to the record: thus it followeth.

What we are to gather for our owne benefit, by the former declaration.

On this daie (to wit the eleuenth of Februarie) Thomas Louelace was brought to the bar, as a prisoner from the Tower; against whome hir maiesties attorneie generall did informe, that the same Louelace, vpon malice conceiued against Leo-

In camera stellata coram eisdem, 11 die Februa. anno 28 Elisabethæ regiæ.

nard Louelace and Richard Louelace his cousine germans, had most lewdlie, falslie, and diuelishlie, contriued and counterfeited with his owne hand, a verie traitorous letter in the name of Thomas Louelace, another brother of the said Richard and Leonard, now resident at Rome (as it is supposed) purporting in shew, that the same Thomas, now resident beyond the seas, should thereby incite and prouoke the said Leonard, to procure the said Richard his brother to worke and execute hir highnesse destruction, with manie more verie wicked and horrible circumstances of treason in the highest degree, specified in the same letter: as by the contents therof, which was this daie openlie read in court, most euidentlie appeared. And yet not so contented, either cast or let fall, or caused the same letter to be cast or let fall in the open high waie; pretending thereby, that vpon the discouerie thereof, his said kinsmen, Leonard and Richard, should be drawne in question for the treasonable matter against hir maiesties person in that letter conteined, euen in the highest degree. For which offense, hir maiesties said attorneie praied on the behalfe of her maiestie, that the said Thomas Louelace the prisoner might receiue condigne punishment.

Thomas Louelace condignlie punished by iudgement of the honorable court in the star chamber: a notable and praise worthie example of iustice, the like whereof is to be wished to the like offendor.

Herevpon the court demanded of the said Louelace what answer he could make to the said accusation. Who immediatelie confessing his said lewd and diuelish offense, to be by him committed, in such manner and forme as is before expressed, humblie submitted himselfe, and praied the fauor of this honorable court. Whereupon the court had therefore conuicted him thereof, by the full and whole consent of all the persons there sitting: and haue adiudged him to suffer such corporall punishment and imprisonment, as hereafter followeth. That is to saie: that he shall be remitted to the Tower from whense he came, that he shall be caried on horssebacke about Westminster hall with his face to the horsse taile, and with a paper on his backe, wherein shall be written these words: For counterfeiting of false and trecherous letters against his owne kindred, conteining most traitorous matter against her maiesties person: and from thense shall be carried in that manner, and set on the pillorie here in the palace at Westminster, and there shall haue one of his ears cut off: and shall also be carried in like manner on horssebacke into London, and set on the pillorie on a market daie in Chepeside, with the like paper on his backe: and after that, shall be carried downe into Kent, and at the next assise there shall be set openlie in the pillorie, in the place where the assises shall be kept, with the like paper on his backe, and there sall haue his other eare cut off. And also that he shall be set on the pillorie one market daie in Canturburie, and one other market daie at Rochester in the said countie of Kent, with the like paper on his backe (as afore said) at either of the same places. And it is further ordered, that in euerie of the foresaid places, where he shall stand on the pillorie, the order taken by this honorable oourt, touching his said offense and punishment, shall be openlie read and published. Thus far the record, the sentence whereof was dulie executed.

An offensiue sermon at Pauls crosse.

Upon sundaie being the sixt daie of March 1586, the preacher appointed to supplie the place at Paules crosse failed therein: by occasion whereof, one George Closse (a preacher of the citie) was procured to supplie his roome that was absent, and in his sermon intreating vpon iustice, reprooued the maior of London particularlie being there present, for shuffling vp a cause (as he termed it) that came before him; and whereat the said Closse was also present the fridaie before he preached. Herevpon grew much varietie of talke and rumors amongst the people coniecturing and scanning diuerslie vpon the cause. And the daie following, the maior, aldermen, and the councell of the citie entered into consultation about it; and vpon tuesdaie, the preacher was warned to answer the cause before the maior, aldermen, and councell of the citie, in the Guildhall. Where, after much

debating of the matter, it was finallie concluded, that certeine of the aldermen of the citie, with the recorder, should commense complaint hereof before the archbishop of Canturburie. And in the afternoone the same daie, it was ordered by the archbishop and other his collegues in causes ecclesiasticall; that because the said Closse had delt so particularlie against the magistrate, he should be inioined to preach in the same place againe the 27 daie of March following (being Palme-sundaie) and in his sermon should make his submission, which the common people called a recantation.

The preacher is troubled for his sermon, and vrged to a submission commonlie termed a recantation.

In the meane space were dispersed sundrie rumors and great diuersities of reports of the matter, and great expectation of the daie appointed. And at the daie and place prefixed was gathered such an assemblie and concourse of people, as by estimation had not beene seene there at anie rehersall sermon. This confluence of people grew the greater, for that the preacher who supplied the said place the verie next sundaie following, did intimat to the people (commanded so to doo) that the said Closse, whose sermon was offensiuelie taken, as tending against the chiefe magistrate, was verie sorie for that which he had doone; and was to signifie no lesse vpon Palmesundaie insuing in another sermon, which he was appointed to make in forme of submission. Now by the waie of parenthesis, before we come to shew how the said Closse did acquite himselfe; we are to declare, that vpon the same sundaie, that this inioined submission was imparted to the people, there stood before the preacher at Pauls crosse, in the verie eie of the multitude, a most heinous malefactor in a white sheet, with a rod of about halfe a yard long in his hand, and about his head a paper fastened, with the inscription of the offense for the which he did penance. This lewd fellow (hauing a wife) did notwithstanding for the space of fiue yeares past, keepe in his house an harlot or strumpet vnder the name of his maid, whose bodie he vnlawfullie vsed; insomuch that she bare him certeine bastards, which in time were made awaie and murthered, this horrible deed still remaining undisclosed; vntill the last whome she bare and slue, which was then bewraied, and she of the fact by course of law orderlie conuinced, was executed at Tiborne the last sessions next before the publication hereof by the preacher.

A fowle offendor, or heinous malefactor did penance at Pauls crosse, his companion hauing beene executed at Tiborne not long before.

Now (saith the preacher) although the law haue acquited this heinous malefactor, and released him from the gallows: yet is it not likelie that he can be excuseable from priuitie in the offense. For it cannot be, but that as he was not, nor could be ignorant of the harlots being with child; so must he needs know what became of them after their procreation and bringing foorth into the world. Neuerthelesse (saith the preacher) although he haue escaped the like execution as his fellow offendor hath suffered: yet except he doo hartilie repent, and be inwardlie sorie for the same, he is certeine to hang in hell fier. In signification therefore of his heartie repentance, he was inioined to make open confession of his fault, the forme whereof was deliuered in writing to the preacher, he reading it, and the offendor saieng after him the same, with as lowd a voice as conceiued shame for so greeuous a trespasse would admit.

The offendor openlie confesseth his fault with a lowd voice.

Now vpon this repentance and confession, the preacher tooke occasion to aggrauat the dangerous sinne of fornication and adulterie, shewing by sundrie examples what punishments haue beene inflicted vpon offendors in that kind, by the laws of diuerse nations: as of the Tartars, Turks, Iews and Aegyptians, &c: some stripping the man that was giltie, starke naked in sight of the people, who receiued a thousand yerks vpon his flesh: the woman had hir nose cut off, and so liued with a perpetuall note of infamie, bearing a visible badge of hir former lewd life. Among others it was sentenced by law, that the wife offending, should be stripped naked, and whipped from street to street, euen of hir owne husband; who was appointed the executioner of that punishment. This fault was likewise reuenged,

Laws for adulterie and fornication sharplie executed.

with stoning to death, and other corporall smarts and torments; all which shew how odious a sinne it is, both in the sight of God and man.

How people are affected in hearing of Gods word, and therefore no maruell though vnfruitfull.

Hauing waded so far in the argument, the preacher spake verie honorablie of the dignitie of mariage, and against the frequented vice of vsurie, whereof he deliuered examples verie dreadfull, intending an amendment of that enormitie. And imputing the lacke and neglect of forbearing to sinne, vnto the idle hearing of the word; the preacher shewed that some hearers there are, who after they haue heard their lewd liues vehementlie inueighed against, for a moment of time entring into a consideration of the horror of the same, go home, seeme some what sorowfull; and for one, two, or three daies appeare verie forwards and towards in reformation. On the first daie they can saie, Gloria patri; on the second, Et filio; on the third, Et spiritui sancto: but on the fourth, Sicut erat in principio; and so they become as bad as they were in the beginning; naie much woorse, and so continue to their latter ending. Thus much by waie of interposition, touching that sundaies worke, being a note none of the worst in the booke, and maie doo much good by Gods grace, if it be well marked and throughlie thought vpon.

The report of George Closses matter continued.

And now to returne to the continuation of the report of the said Closse, who during the time of respiration, furnished himselfe for the place which he was appointed to supplie, and for the time of expectation now approching and at length present. When and where (as aforsaid) thousands were gathered together of each age and sex; some comming to see, some to heare, and some to obserue what was said and doone. The most part of the maiors officers, the children of the hospitals, and manie other were there, to write and take notes of the sermon. Besides, there were six preachers appointed to heare the sermon, and to certifie how he discharged his designement. During the time of the sermon was vsed great silence, but much and secret whisperings, strange countenances, often lookings to and fro of the people, and some intercourse of speech among the aldermen, especiallie when the preacher entred his discourse of the matter of expectation; wherein he made report of the whole cause as it had passed before the maior, alleging sundrie reasons diuine and humane, which had mooued him in his former sermon to deale so particularlie.

The preachers sermon is noted.

The matter of expectation.

In conclusion, the sermon finished, the auditorie departed with generall approbation and applause to the preacher, and the maior with greater discontentment: insomuch as after Easter, when the sermons at the spittle and other businesse was ouerpassed; the maior by his brethren renewed a further complaint before the archbishop of Canturburie. But in the meane space, the said Closse had obteined from the archbishop and others his collegues of the ecclesiasticall commission, sentence of dismission from further molestation touching this cause; vpon a certificat made from the six preachers before mentioned, whereof there were three doctors, and three bachellors in diuinitie, which had made report vnto the bishop of London (according to the appointment touching the sermon) that the said Closse had fullie in all good sort satisfied the order of the archbishop: so as the complaint and accusation of the maior could not be anie further admitted. Then was the matter complained of vnto the lords of the priuie councell, and a commission granted by them to haue the cause further examined.

Further complaint renewed against the preacher, who is dismissed from further molestation.

The matter brought before the councell, and ordered by commissioners.

Commissioners were appointed by the councell, three ecclesiasticall persons, and fiue temporall lawiers, namelie the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of London, and the bishop of Salisburie; the lord chiefe iustice of the common plees, the maister of the rols, the lord chiefe baron, the queenes attorneie generall, and the maister of saint Katharins. The cause being heard vpon articles preferred and answered, it was finallie thought conuenient by the commissioners, vpon conference with both parties, to draw them to a priuat reconciliation; wherevnto after the preacher

preacher had assented, the maior would in no wise accept it: but vrged a certificat to be made to the councell, and after some suspense of his request, at last he obteined of the bishop of London, and others of the temporall commissioners, a certificat to be made, and the matter was continued in suspense till his maioraltie was expired. A priuat reconciliation of the partie offended and offending intended.

This yeare on the seuenteenth daie of March, a strange thing happened, the like whereof before hath not beene heard of in our time. Maister Dorrington of Spaldwike in the countie of Huntington esquier, one of hir maiesties gentlemen pensioners, had a great horsse that died suddenlie; and being ripped to see the cause of his death, there was found in the hole of the heart of the same horsse a strange worme, which laie in a round heape in a kall or skin, of the bignesse of a tode, which being taken out and spred abrode, was in forme the fashion not easie to be described in words, but in picture. The length of this worme diuided into manie grains, to the number of fiftie, spred from the bodie like the branches of a tree, was from the snowt to the end of the longest graine seuenteene inches; hauing foure issues in the grains, from whense dropped foorth a red water. The bodie in bignesse round about was three inches and a halfe, the colour whereof was like vnto a mackerell. This monstrous worme found in maner aforesaid, cralling to haue got awaie, was stabbed in with a dagger and died: which after being dried, was shewed to manie honorable personages of this realme. A strange worme found in a horsse heart.

In the sessions of oier and terminer holden at London in the iustice hall, on the eightéenth daie of Aprill, William Tomson aliàs Blackeborne, made priest at Reims in France by the authoritie of the bishop of Rome, and remaining within this realme after the terme of fortie daies after the session of the last parlement, was condemned of treason. Also Richard Lea aliàs Long, made priest at Laon in France (as aforesaid) and remaining here in this realme after the terme aforesaid, was likewise here condemned for treason: which said William and Thomas, were both on the twentith daie of Aprill drawne to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, according as they before had receiued iudgement. Seminarie priests executed at Tiborne.

At a great session holden in a towne of Kent called Feuersham, being a towne incorporat, and a lim or member of Douer; vpon the nineteenth daie of Aprill, in the yeare one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six, before Thomas Barning, then maior of the same towne, and others; Ione Cason late the wife of one Freeman, was accused, attached, indicted, and arreigned for witchcraft; but condemned and adiudged to die, and executed for inuocating of wicked spirits, according to a statute made In. 5. Elisa. ca. 2. for that she, the statute aforesaid not at all regarding, vpon the first of Aprill, in the seuen and twentith yeare of queene Elisabeth, and at diuerse daies and times since, the art of witchcraft and inchantment had vsed, and vpon wicked spirits had inuocated and called, contrarie to the peace of our souereigne ladie the queene; and namelie that she the second of Februarie in the eight and twentith yeare of queene Elisabeth, had bewitched Iane Cooke of the age of three yeares, who by hir inchantment languished and died. Herevpon seuen women and one man gaue euidence against hir, who though they were all verie poore people, yet were they the rather admitted to accuse hir, for that they were hir neere neighbors, and hir offense verie odious. The note of *Iohn Waller* concerning the arreignement of a witch.

The first and principall deposition was made by Sara Cooke, mother to the bewitched child in these words following (that is to saie) that after hir said child had beene sicke, languishing by the space of thirteene daies, a trauellor came into hir house, to the end to drinke a pot of ale (for she kept an alehouse) who seeing the lamentable case and pitious griefe of the child, called hir vnto him saieng; Hostesse, I take it that your child is bewitched. Wherevnto she answered, that she for hir The euidence of Sara Cooke against Iohn Cason.

part knew of no such matter. Well (said the ghest) if you thinke it to be so, doo no more but take a tile from ouer the lodging of the partie suspected, and laie it in a hot fier: and if she haue bewitched the child, the tile will sparkle and flie round about the cradle where the child lieth. Now she, conceiuing that trauellors haue good experience in such matters, did steale (as she deposed) a tile from the house of the said Ione Cason (though not from ouer hir lodging) and laied it in the fier besides the cradle, which soone after sparkled about the house, euen according to her said ghests information. And within short space, the saide Ione (being the suspected partie) came into this deponents house, to see how the child did, which (soone after hir comming) looked full in her face, and had not lifted vp hir eie, nor looked abrode all the night precedent; but within foure houres after died: so as by the circumstance of that euidence, she thought it might plainelie appeare to the iurie, that the said Ione had bewitched hir child to death. Neuerthelesse, the prisoner did absolutelie denie anie thing doone, or purposed by hir to haue beene doone in this behalfe.

A pretie point of witchcraft.

Howbeit, to pursue this matter to proofe, and hir to death, the other seuen persons were all deposed; by whome it was affirmed constantlie and approued manifestlie, that to the house of one Freeman (whose wife the said Ione Cason then was) not latelie but diuerse years since resorted a little thing like a rat (but more reddish) hauing a brode taile, which some of them had seene, and some had heard of. Insomuch as one heard it crie in the wall like a cricket, another like a rat, another like a tode, another that it ran vnder a tub, and spake these words (that is to saie) Go to, go to, go to. And it was further deposed by one goodwife Offild (the substantiallest person of them all) that hir cat could not kill it.

All these depositions were made and taken, to proue Ione Cason a witch; and consequentlie that she had through hir inchantments, and by the helpe of this vermin or spirit, killed the said Iane Cooke. But she (with great attestations) pleaded not giltie, alleging diuerse matters and instances of the malicious dealings of hir aduersaries against hir, reciting also certeine controuersies betwixt hir and them, wherein they had doone hir open wrong. But although she satisfied the bench and all the iurie touching hir innocencie for the killing of hir child, denieng also that she had anie skill in the art of witchcraft; she then and there confessed, that a little vermin, being of colour reddish, of stature lesse than a rat, and furnished with a brode taile, did diuerse yeares since (but not latelie) haunt her house, and manie other houses in the towne; and further, that she (as she imagined) heard it crie sometimes; Go to, go to, go to; sometimes, Sicke sicke; sometimes, Come, come. Whereby she gathered, that it charged hir to see hir maister Masons will performed; which she had not executed according to the confidence he had in hir; to the trouble of hir conscience, and vexation of hir mind. And yet she honestlie confessed, that he had the vse of hir bodie verie dishonestlie, whilest she was wife to hir husband Freeman.

Hir accusers hir professed enimies.

Vpon these foresaid depositions, and vpon this hir owne confession, the iurie was charged, went togither; and being loth to condemne hir of witchcraft (which they knew to be fellonie) they acquitted hir thereof, and found hir giltie vpon the said statute, for inuocation of wicked spirits; thinking therefore to haue procured her punishment by pillorie, or imprisonment, and to haue saued hir from the gallowes. So as when the verdict was giuen vp by the iurie to the maior and his brethren, sitting on their iudgement seat, togither with their learned counsell; the said maior vttered this speech following: (that is to saie) Ione Cason, for so much as it hath pleased God to shew such fauor this daie vnto you, as to put it into the hearts of the iurie, to acquite you of the fellonie, wherevpon you were arreigned; it behooueth you to render

The iurie meant well.

The first sentence of the maior of Fetersham.

render most humble thanks to God and the queene, and hereafter to beware that you giue no such occasions of offense againe. And you shall doo well, hense forwards to serue God better, and to resort to sermons oftener: whereby you maie learne your obedience to God, and your dutie to your neighbors.

A gentleman (being a lawier, and of counsell with the towne, sitting vpon the bench with the maior, to assist, or rather to direct him in the course of law and iustice) hearing this mild iudgement to proceed out of the maiors mouth, stept vnto him, and told him, that (vnder correction) he thought him to erre in the principall point of his sentence (that is to saie) that instead of life he should haue pronounced death; because inuocation of wicked spirits was made fellonie by the statute whereupon she was arreigned. Then (quoth the maior) goodwife Cason, you must be conueied from hense to the Whitehouse from whense you came, and from thense to the place of execution, where you must be hanged vntill you be dead; and so God haue mercie vpon you. The maiors second sentence.

Then was she carried back to their prison, which they call the White house. And because there was no matter of inuocation giuen in euidence against hir, nor proued in or by anie accusation, whereby the iurie might haue anie colour to condemne hir therfore: hir execution was staied by the space of three daies after iudgement was giuen. In the meane time, she was persuaded by sundrie preachers and learned men to confesse it. But no persuasion could preuaile, to make hir acknowledge anie other criminall offense, but hir lewd life and adulterous conuersation with one Mason, whose house she kept whilest he was in health, and whose person she tended whilest he was sicke; with whome she was conuersant at the houre of his death, mainteining his concupiscence all the daies of his life; and in the end abused the trust reposed in hir, touching the disposition of certeine bequests, which he made hir onelie priuie vnto. For he died of the plague, for feare of which infection none other durst repaire vnto him; so as she vsed that matter according to hir wicked conscience. In which respect, she said in hir confession vpon the gallowes (taking hir death that she died giltlesse herein) that the iudgement of God was in such measure laid vpon hir, and therewithall made so godlie and penitent an end, that manie now lamented hir death, which were (before) hir utter enimies. Yea some wished hir aliue after she was hanged, that cried out for the hangman when she was aliue: but she should haue beene more beholding vnto them that had kept hir from the gallowes, than to such as would haue cut the rope when she was strangled. Neuerthelesse, they extended to hir as much fauor herein, as their combarons of the ancient towne of Rie shewed to a neighbour of theirs named Foule. Which storie being not altogither impertinent, and certeinelie performed about the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fortie and seuen, I thought it not vnfit to be in this place inserted; especiallie, because both these townes are ruled by one kind of gouernement, for they are of the ports. Ione Casons confession. Ione Casons taketh hir death that she died giltlesse.

There haunted to the house of this Foule, in respect of the good will he bare to his wife, a little honest man, whose name I will not discouer, who committed vnto hir custodie a bag of monie, amounting to the sum of ten pounds stearling. Fouls wife locked it vp in hir cupboord. Howbeit, she handled not the matter so couertlie, but hir couert baron espied it, and (in hir absence) either picked or brake open the locke, and tooke out the monie; wherewith afterwards he plaied the good fellow all the daies of his life. For immediatlie his wife accused him (not of subtill dealing) but of plaine theft, regarding more hir friends losse, than hir husbands life. Herevpon, the maior of Rie (at the next sessions) caused him to be indicted and arreigned, and being conuinced of the fact, he was condemned and adiudged to death. For whose better execution, there was presentlie a new paire of gallowes erected, The storie of Foule of Rie, hanged for robbing his wife.

erected, wherevpon without further delaie he was hanged untill he was dead; which gallowes hath beene euer since called by the name of Fouls mare. And now he cared not so much for the maior, as the maior did for him. For Foule was skant cold, but manie murmured at the maiors hastie proceedings; which moued them to doubt and whisper, that Fouls fault was no fellonie.

Fouls mare.

But the maior (although it be said that portsmen maie tell their tale twise) could not now deuise, how (Foule being dead) he might reuerse this foule sentence. Neuerthelesse, he sent vp with all speed to one maister Ramseie of Greies Inne, who was of counsell with the towne, to learne what the law was in that case: who hauing fullie weied and conceiued thereof, told the partie directlie, that the matter was without the compasse of fellonie. Whie sir (quoth the messenger) goodman Foule is alreadie hanged. Goodman Foule (said he againe) whie came ye then to me for counsell? But what was he for a man (said maister Ramsie?) A bad fellow (said the messenger.) Well (quoth he) go thou thy waies home, and then there is but one knaue out of the waie. Such conclusions are manie times made in the ports, who sometimes vse the priuilege of their liberties, not as they ought, but as they list, seldome times applieng their authoritie to so good purposes as they might: for commonlie they vse more circumspection in their expenses, than in their sentences.

Counsell asked too late.

On sundaie the eight daie of Maie, an ambassador, namelie Henrie Ramelius, intituled Cancellarius Germanicus, arriued at the Tower of London. A gentleman he was of goodlie personage, somewhat corpulent, and of sanguine complexion: verie eloquent likewise and learned, not onelie in the knowledge of diuerse toongs, as Latine, French, Italian, and Germane; but also in diuerse sciences. He came in ambassage from Frederike the second of that name, king of Denmarke, vnto the queens maiestie of England, and arriuing (as you haue heard) at the Tower, was honorablie receiued by the lord Cobham and other great estates; who conueied him from thense through Tower street into bishops gate street, and so to a faire and large house called Crosbies place, where he was lodged, and remained.

Henrie Ramelius ambassador out of Denmarke.

The said Ramelius, during the time of his tariance, had attendance doone him conuenient for his person, both by water and by land: the queens maiesties barges and seruants imploied about him to and from London, the court then being at Greenewich; whither alwaies when he came, the nobilitie of England failed in no point of courtesie that might be shewed. Which he seemed (as he could no lesse) verie acceptablie to take. Now being in England and in the English court, he might (and no doubt did) marke the magnificence of hir maiestie, in all respects admirable. Whereof a notable president was giuen in Whitsunweeke; at what time the said ambassador, being at the court, was accompanied with certeine English lords to hir highnesse chapell, and placed not far from hir excellencie, did heare diuine seruice so melodiouslie said and soong, both by voice and instruments of consort as a man halfe dead might thereby haue beene quickened. The gentlemen of the chapell with the rest of the quier bending themselues, both with skill and zeale, that daie to honor their prince according to their place. The bishop of Salisburie and others distinctlie reading part of diuine seruice, and in presence of all the auditorie dooing such obeisance with knee and countenance, as the presence of so gratious a souereigne as they had in their eies did require.

The Danish ambassador honorablie intertcined.

The maiestie of the English court.

Heauenlie musike in the queens chapell.

Now when this solemnitie was ended, hir maiestie departed; and so did the ambassador, attended vpon and accompanied vnto the place appointed for dinner: where standing neere to a faire window fronting into the open court, he might (being in communication now with one, and then with another English lord, as the lord Charls Howard lord admerall, the lord Cobham lord warden of the cinque ports,

The ambassador of Denmarke seeth the roiall seruice of the queene of England.

ports, &c:) behold the roiall seruice of hir maiestie, verie personable gentlemen thereto sorted, carrieng couered dishes, all of siluer and gilt verie beautifull; themselues in veluet and silke sutable in each respect, and as decentlie made, so decentlie worne; the trumpets sounding, and the drum plaieng therevnto: a maruellous delightsome thing to heare, and a passing gallant sight to behold. When dinner was doone, the ambassador was made partaker of such courtlie recreations, as for that time were fit, wherewith he could not but be pleasantlie conceipted; considering that as euerie thing was doone with purpose to delight: so he with others must needs be accordinglie affected. And as the better sort had their conuenient disports, so were not the ordinarie people excluded from competent pleasure. For vpon a greene verie spatious and large, where thousands might stand and behold with good contentment, there bearebaiting and bulbaiting (tempered with other merie disports) were exhibited; whereat it can not be spoken of what pleasure the people tooke.

Recreations and disports for prince and people.

For it was a sport alone of these beasts, to see the beare with his pinke eies leering after his enimies, the nimblenesse and wait of the dog to take his aduantage, and the force and experience of the beare againe to auoid the assaults: if he were bitten in one place, how he would pinch in another to get free; and if he were once taken, then what shift with biting, clawing, roring, tugging, grasping, tumbling, and tossing he would worke to wind himselfe awaie; and when he was loose, to shake his eares with the bloud and slauer about his phisnomie, was a pittance of good releefe. The like pastime also of the bull, and the horsse with the ape on his backe, did greatlie please the people, who standing round, some in a ring vpon the greene, other some aloft, and some below, had their eies full bent vpon the present spectacle, diuerse times expressing their inward conceiued ioy and delight with shrill shouts and varietie of gesture. Now the daie being far spent, and the sun in his declination, the pastimes ended, and the actors therein wearie; the ambassador withdrew to his lodging by barge to Crosbies place, where (no doubt) this daies solemnitie was thought vpon, and talked of; if not by him, yet by his traine, and perhaps (as like enough) of both. Now after this, and manie other English courtesies elsewhere, verie bountifullie giuen and taken: the ambassador, after the finishing of such affaires as he was put in trust withall, taking his leaue both of the court, citie, and countrie, returned towards Denmarke on the thirtith daie of Maie next following, whome we will leaue vpon his voiage, and touch other matters happening at home.

Bearebaiting described.

Bulbaiting and an old ape on horsebacke.

This Crosbie was a knight, see his gift to the citie of London.

The ambassador departeth home towards Denmarke.

In this yeare one thousand fiue hundred foure score and six, and on the fourth daie of Iune, a commission was directed from the queens maiestie then at Greenewich, tending to the ratification of a firme league of amitie betweene the two mightie princes, Elisabeth queene of England, and Iames the sixt of that name king of Scots, vpon certeine causes necessarie and important: the reigne and gouernement of the said princes, happening in so doubtfull and dangerous times, wherein the princes neere adioining, who will be called catholike, agnising the popes authoritie, by mutuall leagues do knit friendship, for the rooting vp and throwing out of the true, pure, and sincere religion of the gospell, not onelie out of their owne territories and dominions, but also out of other forren kingdoms; and thereto haue obliged their faith.

Lord Edward earle of Rutland ambassador into Scotland.

Least they therefore that loue the religion of the gospell, should seeme lesse carefull for the defense and supportation thereof, than they which earnestlie indeuour to mainteine and vphold that of Rome, least it should be ouerthrowne: the said princes, for the greater securitie of their persons, vpon whose safetie the safetie of the whole people dooth depend; and for the preseruation of the true, ancient,

The queens maiestie hath speciall care of christian religion to be preserued and propagated.

and christian religion, which they now professe; haue thought good that a stricter hand of mutuall and sociall league, than at anie time hitherto hath beene agreed vpon betweene their maiesties progenitors, should now be substantiallie concluded. This league was articulated, and commissioners thereto appointed; the right honorable Edward earle of Rutland, (a complet noble man, answerable to the etymon of his name, and deseruing the poets report

A league betweene England and Scotland confirmed.

——————nomen virtutibus æquat,
Nec sinit ingenium nobilitate premi)

the lord William Euers, and also Thomas Randolph esquier; who with their traine of attendants came to Berwike the nineteenth of Iune, where (the ambassadors of Scotland being in like sort present) they accomplished the matter, whereto they were commissionated: the articles of the said league in all and euerie part sufficientlie confirmed, on the fift of Iulie. All which being dispatched, the said earle of Rutland with his traine returned. This ambassage is reported in the historie of Scotland, wherevnto (for the auoiding of tautologie) we refer the reader.

See more of this ambassage in the historie of Scotland.

And here (by the waie) hauing entered into a remembrance concerning Scotland, it is noteworthie, a little to glanse at the present state of the same, whereof let the wise consider, how soeuer the lesse aduised passe it ouer. The king himselfe we omit as touching his port be it as it is, neuerthelesse by name to be thought vpon: Vtpote nomen minimæ felicitatis, maximi verò infortunij perhibetur. For if a man tosse ouer the Scottish historie, and cast an eie vpon the succession of their kings; not medling with anie of anie name, sauing such as were of the same with him now in a state of principalitie; he shall see Fatale quoddam malum nomini innatum. For certeine conspirators forceablie breaking vp the first kings chamber doore, hauing before died their hands with the bloud of the kings fauorers, did now also with like continuall bloudthirstinesse murther their souereigne, inflicting vpon his bodie manie cruel and deadlie wounds at eight and twentie seuerall blowes.

Iames the first slaine, see the Scotish historie.

The second king of that name, hauing great experience in knowledge of shooting great artillerie, came to the trenches where the great ordinance was planted, which he caused to be shot off. And here by great misfortune he was slaine by the slice of a great peece of artillerie; which by ouercharging chanced to breake, and slue not onelie the king standing somewhat neere it, but also hurt the earle of Angus with others. The third of that name banded himselfe against certeine rebellious lords, who had made their forces so strong, that they durst enter a pitcht field; and in deed so did: where after great slaughter and murther made of an huge multitude, the king being put to the worst, fled into a mill, whither being fiercelie followed and found therein, he was cruellie slaine, and vnreuerentlie left starke naked.

Compare this murther with that of Brutus and Cassius vpon Iulius Cesar.

Iames the second slaine, see the Scotish historie.

Iames the third slaine, see the Scotish historie.

The fourth of that name, with no lesse infelicitie than the former, ended his daies. For in a battell attempted, tried, and fiercelie fought with the English (notwithstanding manie prodigious chances as forewarnings of misfortune to befall both prince and people, as an hare start among them, which hauing a thousand arrowes, daggers, and other things floong at hir with great noise and shouting, yet escaped she from them all, safe and scotfree: the buckle leather likewise of the kings helmet was gnawne with mise, and the cloth or veile of his inner tent of sanguine red) yet nothing moued with these extraordinarie accidents, nor the persuasions of such as were neere to and about him, he made against the English; and breaking his araie of battell (more hardie than wise) rushed forward (with a companie of noble men) and accomplishing the office of a footman, he found the English manfullie standing at resistance. In fine it fell out verie fatallie against the king and his power, by meanes that the English comming forceablie vpon them, and both sides

Forewarnings of misfortune and ill lucke to befall.

Iames the fourth slaine, see the Scotish historie.

for

for a long space fighting verie cruellie, at length the victorie inclined to the English; king Iames being there beaten downe and slaine.

The fift of that name, a man neither certeine in doubtfull things, nor doubtfull in things of certeintie, eger to reuenge iniuries, and of an high stomach; hearing of the discomfiture giuen vnto his people in a conflict by the English, was maruellouslie amazed: and therewithall such an impression of pensiuenesse surprised him, that he suspected a conspiracie of all his nobilitie (vpon probable reasons) to haue beene intended against him. Insomuch that he tooke such a vehement and deepe displeasure, increased with a melancholicall thought, that he departed suddenlie from place to place, and at last to Falkland, where he remained as a man desolat of comfort, sore vexed in spirit and bodie, and would not permit anie manner of person to haue accesse vnto him, his secret and familiar freends onelie excepted: so that in a short tract of time he died euen in the vigor of his manhood and strength, at the age of thirtie and three yeares. Now, in how little time the reigns and ruines of these forsaid princes were concluded, we leaue to such as list to looke into the course of the Scotish historie, where they are to obserue not onlie that point, but also manie matters of good consideration.

Iames the fift his end, see the Scotish historie.

The sixt and last of that name, of rare qualitie, and now in roialtie (the sonne of Marie Dowager malicious and murtherous, of whome in discourse hereafter, as occurrences of consequence shall direct our pen) what dangers he passed, &c: by search into the Scotish annals maie appeere: what remaineth behind we leaue to the Lord Gods counsell and working. Touching the countrie it selfe, it is diuided into factions; a plague to kingdoms, and a verie entrance to ruine and desolation. As for the tumults and seditions (which haue often happened) they haue had their beginning from a pretended care of religion, which diuerse times hath beene altered, not in profession but in discipline; and which at this present (bishops remooued) is in the power of superintendents; neither can the same, by meanes of old hatred remaining in seed, be at quiet. How the people are affected, the nobles inclined, the officers disposed, the king obeied, the commons gouerned, law administred, religion reuerenced, dutie generallie exhibited, and Gods holie name honored,

Touching this Iames the sixt, see at large in the table of Scotland, and so in the historie.

Eloquar an sileam? grauis est in vtroque querela.

Howbeit, by the report of the *author of the Blacke booke, bearing shew to be printed at Cullen, and dedicated vnto the foresaid Marie the Scotish queene, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and fiue (whome this deuiser intituleth high and mightie princesse) euen then it was said that the commonwealth of Scotland was past hope, &c. To which purpose Cicero verie aptlie saith, that such commonwealths as are readie to be ouerthrowne, and haue all things forlorne and desperat in them, fall into this miserable issue, that they whome the laws condemne are restored, and iudgements giuen are reuoked and broken. Now when such things come to passe, let none be ignorant of this, that destruction is at hand, neither can anie man iustlie conceiue hope of safetie. From which remedilesse mischeefes God defend this realme of England! But enough of this, and now to matters of our owne.

* Thomas Ieneie the Scotish queenes orator as he writeth himselfe.

A sure token of a desperat commonwealth, and declining to destruction.

This yeare vpon the seuen and twentith daie of Iune, at the sessions of oier and terminer at iustice hall in London, a lewd fellow named Henrie Elks clerke, for counterfeiting the Q. signet manuell to a presentation of the parsonage of all saints in Hastings, directed to the archbishop of Canturburie, or to his vicar or commissarie generall (the see or diocesse of Chichester being void) that he might be instituted parson there, was condemned, and had iudgement to be hanged, bowelled, and quartered: who was accordinglie on the next morrow, being the eight and twentith daie of Iune, executed at Tiborne, in companie of ten other

Elks executed at Tiborne for counterfeiting the queens signet manuell.

prisoners that were hanged for felonies by them committed. About this time also a lotterie, for maruellous rich and beautifull armor, was begun to be drawen at the great west gate of saint Pauls church in London, in a house of timber newlie erected for that purpose, which lotterie continued drawing daie and night for the space of two or three daies.

A lotterie for armor in London.

The horrible conspiracie of Babington and other his fellow traitors discoursed by *A. F.*

¶ In the moneth of Iulie a verie dangerous conspiracie was discouered, tending to the subuersion of the state and lamentable confusion of all things: wherin, as the turbulent spirited did what they could to proceed, so it pleased God the author of peace to intercept them in the plot of their mischeefous deuise, and to ouerthrow them in their owne imagined nets. Ringleaders in this pretended treason were certeine gentlemen and others (of whome hereafter by particular name we will speake) who had waded and ventured so farre therein, that vpon the notice thereof (as God will suffer no such attempts to lie vndetected) order was taken for a verie strict inquirie and search vniuersallie to be made for their apprehension.

The faithfull and feruent seruice of such as were in office in and about London in searching for the conspirators.

In the execution whereof, such officers, as vpon whome the charge was imposed, demeaned themselues so preciselie (and speciallie the constables of London, to their praise be it spoken) that they spared not their next neighbors houses, but indifferentlie and without parcialitie did search them; proceeding so farre by vertue of their office and present commission (wherein they had a speciall regard by their seruice to iustifie their allegiance and faithfull subiection to the whole world) that they went into the verie bedchambers of manie a welthie and worshipfull person, not forbearing the drawing of the corteins, &c: which was offensiuelie taken for the instant, vntill that the reason of their so seuere inquisition was aduisedlie considered.

The conspirators distressed and succorlesse are put to verie hard shifts by inquisition and pursute.

This search continued for certeine nights, with watch and ward conuenient, to the terrifieng of the conspirators whom the same principallie concerned, and draue them to such a perplexitie, that being ferretted from place to place, they wist not in what corner to take vp their safe repose. Neuerthelesse, great and diligent search hauing beene made daie and night, and the expected issue failing, peoples minds grew vnquiet and discontented: so much the rather, for that now the rumor of the said hainous attempt was so ranke, that the same was noised and voiced by verie children: insomuch that double diligence was vsed in a further inquirie, and indeed such circumspection had on all hands, that hedge and bush was so beaten, as at length some of those noisome birds were vnnested and surprised.

The conspirators apprehended and detected, to the great reioising of the citizens of London, &c.

The sound hereof rang brim in diuerse places, and people thronged togither to see the vnnaturall beasts that were attached, whose hearts were ouerwhelmed with horror, and their faces couered with confusion; their consciences inwardlie exulcerated and galled with the guilt of their offense: which how damnable it was, the whisperings, communications, and lowd speeches of the multitude, pointing at them with the finger of infamie as traitors of singular note (some saieng, Looke, looke, yonder go the errant traitors that would haue killed our queene, yonder go the wretches that would haue burnt our citie, that would haue alienated the state of the land, that would haue laid all open vnto bloudshed, slaughter, desolation, and spoile: yonder they go whome heauen aboue dooth abhorre, the earth below detest, the sun, moone, and starres be ashamed of, all creatures doo cursse and count vnworthie of breath and life) might make them conceiue, euen to the extreme torment of their minds, which were now to meditat vpon nothing more than compunction of spirit, repentance, submission to the law and sentence of deserued death, with reconciliation to God, whome they most shamefullie betraied in betraieng his anointed, euen good queene Elisabeth, the Lords lieutenant and vicegerent generall ouer vs.

O caitiues

O caitiues most execrable, begotten and borne to miserie! How much better had it beene for you, neuer to haue beene conceiued, to haue prooued an vntimelie frute, to haue beene ouerthrowen in your cradles, to haue perished in your swathling clowts; than in so vnhappie an houre, vnder so infortunat constellations, to so vnluckie a life, and so reprochfull a death to be reserued; whome none can pitie without suspicion of impietie, none lament but with lacke of loialtie, none fauorablie speake of without great note of ingratitude and priuie trecherie? To this effect tended the interchangable speeches of the people, all with one voice disclosing the conceipts of their mind against these eminent traitors: a most odious name and flat against all humanitie, the pernicious plague of kingdoms and commonwealths, hated of God and man, wherewith periured persons being bewitched, feare not to betraie themselues, so they may betraie others also, and their countrie. Wherevpon they become intollerable to euerie one, yea euen to those that vse them to serue their owne wicked turns in disloiall and lewd actions, receiuing in the end the reward due to their execrable impieties.

No malefactor so odious as a traitor.

For this is the common affection that men beare towards such people, so to seeke them out (which notwithstanding is not the propertie of a noble heart) when they stand in feare of them, as they that want gall or the poison of some venemous beasts: afterwards to giue them ouer and to reiect because of their wickednesse. If a man be called slouthfull, he maie become diligent; if talkatiue, silent; if a glutton, temperat; if an adulterer, continent; if furious, dissemble; if ambitious, constant; if a sinner, amend: but he that is once called a traitor, there is no water to wash him cleane, nor meane to excuse himselfe. And in truth, what man of anie good iudgement will trust such a one, as betraieth his prince, his benefactor, his citie, his countrie, his kinsfolks and freends into the hands of tyrannie and thraldome, from the which (as well the one of bodie as the other of conscience and religion) good Lord deliuer vs. But to proceed in our discourse, you shall vnderstand, that by meanes of common report both in street and lane, the conspirators diabolicall purposes being knowne, there was such an excesse of ioie bred in the peoples hearts vpon their apprehension, and preuention of the imminent mischiefs, through Gods almightie goodnes, that neighbor with neighbor and friend with friend, yea familiars and strangers by companies fell in talke of the present accident, diuers diuerslie discoursing thereof, some wishing a whole weeks exquisit torment, others renting in peeces with wild horsses, and the mildest (for conclusion) not forbearing imprecations of extreme bitternesse against the traitors.

Proditionem amo, proditores odi: Treason I loue, but traitors I hate: the saieng of *Cæsar Augustus*.

Now besides these were a sort of people of an other disposition, in whom the present occasion forced such a sudden impression of ioie, that they made the bels in steeples witnesses of their inward conceipt; the same being so strong and desirouslie sought to be testified, that some galled themselues with ringing, choosing rather to loose a little leather, yea a portion of their fat and flesh, than not (as time mooued, and leasure was made to serue) to giue a signe of their good affection. This liked them well that misliked the ill, the euasion whereof was the cause of this mutuall reioising.

Diuers kinds of reioisings among the people.

Beyond this the well affected of the citie did passe certeine degrees: for besides that some wearied themselues with pulling at the bell ropes, which were roong both daie and night, as vpon the daie of hir maiesties coronation; so others deuised a further testification of ioie, insomuch that although wood was then at a sore extent of price, yet they spared not their stacks or piles, were the same little or great; but brought (we thinke in conscience) euerie house a portion, where fires might conuenientlie be made and without danger. Memorandum that none were more forward herein than the meaner sort of people, who rather than they would omit to ad little or much to a fire, being vnprouided of fuell, parted with a penie or

No sparing of wood to make bonfires, albeit the price was verie high.

The poore peoples disposition in this exultation.

two to buie a few sticks by retaile. Insomuch that now by common consent this action grew to be generall, for few places might a man see in the citie, of anie spaciousnesse or compasse, where a cleare fire was not made.

And surelie infinit was the wood spent for the present time, as maie appeere by the number betwixt Ludgate and Charing crosse (fires made in biturnings, lanes, yards, &c: excepted) amounting vnto aboue threescore, by count of the writer hereof, who went of purpose to view them, and indeed did note them all. The people hauing thus doone, did not so staie their inward reioising; but bringing out their square and round tables into the open streets, like neighbors sitting together, and furnishing the boords with such prouision as the present time affoorded, made merrie in comelie and honest sort. Where (by the waie) this is notewoorthie, that manie times an euill thing dooth effectuat a good.

A true and iust obseruation of the writer.

Neighbors make merrie in the open streets for ioy of the conspirators detection and apprehension.

An euill thing dooth procreat a good.

For by the breaking out of this conspiracie, wherevpon insued this remembred reioising; it so came to passe, that manie a priuat reconciliation was procured by this mutuall meeting of neighbours betweene diuerse that before had beene at ouerthwarts and in secret grudge, all which was washed awaie with a cup of merrie go downe for hir sake, that Secundum Deum est columen salutis nostræ. In some places the people sang psalmes, and made such melodie as their skill could deuise, with tabber and pipe marching about their fires, and giuing manie a showt, that the aire rang withall. Now by this president hir maiestie is to be comforted, and also persuaded, that she hath subiects in this hir citie, to whome hir health and safetie is more pretious than lim or life, and who could be content to spare the best bloud in their heart, so hir little finger might not so much as ake: in which mind they liue, and so meane to die, herein saieng by waie of deprecation:

The queens maiestie may persuade hirselfe that she is not without thousands of faithfull hearts, &c.

Viue, vale, regina vale, viue Elisabetha,
Viue valéque tibi, viue valéque tuis:
Seu tua te Windsora capit, quæ sydera lambens,
Subiectas alta despicit arce domos:
Quæque præit forma reliquas, Hamptonia quamuis
Pontificis fuerat, regibus apta domus;
Seu te Londinum cunctorum regia regum
Detinet, & gremio certat habere suo.
Viue, vale, regina vale, viue Elisabetha,
I, comitante Deo, quo duce sospes eris.
Ah pereat! quicunque tuo liuescit honore,
Quisquis te nolit, qualis es, esse diu.
Viue (precor) decus excellens, spes vna tuorum,
Viue valéque tibi, viue valéque tuis.

The hearts and minds of the people greatlie quieted and eased.

Now by reuelation of this pestilent practise, and apprehension of the conspirators in seeking to escape, the minds of people latelie perplexed, were presentlie disburthened of manie mistrustfull douts, and their hearts yerwhile heauie, grew foorthwith somewhat lighter by the extenuation of feare and suspicion, wherewith before they carefullie trauelled; and some that before could not sleepe, not so much for their priuat as their princes and publike estate disquieted, did take their wished rest; most persuading themselues that as a traine of gunpowder, being fiered but in some little part, ceaseth not till it be vtterlie consumed: so would it befall these traitors vpon their descrie and apprehension.

Treasons and conspiracies can not be so closelie wrought but they will out at last.

But as after a plesant summer followeth a sharpe winter, and the greatest pleasures haue their ouerthwarts: so fared it with this ioie of the multitude, which (as the bright sun in a cleere daie ouercast with clouds) was dawnted with a sudden

dread,

dread, and the necke thereof in a sort broken with the brute of an arriuall of forren enemies vpon the costs of Sussex. For towards the euening, there were seene fiftie ships houering to and fro before Brighthemston, and sailing towards the towne, as though they had purposed to haue come to the shore: whereof the towne within a few houres aduertised the lord Buckehurst, the messenger adding ten to the number, and bringing word that threescore ships were descried; and that if they went to come on land, they would doo it within an houre following, which if they did, then they would send him further word; but supposed they would not land till the next morning, the tide then seruing verie conuenient. Therevpon alarums were rung, and messengers sent out to giue notice to the other parties to be in a readinesse: but expresse charge to fire no beacons, vnlesse they had warrant so to doo, and that the enimies were first landed. After mirth heauie cheere.

The lord Buckehurst redilie arming his men, gaue speedie direction what should be doone, and went out and laie on the downes all night with the companie, betweene a village called Rottingdeane and Brighthemston, whither resorted vnto him about one thousand and six hundred people, readie there to doo their dutie, if need required. His presence greatlie confirmed the people somewhat troubled with this rumor; but yet with great alacritie they flocked from all parts in heaps, and made towards the coast. The Kentishmen likewise with all celeritie assembled, and with no lesse willingnesse addressed themselues to march in good order, well furnished and prepared to haue come downe, had not contrarie news of all things quieted beene brought. For not long after, the coast was cleare, and no more but ten ships with a pinnesse seene a far off, about sixteene miles in the sea, against the downs, betweene Newhauen and Brighthemston; whereof two were said to haue come somewhat neere to the shore about Salt Deane, and to haue discharged two peeces of ordinance. Afterwards being descried what they were, by a vessell manned forth for that purpose by the lord Buckehurst to parle with them; it was found they were Hollanders come out of Spaine loden with merchandize, and bound to Holland, who (by reason the wind had continued easterlie) were forced to houer alongst the coast, there making towards Brighthemston being onelie to get the wind, and that they were freends and no enimies. Beacons were none fired (although the contrarie were reported) but one at Burrish (as was said) from which error some perhaps might in like sort be fired in Kent, but yet verie few. The redinesse of the lord Buckehurst to repell the enimies, if anie such arriuall as was noised had beene. Vpon what occasion the false voice of forren arriuall did grow.

At the same time that this rumor of tumult was so rife, a great marriage (whereat the bishop of Chichester made a sermon in the chapell) was solemnized at the lord Mountagues house; whereat the earle of Worcester, the countesse of Southampton, the ladie Marie Arundell, the ladie Greie sister to the late lord Mountague, with diuers other knights, ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen of great traine and attendance were present; insomuch that the number was so great, as it was thought there were not ten gentlemen of Sussex, which might dispend two hundred pounds lands by yeare, that were absent: which number as they were great, so was their tariance long in that place. Now as the said companie was redie to sit downe to supper, sudden news came that Newhauen was burned, and the lord Buckhurst with a power gone to Brighthemston to saue the towne from forren inuasion, intended by certeine ships redie to make arriuall. Which although it was a meere lie and vaine report (as by the premisses appeareth) yet notwithstanding it bred such an abashment in the minds of the multitude, from the best to the woorst, that therevpon a partile dissolution of the companie was procured, to the number of a hundred horsse making awaie vpon that occasion: howbeit, there supped (as it was said) fifteene hundred people in and about the said house, the same night that these troublesome news arriued. Which might well be true: for the beere tap neuer left running, A great marriage solemnised at the time of the false voice of forren arriuall. These false news came flieng from diuerse places. Hospitalitie commendable.

running, during the space of foure daies; a time wherein a great part of the good prouision was spent, to the founders praise and the feeders releefe.

But to let that passe, you shall vnderstand, that when the truth of this whole matter was knowne, all former feare, whereto false report had made passage into the minds of men, was foorthwith put to flight; and though for a season, being sudden, the present conspiracie (so greene of memorie) gaue it force for the time, yet neuerthelesse at length, like a cloud in the aire, or a dreame in sleepe, it vanished quite awaie, and the rumor thereof was the restoring of the people to their former reioising, ingendring likewise in them an expectation of deserued iustice against the troublers of Israels blessed peace. Howbeit (a matter of great moment, and at no hand to be omitted) hir maiestie hauing intelligence of hir louing peoples demeanor, in such sort as you haue heard, did most gratiouslie accept of the same, and conceiued no small comfort in heart, that God had giuen hir a people so studious of her safetie, and ioifull for the same. Insomuch that the consideration thereof did so worke in hir highnesse, as herevpon (a thing rare in a prince) she directed letters of thanks to the citie, for the manifold testifications of their loue and loialtie: which because they are materiall (as no word nor tittle proceeding from so singular a souereigne, is to fall to the ground vnrecorded) we are in dutie bound trulie to annex them, as we had them vnder publication. And first a breefe oration of maister Iames Dalton, one of the councellors of the citie of London, in the absence of the recorder, as followeth.

The reioising of the people for hir maiesties preseruation commeth to hir eares, &c.

THE ORATION OF MAISTER IAMES DALTON, &c.

RIGHT worshipfull, my good countriemen and citizens of this most noble citie of London; since the late brute and report of a most wicked and traitorous conspiracie, not onelie to take awaie the life of our most gratious souereigne (whome God grant long to liue and reigne ouer vs) but also to stir vp a generall rebellion throughout the whole realme: the great and vniuersall ioie of you all of this citie, vpon the apprehension of diuerse of that most wicked conspiracie alate declared and testified, by manie outward acts and shewes, hath wrought in the queens most excellent maiestie such a gratious contentment; that it hath moued hir highnesse, by hir letters signed with hir owne hand, to signifie vnto my lord maior of this citie and his brethren, hir most noble and princelie acceptation thereof, and that in such sort, as thereby maie appeare, that hir highnesse hath not more, no not so much reioised at the most happie escape of the wicked mischiefe intended against hir owne person, as at the ioie which hir louing subiects, and namelie you of this citie of London tooke at the apprehension of the practisers of that intended treason.

By occasion whereof, hir highnesse brought to a thankefull remembrance, and acknowledging of Gods infinit blessings bestowed on hir, comparable with anie prince or creature in the world, no worldlie thing more or like accompteth of, than of the heartie loue of hir louing and faithfull subiects manie waies, and manie times before now; but especiallie by this our great ioie in this sort, at this time, and vpon this occasion shewed. And that hir exceeding great loue and acceptation of our reioising maie the more appeare vnto you; it hath pleased hir highnesse in the same letters to declare, that she desireth not longer to liue among us, than she shall mainteine, continue, nourish, and increase the loue and goodwill of hir subiects towards hir. And this hir highnesse hath willed to be made knowne vnto you all, with this; that she will not faile with all care, and by all good meanes that apperteine to a christian prince, to seeke the conseruation of you all, so louing and dutifullie affected subiects.

This hir maiesties pleasure in part now declared, and more to be made knowen vnto you by hir owne letters, which you shall heare read, my lord maior and his brethren haue required me to declare vnto you all, that they doo heartilie reioise and thanke God for the happie daie of the good acceptation of this your great ioie; and my lord himselfe hath willed me to giue you all heartie thanks in his name; for that in the time of his seruice, your dutifull behauiours haue gotten to the citie so noble and worthie a testimonie of dutie and loialtie, of so noble and worthie a queene. Now, for so much as Gods blessings woonderfullie abound, and one ioie commeth vpon another, let vs not be vnthankefull to God, but acknowledge his goodnesse, and attribute the same (as in deed we ought) to the sincere religion of almightie God, most godlie established by the queens most excellent maiestie, which hath taught vs to know God aright, our dutie to our souereigne, and to loue our countrie, and hath made vs dutifull and obedient subiects, reioising at all good things happening to hir maiestie, hir realme, or to anie in hir noble seruice, the true effects of a true and good religion: whereas the contemners thereof, and immoderat affectors of the Romish religion and superstitions, being void of the true knowledge of God, haue declined from God, their allegiance to their prince, their loue to their countrie, and haue become inuentors of mischiefes, bruters and spreaders abrode of false and seditious rumors, such as ioie at no good thing; but contrariwise reioise at euerie euill successe, the badges and marks of their profession, who haue before this, in this realme and in other hir highnesse dominions, stirring vp rebellion, forren inuasion, and manie times practised the verie death and destruction of the queene hir selfe; the ruine and subuersion of the whole realme; the proper effects of their Romish religion.

Sir Wolstan Dixie lord maior of London, Anthonie Ratcliffe and Henrie Pranell shiriffes.

We haue beheld all these things, and seene in our daies the ruine and mischiefs inuented against others, fall vpon the inuenters themselues; and haue knowne the wicked and violent hands of diuerse of them, diuerslie to kill and murther themselues, when most traitorouslie they would, and most happilie they could not, slea the Lords annointed. As we haue knowne all these things, so God be thanked, that by a better religion, hauing beene better taught, we haue beene no partakers of their wicked deuises, but haue put to our helping hands, as occasion hath serued, and euer readie to ouerthrow the authors and deuisers thereof. And I haue no doubt, but we of this noble citie, who hitherto haue beene alwaies readie, dutifullie and faithfullie to serue hir maiestie vpon all occasions (hir highnesse now so graciouslie accepting onelie of our reioising at the apprehension of hir enimies, euen the least part of the dutie of a good subiect to so good a queene) will be readie euerie one with all that we can make, and with the vttermost aduenture of all our liues, speedilie to be reuenged vpon all such as shall villanouslie and traitorouslie attempt or put in vre anie mischiefe to hir noble person; and in the meane time will haue a better eie and eare to all suspicious and miscontented persons, to their saiengs and dooings, to their false brutes and reports, to the places and corners of their haunt and resort, to their harborers, companions, aiders and mainteiners. God vphold and continue his religion among vs, and increase our zeale therein, which hath made vs so louing and loiall, and so beloued and acceptable subiects to so worthie a prince; and root out that wicked and Romish religion, that hath made so manie disloiall and traitorous subiects; to whome is both odious and irkesome the long life and prosperous reigne of our most noble queene Elisabeth. God confound all such traitors, and preserue hir highnesse long to liue and reigne ouer vs. ¶ Hauing thus spoken, the multitude all the while no lesse silent than attendant, the speaker verie reuerentlie opened hir maiesties letters, and read the same with a verie distinct and audible voice, as followeth.

TO

TO OUR RIGHT TRUSTIE AND WELBELOUED, THE LORD MAIOR OF OUR CITIE OF LONDON, AND HIS BRETHREN THE ALDERMEN OF THE SAME.

RIGHT trustie and welbeloued, we greete you well. Being giuen to vnderstand, how greatlie our good and most louing subiects of that citie, did reioise at the apprehension of certeine diuelish and wicked minded subiects of ours, that through the great and singular goodnesse of God haue beene detected, to haue most wickedlie and vnnaturallie conspired, not onelie the taking awaie of our owne life, but also to haue stirred vp (as much as in them laie) a generall rebellion throughout our whole realme: we could not but by our owne letters witnesse vnto you the great and singular contentment we receiued vpon the knowledge thereof; assuring you, that we did not so much reioise at the escape of the intended attempt against our owne person, as to see the great ioie our most louing subiects tooke at the apprehension of the contriuers thereof: which, to make their loue more apparant, they haue (as we are to our great comfort informed) omitted no outward shew, that by anie externall act might witnesse to the world the inward loue and dutifull affection they beare towards vs. And as we haue as great cause with all thankefulnesse to acknowledge Gods great goodnesse towards vs, through the infinit blessings he laieth vpon vs, as manie as euer prince had; yea rather as euer creature had: yet doo we not for anie worldlie blessing receiued from his diuine maiestie, so greatlie acknowledge the same, as in that it hath pleased him to incline the hearts of our subiects, euen from the first beginning of our reigne; to carie as great loue towards vs, as euer subiects carried toward prince, which ought to moue vs (as it dooth in verie deed) to seeke with all care, and by all good means that apperteine to a Christian prince, the conseruation of so louing and dutifullie affected subiects: assuring you, that we desire no longer to liue, than while we maie in the whole course of our gouernment carie our selues in such sort, as may not onelie nourish and continue their loue and good will towards vs, but also increase the same. We thinke meet, that these our letters should be communicated in some generall assemblie to our most louing subiects the commoners of that citie. Giuen vnder our signet at our castell of Windsor, the eighteenth daie of August 1586, in the eight and twentith yeare of our reigne.

Queene Elisabeth a right patterne of king Henrie the eight.

Thus you see hir maiesties mindfulnesse and thankefulnesse of and for slender and bounden dutie: a propertie of princelie imitation, and wherein hir highnesse father of famous memorie king Henrie the eight did excell; who in the fift yeare of his reigne, managing wars in France (at what time also the English forces, vnder the conduct and gouernment of the earle of Surrie, the kings lieutenant generall, atchieued manie notable exploits against the Scots at the battell of Bramxton, to the enimies great discomfiture, both by slaughter and captiuitie) where he heard how happilie his people had demeaned themselues, to the renowme and credit of their natiue countrie; but speciallie to his roiall contentment: insomuch that at his returne into England from his conquest of Terwin and Tornaie, he forgat not the acceptable seruice of his said people doone in the Scotish wars; but verie thankefullie esteeming thereof, wrote vnto them his louing letters, leuened with words and clauses of such singular liking and passing fauour, that euerie man thought himselfe sufficientlie rewarded. Euen so blessed queene Elisabeth (a naturall branch of that spreading vine) treading the steps of hir great progenitor, gaue like publike testimonie of heartie good will and gratious acceptance, of hir peoples foreremembered reioising. Which as it is a note of no common exemplification,

cation, so it cannot but excite and stir vp much matter of multiplieng and ratifieng all dutifull kindnesse and seruiceable submission to hir highnesse: wherein as we doubt not anie neglect, when occasion is ministred; so we leaue hir to the Lords holie hand, the onelie hope of hir and our helpe; purposing now for a while to leaue the conspirators in safe custodie, and to touch the next occurrence comming to hand, as course of time offereth direction.

Sir Francis Drake his returne into England after his last voiage finished.

About this time, returned into England, sir Francis Drake knight, a man of rare knowledge in nauigation, and verie fortunat in the euent of his enterprises, after manie feats of good seruice accomplished in forren countries (as at Baion, Hispaniola, S. Dominico, Carthagena, &c: to the admiration of all people amongest whom he came, and contrarie to the expectation of the Spaniards, who vpon supposall of places impregnable grew so confident, that they seemed lightlie to esteeme anie proposed force of the enimie, and therefore doubted no kind of annoiance. Howbeit, they were as safe as he that hangeth by the leaues of a tree in the end of autumne, when as the leaues begin to fall. For they were so terrified at the sight of sacke and spoile, as also doubting a totall wast by fire and swoord, that they were glad to yeeld to composition. And here, because mention is made of Hispaniola, it shall not be amisse to honor this voiage with an historicall report of that countrie.

It is supposed that Salomon king of Ierusalem had his great riches of gold from hense, and that his ships sailed to Ophir by the gulfe of Persia, called Sinus Persicus.

Hispaniola (of some affirmed to be Ophir, wherof mention is made in the third booke of the kings) is of latitude fiue south degrees, hauing the north pole eleuat on the north side seuen and twentie degrees, and on the south side (as they saie) two and twentie degrees; it reacheth in length from east to west, seuen hundred and foure score miles, being distant from the Ilands of Gades (now Cales) nine and fortie degrees and more, as some saie. The forme of the Hand resembleth the leafe of a chesnut tree, with a gulfe towards the west side, lieng open against the Hand of Cuba. But the expert shipmaister Andreas Moralis describeth it, from the east and west angle to be indented and eaten with manie great gulfes, and the corners to reach foorth verie farre, placing manie large and safe hauens in the great gulfe on the east side. It may be compared (without shame or blame as some saie) to Italie, sometimes queene of the world. For if the quantitie be considered, it shall be found little lesse, and much more fruitfull. It reacheth from the east into the west foure hundred and fortie miles, according to the computation of the later searchers. It is in bredth somewhere almost three hundred miles, and in some places narrower, where the corners are extended. But it is suretie much more blessed and fortunat than Italie, being for the most part thereof so temperat and florishing, that it is neither vexed with sharpe cold, nor afflicted with immoderat heat. It hath both the staiengs or conuersions of the sun called solstitia in a maner equall with the equinoctiall, with little difference betweene the length of the daie and the night throughout all the yeare. For on the south side the daie ascendeth scarslie an hour in length aboue the night, or contrariwise: the cold is accidentall, and not by the situation of the region, their spring and summer is perpetuall, their ground of maruellous fruitfulnesse, their oxen and swine of exceeding bignesse, and fed with mirobalans, an eare of wheat with them as big as a mans arme in the brawne; great plentie of cattel, wholsome waters, and gold euerie where; for there is in maner no riuer, nor mountaine, and but few plaines that are vtterlie without it.

Hispaniola compared to Italie.

The temperature of Hispaniola.

The equinoctiall.

The bignesse of an eare of wheat.

A particular description of the Iland of Hispaniola.

This Hispaniola is reputed the head, and as it were the principall mart of all the liberalitie of the ocean, hauing a thousand and a thousand faire, pleasant, beautifull, and rich Nereides or Ilands, which lie about it on euerie side, adorning this their ladie and mother, as it were another Thetis the wife of Neptune, inuironing hir about, and attending vpon hir as their queene and patronesse: and therefore aptlie

denominated and likened vnto the earthlie paradise. Where, by the waie might be touched who first inhabited Hispaniola, how it was first named, the peoples maner of learning, their ballads and rimes, their singing and dansing, their songs of loue and moorning, their prophesies, familiaritie with spirits, their serpents, their riuers and pooles, their prouinces, their delights and pleasures, and how they can abide no labor nor cold, what gold is yearelie brought from thense into Spaine, namelie the summe of foure hundred, and sometimes fiue hundred ducats of gold, as may be gathered by the fift portion due to the kings excheker, amounting to an hundred and fourescore, or fourescore and ten thousand castellans of gold, and sometimes more. Here also might be discoursed the manifold and admirable things in that countrie, the variable motions of the elements, the colonies and villages which the Spaniards haue builded, the sundrie goodlie Ilands round about it, as Arethusa, Sanctus Iohannes, Cuba, Iamaica, Guadalupea, &c: the suger presses wherwith great plentie of suger is made, the canes or reeds wherein the same groweth, being as big as a mans arme in the brawne, and higher than the stature of a man by the halfe, the like whereof is in no place: the wheat, wine, with infinit other commodities and circumstances; and speciallie the cheefest gold mines, how the same is fined and distributed, as also that onelie in the melting shops of the two golden mines of Hispaniola, are molten yerelie aboue three hundred thousand pounds weight of gold: so likewise might we saie much of Sancto Dominico, the chiefe citie and head of Hispaniola, reported in historie, as touching the building, that there is no citie in Spaine, Tanto pro tanto, no not Barsalona, that is to be preferred before it generallie. For the houses are for the most part of stone, as are they of Barsalona, or of so strong and well wrought earth, that it maketh a singular and strong binding. Touching the situation thereof enough is extant in bookes of nauigation, whereto we remit the readers. We might also speake of Carthagena, of the authoritie of the viceroie of Hispaniola, the mother and principall of all other lands and Ilands, of the senat and iudges there, who giue lawes to all the inhabitants of these tracts. But if we should take that course, there would be no end of our worke. Onelie this we haue said in honor of the knight, who with extraordinarie fortune trauelled to the places aboue said: and vnto whome with his companie much maie be ascribed by waie of commendation, because that they haue made knowne vnto posteritie so manie thousands of Antipodes, which laie hid before and vnknowne to our forefathers.

What gold is brought yeerelie from Hispaniola into Spaine.

The suger of Hispaniola.

Sancto Dominico the chiefe citie in Hispaniola.

And now resuming the person of him, whose valor did induce vs vnto this remembrance; note this, that hauing augmented his former renowme with new accesse of praiseworthie seruice, he grew so famous in places far and neere, that among nations abrode his name grew verie common, insomuch that some of the learned sort maligning his honorable atchiuements, euen against their owne consciences and knowledge did report verie inglorioulie of him and his actions, against whose obloquies the truth is a sufficient target. But thus much by the waie to the slanderer, who hath learned the pestilent precept of Medius giuen to backbiters, who taught that they should not spare to nip boldlie, and to bite with store of slanders. For (quoth he) although he that is bitten should be cured of the wound, yet the scar at the least will still remaine. Howbeit true it is, that this comfort can not be taken awaie from good men, namelie to be persuaded, that the sleights of backbiters and slanderers are able to preuaile but little against the inuincible tower of sacred vertue, and of an assured hope well grounded, which (whatsoeuer commeth to passe) triumph alwaies, and victoriouslie hold enuie and backbiting vnder their feet. In the meane while, it is the greatest griefe in the world to see the honor of a good man in the mercie of a venemous toong: and true is and will be the common prouerbe, Non e alcuna persona si libera a chimanchi il suo bargello. As for the

Rerum in orbe gestarum, &c. comment. in octauo.

There is no man so free that hath not his persecutor or enimie.

the opinions and conceipts of people at home concerning him, they were extraordinarie: insomuch that after his arriuall and being in London, manie did flocke about him in the open streets, with admiration as a worlds woonder: yea the report of his exploits abrode did so rauish their minds, that leauing preacher and sermon, they ran apace to behold him: such force hath magnanimitie, wherwith this worthie knight tempered all his enterprises, sorted to a verie prosperous issue.

Now hauing touched (though not with conuenient dignitie) the last voiage of this singular gentleman, it were not amisse to annex in this place a memoriall of a former voiage by him attempted, namelie on the thirteenth daie of December, in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred seuentie and seuen: at what time accompanied with fiue tall ships well manned and appointed, he sailed into the west Indies: and by the same aduenture (most luckilie accomplished) eternised his name. At what time the king of the Moluccaes admiring his order, and astonied at the hearing of the peales of English ordinance, roring like thunder, (which he there at his arriuall valiantlie and liberallie discharged) receiued him right honorablie, causing foure galliasses to conduct and bring his ship into the surest harborough, and himselfe with his companie to his presence. In this voiage he discouered a countrie erst vnknowne, which he named Noua Albion, where by his courteous deling he so allured and woone the hearts of the inhabitants, that twise they crowned him king. Beyond the large countrie of Chilie, where it hath beene heretofore thought that nothing had beene but continent and firme land, he found sundrie Ilands, the furthest wherof lieng most south, he called by hir maiesties name Elisabetha. Now after manie a singular note of his incomparable valorousnesse exhibited in places where he came, and purposing to make his aduenture profitable, he neglected no meanes that might stand with his honestie and honor; returning home into England with great riches the six and twentith of September, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and eightie; with one ship onelie. For of the fiue, wherwith (at his first setting foorth) he was furnished, he was forced to set two on fire, the third perished, the fourth came backe and went not forwards at the first. A voiage of great aduenture and prosperous successe, contrarie to the ackward and frowning hap of sundrie worthie gentlemen, whose attempts albeit honorable and commendable, yet matched with misfortune, or at least defectiue in deserued and hoped issue: a sore discouragement to gentlemen of trauell, and not a little impeaching the art of nauigation. For with what corage can men put in practise the rules of their knowledge, when they see the successe of their skill and actions inferior vnto the tediousnesse of their labors, oftentimes accompanied with losse of life? A forceable motiue to withdraw mens minds quite from all desire to sea, and to breed in them a good liking of the land, yea of their owne houses and smoking chimnies: wherby in fine might follow a contempt of nauigation, and a neglect of all profit that trauell might affoord.

The returne of sir Ffrancis Drake into England with great riches, &c.

Manie voiages of great difficultie haue beene vndertaken, but failed in the issue.

To which purpose Fabatus the consull is worth the noting, who in seuentie yeares which he liued, departed not once from his village of Regio to go to Messina, which was not two miles off by water. And when one asked him the cause whie? The barke (quoth he) is foolish, for it alwaies stirreth up and downe; the mariner is foolish, for he neuer abideth in one opinion; the water is foolish, for it neuer standeth still; the wind is foolish, for it runneth continuallie. Now if we vse to go from a foole when we meet him vpon the land; what reason were it for me to hazard my life with foure fooles vpon the sea? But if all men had beene of Fabatus his mind, or vpon some ouerthwart casualties and fatall accidents should grow into a mislike of ship and sea (as diuers both wise, graue, and aged philosophers were of the contrarie opinion) then would not Plato, after he had beene well instructed by Socrates, sought out the Magies and wise

Fabatus an old consull, but no traueller, speaketh according to his small skill.

men of Egypt, by whose means he saw the bookes of Moses: then he went into Italie, to heare Architas Tarentinus, the most renowmed philosopher of that countrie. Appollonius, who matched in learning all the philosophers of his time, trauelled ouer all the three parts of the world, to see and conferre with all the skilfull men of his age: and being returned into his countrie, inriched with woonderfull knowledge, he distributed all his goods (whereof he had great abundance) amongst his brethren, and to the poore: and withdrawing himselfe into the field, he liued with bread and water onelie, that he might haue his mind free for the contemplation of heauenlie things. Wherein we are the more willing to vse the authorities of philosophers, because they were counted wise, and no mens iudgement in the world more consonant to the truth, as likewise their examples are of force to persuade.

Philosophers haue beene great trauellers for knowledge, &c.

And surelie as wisdome with experience is purchased by trauelling; so wealth and worship is thereby obteined: all which are most vrgent prouocations to draw men forwards to great and doubtfull aduentures: besides a carefull and louing regard of common vtilitie, which to a valorous mind is a verie spurre. Wherefore we maie iudge that Frenchman scarse well aduised or affected, who vpon a light ghesse concludeth, that want of prudence and ambitious desires did first inuent the art of nauigation and sailing into farre countries: a thing ordeined of God, and time out of mind vsed amongest men, as may appeere by the words of the prophet Dauid, They that go downe to the sea in ships, and occupie their businesse in great waters: these men see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe. But to end with him at whome this present note tooke beginning, it were to be wished, that in memorie of this gentlemans incomparable atchiuement, some monument might remaine to succeeding ages: and none fitter than the brittle barke wherein he arriued safe and sound, which a knight of good account and rarelie qualified, thought meet to be fixed vpon the stumpe of Paules steeple, in lieu of the spire, that being discerned farre and neere, it might be noted and pointed at of people with these true termes: Yonder is the barke that hath sailed round about the world. The emperor Adrian tooke such glorie and pride in all execrable vices, that he commanded a temple with a sumptuous toome to be made for a naughtie man named Antinous, whom he had miserablie abused in his life. The gentleman whome this remembrance concerneth, preferring the honor of his countrie before his owne life, with magnanimitie vndertooke vnwoonted aduentures and went through the same with woonderfull happines: were it not then iniurie to burie his name in obliuion, matters of no moment in a manner compared to this, noted in our annales? Wherefore till time produce a more sufficient commemoration of him, let this serue the turne: whereto we will adde a few verses written in his fame, and so leaue him vnto the blessed successe wherevnto he is by Gods most gratious appointment (no doubt) reserued:

Nauigation in vse before Christs time: note psalme 107.

The words of a knight concerning the barke wherein sir Francis Drake sailed about the world.

The obseruations in all his voiages remaine in writing, &c.

T. N. Cicest.

Ante Dracum multi heroes freta multa Britanni
Non sine laude citis sulcârunt salsa carinis:
Nec potuere tamen votis potirier: alti
Nec reserare vias pelagi (sors omnia versat)
Quamuis mente pia imbuti atque ingentibus ausis:
Dracus at ex multis (gallinæ filius albæ)
Quem decorat Pitho, quem Suada venustat amica,
Quem pia religio, quem dia Modestia adornat,
Omine felici cuncta incipit, omine fausto
Perficit, & patriæ seruit, viuítque fidelis,
Colla petulca domans, & opima trophea reportans.

And

And now backe againe to our former stop in the conspiracie; the processe wherof who would not willinglie heare, the same being so odious and vnnaturall? The mischiefes against hir maiestie and the bodie of the land preuented, and the imaginers thereof now in durance: the honorable lords of the councell (whose vigilancie hath beene alwaies most woonderfull for the tranquillitie and securitie of the state) did now enter into the discussing and winnowing out of such vnnaturall treacheries, as the conspirators had in their lewd conuenticles consulted vpon, and in their seditious letters solicited. Wherein although the offendors had capitallie transgressed, and in a degree so eminent as none aboue, and therefore deserued what rigor (were it neuer so sharpe) might be thought vpon, or vsed: yet not so much as falling into a conceipt of anie such proceeding, they so dealt with the conspirators by clemencie, circumspection, and persuasion; that whatsoeuer concerned their attempt in that heinous kind, they discouered, and vpon hope of fauour (which it were sin against God to grant to malefactors so mischiefouslie bent) opened the whole forme of the action, with the circumstances of the same. By which their voluntarie confession they satisfied the examinants, whose wisedoms in a course of that kind it is impossible for a giltie conscience to outreach.

No rigor vsed against the conspirators, whereby anie thing might seeme to be violentlie extorted in examination.

Matters thus far passed, and the greater states much quieted, the people were in dailie expectation and desire to heare some report of the conspirators now by their owne confessions sufficientlie conuicted: wherevpon a preacher at Pauls crosse was commanded from authoritie, to deliuer some notice to the assemblie, answerable to the knowledge which he himselfe receiued by eare at the best hand; namelie, that diuerse of the traitors were apprehended, and without anie torture or torment confessed their treasonable intentions; which were, to murther hir maiestie, and procure meanes for the arriuall of forren powers, whereby the land might be ouerrun, heauen and earth confounded, and all things turned topsie turuie. It was not the policie of man (said the preacher) that caused this discouerie, but Digitus Dei, the finger of God that found them out. Thus much being intimated to the people in that publike sermon, they gaue God thanks for the same; as surelie we cannot sufficientlie magnifie his diuine maiestie, who of his infinit mercie hath preserued hir highnesse from manie imminent mischiefes and wrapped the wretched imaginers and intenders thereof in their own snares, to their foule shame and confusion.

The conspirators doo voluntarilie confesse the plot of their purposed practise.

How this great conspiracie came to light is signified by the preacher.

Now after voluntarie confession, and examination by hir maiesties wise councellors, being hir eies and eares, there seemed no further euidence or proofe requirable for their conuiction: the giltinesse of their conscience inducing them to the discouerie of their intollerable treacheries: than the which there cannot be a hell of more extreame torment. And surelie true it is, that the conscience of a malefactor is vnto him in stead of an accuser, a witnesse, a iudge, and a hangman: the scripture importing no lesse, in saieng, that the wicked shall tremble at the fall of the leafe of a tree, and be as if their life hoong by a thread. Which violence of mans conscience commeth from God, who causeth his enimies (which be such as oppose themselues against his annointed) to feele his iudgement and furie in such sort, that they cannot abide it, but are constrained to condemne themselues: as we see notablie exemplified in these conspirators, who being now scarselie the shadows of men, and all hope of life or mitigation of deserued death quite extinguished, were to thinke vpon their present downefall into destruction, restlesse in bodie, troubled in soule, heauie in heart, and wholie ouerwhelmed with waues of most woefull miserie. And doubtlesse, if at anie time, most likelie now were they touched with compunction and remorse, euen to the quicke, if the grace of God were not vtterlie exiled out of their hearts.

The queens wise councellors are hir eies and hir eares.

The wretched state of the conspirators now waiting for the award of iudgement and death.

Now

Now had they iust cause and fit time to cursse their vngratious meetings, their execrable consultations, their diuelish deuises, the vnhappie houre of giuing consent to effectuat, or anie waie to prefer a practise of so pestilent a plot; and finallie the dismall daie of their destruction, the mindfulnesse whereof could not but so terrifie and torment them, as that no meane could releeue them, no place succor them: being not vnlike vnto fearefull men at sea subiect to casting, who thinking to be better in one place than in another, go from the sterne to the stem, then to the bottome of the ship, afterwards to the highest part, from thense into the skiph, and in the end returne into the ship, without anie amendement of their euill, because they carrie alwaie about with them both feare and greefe. And surelie thus it must be by the ineuitable decree of God, with all such as insurge and rise against their souereigne (in whome is power to prescribe laws vnto all in generall, and to euerie one in particular, and not to receiue anie but of God; who is the iudge of princes, as princes are the iudges of their people) and labour to dissolue the societie of men, which is the bond of life; nature spurning against such malicious minds, whose ordinance tendereth the preseruation of all creatures in their kinds, whether earthie, waterie, aierie, or flieng, tame or wild, they all seeking after fellowship of like with like to liue togither; as sheepe by flocks, kine, oxen, harts and hinds feeding by heards; horsses and mules by companies; choughs, stares, cranes, and other birds by flight; fishes both in fresh and salt waters following one another in sholes; bees dwelling in hiues, pigeons in dooue houses, ants in little hills, &c.

The remembrance of death is dredfull to all traitors.

The societie of men is the bond of life, which who so seeketh to dissolue is worthie of death.

What a mischiefe meant these, shall I saie men, naie monsters of men, to transgresse the limits of all loialtie in such an outragious sort? The wretches might well thinke, that God establisheth no principalitie, but he will by his power support the same, euen to the confusion of all them that seeke either directlie or indirectlie to supplant the same. But these men troubled their minds with no such cogitations, which might haue reuoked or restreined them from their attempts, or forewarned them of dangers insuing vpon consultations held against princes, of plots laid against the whole state of a kingdome, of innouations, of alienations, of intrusions, and confusions. Wherein it is to be woondered, what legion of diuels possessed them that professing the name of christians, and linked with the societie of Iesus, they should so degenerat as to kicke against the rule of christianitie, which teacheth that princes and potentates are to be obeied, speciallie souereignes and monarchs, who in their seuerall territories and dominions are like the sun, which is as king among the stars, the moone as queene, the eagle among birds, the lion among beasts, the whale in the sea, and the pike in pooles among fishes: finallie, as the heart in a liuing creature, which giueth life to the whole bodie, because it is the founteine of bloud and vitall spirits.

God establisheth no principalitie but he supporteth the same by his omnipotencie.

The rule of christianitie teacheth obedience and loialtie.

Princes whereto compared in their dignities.

Now to enter either into consultation or action against a person of such excellencie, what is it else but to pull the sunne out of heauen, and to teare the heart out of the bodie? Wise men will ground their affections and enterprises vpon right and equitie onelie, knowing that they ought not alwaies to be measured by their euent and end, which oftentimes seeme to fauor vniust counsels and dooings; and offer some colour and occasion to the wicked to prosecute their dealings, hauing no care of violating right and iustice: but howsoeuer it be, a miserable end bringeth them an ouerlate repentance. There is no action but hath his originall intention, no intention but issueth from a premeditation, no premeditation but proceedeth from a conceipt: all these concurring with their accessaries, make a complet action: as we see in sciences and arts, as in grammar, which taketh beginning from letters, geometrie from the point, arithmetike from vnitie, musike from the minnem and sembreefe; and also in things naturall, as plants and trees, which

What it is to attempt euill against the person of a prince.

Euerie thing taketh his being of a small beginning.

rise

rise and increase out of a verie small seed. And therefore let men take heed how they giue place vnto a wicked thought, much more to a mischeefous deed. In which respect it is woorth the noting that is reported of Diogenes, who beholding one of his scholars in a publike place talking verie earnestlie with a yoong man, that was suspected wanton and effeminat, demanded what communication they had? To whome the scholar answered that the other rehearsed vnto him a notable tricke of youth, which he had plaied the night before. Then Diogenes said to them both; My will and commandement is, that each of you haue fortie stripes with a whip within the amphitheatre or plaieng place: thou (quoth he to his scholar) for giuing eare vnto him, and he for the follie committed; because a philosopher deserueth as much for hearkening to follie recited, as dooth the vagabond that rehearseth it.

Communication with a lewd person reproued and iudged punishable.

Now if this were the punishment sentenced against these two, in this case of lightnesse and follie: what iudgement might a wise man deeme, would haue beene awarded by Diogenes against conspirators, whose conuentions and consultations are the whetting of daggers and swoords, to thurst into the bowels of their sweet natiue countrie? But whither wade we? Trulie the matter in present discourse is so ample, and therewithall so odious, that the further we saile, the more sea we see. Wherefore to draw neere to the verie subiect, this maie not be omitted, that the conspirators, who had wouen the web of their owne wo, being now forlorne, as hated of heauen, and irkesome to the earth, seeing no hope of life, but deserued death imminent and hanging ouer their heads, occupied their wits in dolorous deuises, bemoning their miseries, of the like stampe to this here annexed, sauouring more of prophane poetrie than christianitie, of fansie than religion:

Tichborns elegie written with his owne hand in the Tower before his execution, printed by Iohn Wolfe. 1586.

My prime of youth is but a frost of cares,
My feast of ioie is but a dish of paine:
My crop of corne is but a field of tares,
And all my good is but vaine hope of gaine:
The daie is past, and yet I saw no sun,
And now I liue, and now my life is doone.

My tale was heard, and yet it was not told,
My fruit is falne, and yet my leaues are greene:
My youth is spent, and yet I am not old,
I saw the world, and yet I was not seene:
My thread is cut, and yet it is not spun,
And now I liue, and now my life is doone.

I sought my death and found it in my wombe,
I lookt for life, and saw it was a shade:
I trod the earth, and knew it was my tombe,
And now I die, and now I was but made:
My glasse is full, and now my glasse is run,
And now I liue, and now my life is doone.

The like elegies also did the rest (and namelie Babington) deuise, with letters supplicatorie for fauour of high estates, whome he had most greeuouslie offended: which because the copies are common (but yet neuer authorised for the print) we will omit, onelie touching in superficial sort the tenor thereof. As first his asking of grace and fauour with all humilitie, to acknowledge his vnaduised offense (as he

termeth

termeth it) wherein he pretendeth certeine motiues to compassion, as his vncoloured petition, his gentrie, his brainsicke yeares, the order of his behauiour and plaine course of dealing in his confession, his most heartie repentance, his inward vow of assured seruice hereafter, both to hir gratious maiestie and his countrie. Furthermore, to procure the speedier commiseration (in his fansie) he falleth into a familiar tale of a certeine man, that hauing a great flocke of sheepe, mooued either with a sheepish vnrulinesse, or for his better commoditie, threatened euerie daie by one and by one to dispatch them all: which he dailie performed according to his promise, vntill such time as the terror of his accustomed butcherie strake the whole flocke into such a feare, as whensoeuer he came and held vp his knife, aduising at that instant but the slaughter of one, the whole number of them would quake, fearing each one his particular chance. Which tale he applieth vnto himselfe, being one of the brutish herd (as he confesseth) that for their disordinat behauiour the law iustlie condemneth, and threateneth to dispatch one after another, &c. Lastlie, suing for his life, he saith, that to take it, were as if one should take out of the sun beame a mote, or from the sea a spoonefull of water: but to saue it, were by his vowed seruice to hir highnesse happie estate to merit more, than the losse thereof could procure: and so with remembrance of the lamentable conditions of his peruerse estate, &c: he concludeth.

A fable or tale which Babington applieth to his present case of wretchednesse.

What good seruice was to be hoped for at this wretches hand if he had liued, who did what he could to procure his princes death?

These and such like were the studies and meditations of those dangerous wits, too sudden to be sound, and wanting prudence, which preuenteth too late repentance. But with what face, with what heart might this enimie to all humanitie (hauing deserued a death of exquisit crueltie) aske, seeke, or hope for fauour, much lesse for pardon, who with his complices had conspired to be an actor in a tragedie of bloudshed and slaughter vniuersallie, pesle mesle to be perpetrated? By the law of nature men should doo as they would be doone vnto; a precept which prudence inuiteth them to put in practise, as she mooueth them to nothing that is either vndutifull, or not beneficiall. For she is amongst the rest of the vertues, as the sight amongst the fiue senses; thereby giuing vs to note, that as the eie of all the other senses is most beautifull, subtill, and pearsing: so the vertue of prudence by hir quicke and cleare light, directeth and conducteth all vertues in their good and commendable operations. It is by hir that a man is clothed with a mild and settled disposition, whereof he standeth no lesse in need, than a ship floting on the sea dooth of the presence of a pilot, that he maie prudentlie vndertake and wiselie execute whatsoeuer he knoweth to be good, after mature deliberation and consideration of all the circumstances of the fact. So that if these men had beene guided by prudence, which is said to haue three eies, namelie memorie, vnderstanding, and prouidence (with the first beholding the time past, with the second the time present, with the third the time to come) they would neuer haue fallen into conceipts of common confusion, much lesse haue entred into consultation, or giuen consent to further the action, or so lightlie yeelded to become desperat workers of the same; knowing that the state of a land is not so negligentlie regarded, as that the deuises and diuelish practises of some few helhounds (content with nothing that standeth not with their liking) can violat the same.

The necessarie vse of prudence in all attempts and actions.

The conspirators had liued true subiects if they had not wanted prudence and hir three eies.

But to returne. These fellows hauing so heinouslie offended against the laws of nature and nations, drawing out their swoord of furie and cruell outrage against the bodie of the commonwealth; now after the preuention of their purpose, detection of all their treasons, and guilt of conscience, seruing in lieu of a thousand peremptorie witnesses; seeing no waie with them but the halter and the hatchet, like prophane persons laie the cause of their fall vpon cruell and inequitable destinie, accusing that to excuse their owne fault. Wherein we maie compare them to

Destinie commonlie accused of malefactors

blind

blind folks, who are angrie, and oftentimes call them blind that vnawares doo meet and iustle them. They should rather, if they had meant to liue alwaies happilie, haue propounded to themselues and desired things possible, and to be content with things present: they should haue preferred their countries safetie before their owne prosperitie, and haue frequented the academie of philosophers, and the temple of mercie, whereby ignorance of dutie might haue beene abandoned, and whatsoeuer sauoring of crueltie trodden vnder foot. Wherein it were to be wished, that all such as are anie waie leaning to a life of that qualitie as these men lead; would be taught by the example of Pythagoras, to absteine from crueltie and iniustice; who was so tender hearted, and so farre estranged from desire of bloudshed and death, euen of creatures resonlesse, that he requested foulers, when they had taken birds, to let them flie againe; and of fisher men he bought their draughts, and caused all the fish to be cast into the sea aliue: he also forbad all his disciples to kill a tame beast at anie time. But these conspirators had not the grace of a heathen man granted vnto them, whereby they became subiect to sinne as to a tyrant: and no remedie but submitting themselues therevnto, it must needs reigne in their mortall bodies, yea though it haue hard entrance at first into the heart. For as a wedge maketh but a small cleft in the beginning, but afterwards the cleft being greater sundereth all in peeces: so the sufferance of all vnlawfull things, how small so euer it be, leadeth men by little and little to an vniuersall licentiousnesse: and therefore men had need beware how they make passage for sinne into their thought, which (without the assistance of Gods grace) commonlie breaketh out into action. As we see exemplified in these desperat persons, in danger of death and destruction; to whose arreignement, as tract of time mooueth, we will now proceed; and so to the sequele of the tragedie: wherein this would be remembred as a comfort, that they were passiues and not actiues; as is to be wished all of that stampe and leuen maie be.

and offendors, that their owne villanies might be excused.

Christian men disuaded from crueltie and iniustice by the example of an heathen man.

The nature of sinne after it hath once found passage into the heart.

On the seuenth daie of September, certeine of these diuelish and wicked subiects were led from the Tower of London to Westminster by water, hauing neuerthelesse manie an eie gasing vpon them, as spectacles odious to God and man; manie a toong talking of the greeuousnesse of their offense; and manie a true English heart wishing their present cutting off from the face of the earth, as wretches vnworthie to inioie the common aire: all which the vnnaturall beasts could not but conceiue, to the kindling of manie a pinching passion in their minds and consciences. But to let all that passe, to the place aforesaid at last they were brought, where they were indicted; first, for intending treason against the queens owne person; secondlie, for stirring ciuill warres within the realme; and thirdlie, for practising to bring in forren power to inuade the land. Seuen of them appeared at Westminster on the thirteenth daie of September, who all pleaded giltie, and therefore had no iurie, but were condemned, and had iudgement on the next morrow.

Traitors indicted, arreigned, and condemned at Westminster.

7. S.

The first seuen condemned without anie iurie.

On the fifteenth daie of September, other seuen of them were likewise arreigned at Westminster, who pleaded not giltie, were tried by a iurie, found giltie, and had iudgement accordinglie. The effect of whose treasons shortlie to touch were these. Iohn Sauage, remaining long in France at Rheims, was persuaded by doctor Gilbert Gifford, that great honour should redound to him, if he would take in hand to change religion, to inuade the realme by forren power, to dispossesse the queene of England, and to proclame the Scotish queene, and set hir in hir place. All which Sauage promised to doo, or else to lose his life, and therevpon returned into England; where he imparted his purpose to Anthonie Babington, requiring his aid therein. Then Iohn Ballard, priest, also persuaded the said Babington to

The effect of the last seuen their treasons notable.

the purpose before expressed, promising him aid of three score thousand men that secretlie should be landed, and told him both how and when (as he thought.) Wherevpon Babington promised and concluded to make a slaughter vpon the councell of her maiestie in the Star chamber, then to haue sacked London, to haue burned the nauie and chiefest ships, to kill or displace the lords, knights and magistrats, that remained true subiects to our right and lawfull queene and realme, and also to haue cloied and poisoned the greatest ordinance, &c. These were their purposes.] But God, disappointing their diuelish deuises, prepared for them the reward of iniquitie, namelie death in a dreadfull sort; which when they had heard denounced against them by the mouth of the iudge, they were conducted backe againe to the place of safe custodie, all the waie replenished with horror and feare, wishing that the water, wherevpon they were rowed, might swallow them vp, the earth open and they sinke thereinto, or some sudden end beetide them, that the time of their heauie execution might be preuented.

God being the founteine of iustice abhorreth vnrighteousnesse: Ergo, &c.

But God, who is the founteine of iustice, as he is the founder of princes and principalities, hauing proportioned out for them a due and ineuitable punishment, and being the author of all godlie desiers, vouchsafed them no such fauour of anie element, wherby the course of iustice might anie waie be stopped or hindered. So that remaining two or three daies in durance after their condemnation, and definitiue sentence thundered against them (a time of respiration giuen them to humble their hearts, and reconcile their souls to God; a speciall end which the execution of iustice in England respecteth, in fauour of all malefactors) they were all that while (if touched with anie remorse) not destitute of greeuous agonies. For what man, if he consist of flesh and bloud, knowing himselfe, after the law hath passed against him, to be a meere dead man, but must needs tremble and quake at the remembrance of his end, through the vehement affects of feare possessing his heart? With which feare they needed not haue beene surprised, if a former feare, grounded vpon a good discourse of reason and iudgement, had preuented them in all their actions. Which feare was so esteemed and honored of the ancients, that in the citie of Sparta there was a temple dedicated and consecrated vnto it: the same (as was affirmed) better mainteining and preseruing the state of commonwealths, than anie other thing whatsoeuer; because thereby men were lead to stand more in aw of blame, reproch, and dishonor, than of death or greefe. But what should we speake of that which they wanted, who were indued with nothing, either godlie or honest? Let vs therefore proceed in the residue of this discourse, hauing atteined now after a long tract, to the time of their execution; whereof when there was a report among the people, a woonder it was what reckoning they did make before hand to heare and see them put to death.

What feare is necessarie in euerie christian subiect.

Seuen of the traitors are laid on hurdels and conueied to their execution.

Now when the twentith daie of September was come, and therewithall their fatall hours, the two shiriffes of London, assisted with the officers of the citie, and other attendants in great number, with weapons answerable to the maner of an execution, came to the Tower, into whose hands and charge seuen of the said conspirators were committed, who being combined and laid on hurdles fast bound (Ballard excepted who laie alone as a notable archtraitor, and first of the ranke) were drawne from the said tower through the streets of London to the place of execution, the magistrats and officers, with a multitude of others conuenientlie appointed, seeing them conueied thither, and the censure of iustice duelie administred. Now it is no question whether there wanted people at this publike spectacle, no more than it is to be doubted whether their treasons deserued death. For there was no lane, street, allie, or house in London, in the suburbs of the same, or in the hamlets or bordering townes neere the citie, (and like enough that they would come from far,

both

both by water and by land, to see that and the next daies worke dispatched) out of the which there issued not some of each sex and age; in so much that the waies were pestered with people so multiplied, as they thronged and ouerran one another for hast, contending to the place of death for the aduantage of the ground where to stand, see, and heare what was said and doone: the traitors all this while beholding this infinit assemblie, and the further they were drawne, the neerer to the end.

A scaffold and gallowes of extraordinarie height erected.

Now when they were come within sight of their destinie, where they might discerne their dolefull downfall; in what agonies might we imagine these most vile malefactors fell; if they were not vtterlie Stoicall and senslesse? For besides the present obiects of terror that were in euerie beholders eie, although of low stature, as the scaffold and gallows of extraordinarie altitude and height, they might, as they did successiuelie ascend and attend their fatall turns, take full view of the instruments ordeined and prepared for their dispatch; as the executioner with the halter, hatchet, and knife, whereby they were to be seuered, dismembred, and quartered; the fier wherein their bowels were to be burned; the stakes whereon their heads were to be fastened vpon the gallows, and what else belonged to the accomplishment of that tragedie: thousands of people with earnest eie present, and purposing to tarrie out the verie last act. The least of which motiues (much more all togither) had beene sufficient to haue rent a stonie heart in sunder; and what affections were wrought in them thereby, he best knoweth from whome no secrets are hid.

Concordat cum libro approbato.

But that this execution maie be deliuered in some orderlie discourse, we will (for the satisfieng of manie thousands) note the maner thereof, with the behauiors and speeches of these traitors at their last end; according to a copie of credit from a present obseruer and marker of this great execution. Touching the full number of these ranke traitors, that sought to bereaue the queens maiestie of hir life, they were fourteene, who made their confession at the gallows, and receiued a iust recompense of their unnaturall disloialtie. For our eies saw their traitorous harts burned, and their bodilesse heads aduanced, to the view and comfort of manie thousands of people: a happie sight for the quietnesse and safetie of hir highnesse, a generall comfort to all good subiects, and a fearefull example to all conspirators.

The sum of the traitors intended practises, agreeing with the course of their indictment.

The nature of iustice requireth that punishments and offenses should be proportioned.

But forsomuch as they offended in the highest degree of treason, as traitors resolued to kill hir highnesse, to spoile hir nauie, to cloie the ordinance, to kill the honorable lords of the priuie councell, to moue a generall rebellion, and (what in them laie) to procure forren inuasion: all which being treasons of such danger (as the least of them shut vp the sluses of mercie) it seemeth conuenient that their executions should be with more seueritie, than the common iudgement of traitors. Howbeit, the limits of law were in no sort transgressed, though the same according to the precise rule thereof were sharplie administred.

Paria delicta pari pœna compensanda, nisi insiterit aliqua mitigationis causa.

The first seuen were executed with lesse fauour than the last, as shall appeare by the sequele of this narration, and the consideration of their iudgments; namelie to be drawne to the place of execution, there to be hanged till they were halfe dead, their bowels to be burnt before their faces, &c. And trulie the first seuen as the most malicious (if there be anie difference in treason) were executed neere the seueritie of laws definitue sentence; but the other seuen were so fauorablie vsed, as they hoong vntill they were euen altogither dead, before they suffered the rest of their iudgement. Now touching the names of the traitors, their behauiours and speaches, with the maner of their executions, you shall vnderstand, that vpon the twentith daie of September, being tuesdaie, Iohn Ballard a preest, and first persuader of Babington to these odious treasons, was laid alone vpon an hurdell, and six others two and two in like sort, all drawne from Tower hill through the citie of London vnto

John Ballard priest persuader of Babington to these odious treasons executed.

The place of their execution was sometime the meeting place of their consultation.

vnto a field at the vpper end of Holborne, hard by the high waie side to saint Giles in the field, where was erected a scaffold for their execution, and a paire of gallows of extraordinarie hight, as was that wherevpon haughtie Haman was hanged for his ambition, &c: the place likewise so railed to keepe off horssemen, as the people might plainelie see the execution.

And although the thousands were thought (and indeed so seemed) to be numberlesse: yet somewhat to note the huge multitude, there were by computation able men enow to giue battell to a strong enimie. Howbeit, one thing was speciallie regarded, that although the assemblie were woonderfull great, and the traitors all goodlie personages, clothed in silkes, &c: and euerie waie furnished to moone pitie, and that the order of their execution was in euerie mans eie; yet the odiousnesse of their treasons was so setled in euerie mans heart, as there appeared no sadnesse or alteration among the people, at the mangling and quartering of their bodies. Yea the whole assemblie without anie signe of lamentation stedfastlie beheld the spectacle from the first to the last.

The multitude sheweth no motion of pittie at the execution of the traitors.

The order of the traitors execution.

On the first daie the traitors were placed vpon the scaffold, that the one might behold the reward of his fellowes treason. Ballard the preest, who was the first brocher of this treason, was the first that was hanged, who being cut downe (according to iudgement) was dismembred, his bellie ript up, his bowels and traitorous heart taken out and throwne into the fire, his head also (seuered from his shoulders) was set on a short stake vpon the top of the gallows, and the trunke of his bodie quartered and imbrued in his owne bloud, wherewith the executioners hands were bathed, and some of the standers by (but to their great loathing, as not able for their liues to auoid it, such was the throng) beesprinkled. This Ballard at the verie time of his death not denieng his treason, died an obstinat papist, and in his protestation doubtfullie said, that If he had offended the queens maiestie, or anie man else, he was sorie, and so conditionallie desired forgiuenesse. The malicious affection of his heart towards hir highnesse appeared in the trembling passage of death, that whereas his treasons were impious, odious, and damnable, as the most wicked (to wit his confederats for the most part) confessed (as the common fame goeth) that they exceeded the greatnesse of hir maiesties mercie, which maie not be measured, where there is anie measure in offending. And yet in his desire of remission at hir highnes hands, he added this condition (If) as one that doubted if he had offended hir person.

How Ballard was affected at his death.

Ballards sophisticall asking of the queens maiestie forgiuenesse.

Anthonie Babington esquier executed.

Next vnto this preest, Anthonie Babington was made readie to the gallows, who in euerie point was handled like vnto Ballard; in whome a signe of his former pride was to be obserued. For whereas the rest (through the cogitation of death) were exercised in praier vpon their knees and bareheaded; he (whose turne was next) stood on his feet with his hat on his head, as if he had beene but a beholder of the execution. Concerning his religion, he died a papist. His treasons were so odious, as the sting of conscience compelled him to acknowledge himselfe a most greeuous trespasser against the diuine maiestie, and the queens highnesse. Next vnto Babington, Sauage was likewise prepared for the execution. This notable traitor (as the fame goeth) was the man that conferred with doctor Gifford at Paris; and by the confirmations of the English fugitiues at Rhemes was resolued, and resolutelie determined to kill the queene. It is likewise said, that vpon the apprehension of Ballard the preest, Babington accellerated and hastened this Sauage to dispatch his resolution, and that he onelie deferred the matter for the making of a courtlike sute of apparell.

A note of Babingtons pride at the verie instant of his execution.

Iohn Sauage gentleman executed.

The frutes that issue from listening to the counsell of Iesuists, Romanists, and Rhemists.

When Sauage was executed, Barnewell was made readie to die, an obstinate papist, who for his treason made conscience his best excuse, howbeit a rotten conscience, which was infected with the murther of a vertuous queene; which sith

Robert Barnewell gentleman executed.

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it was so bad, few there were that heard him, but forbad their conscience to pitie him, otherwise than charitablie to be sorrowfull for his offense, deseruing so shamefull a fall, and damnable before God and man. After this Barnewell, Tichborns turn was serued, a proper yoong gentleman, whose humilitie and mone mooued much compassion. He was not setled so much in papistrie as the others, but so far gone with the proud humor of Babington, as his head could no longer hold with his shoulders. In his mone (which was verie well marked) he compared his state to Adams, who said he was placed in paradise, and there inioied all the pleasures of the earth; he was onelie forbidden to eat of the frute of one tree; but for his transgression he not onelie procured wretchednesse and miserie vpon his own head, but vpon the heads of all his posteritie: so (quoth he) I wanted nothing, but had health, wealth, and freends, and so might long haue liued, if I could haue forborne to haue bene vntrue to prince: But alas! by mine offence I haue brought my selfe vnto this miserie, whereby my good mother, my louing wife, my foure brethren and six sisters, yea our whole house (neuer before attainted) is infamed, and our posteritie for euer like to be vndoone."

Chidiocke Tichborne esquire executed.

Tichborns lamentation moued manie to commiseration.

In this mans confession thus much is to be obserued, that in comparing his offence to Adams, was implied a resembling of hir highnes to the pleasant and glorious frute, so pretious in Gods eies, as he forbad Adam and all others to laie violent hands vpon. And thus by the mouth of hir enimies, God causeth hir sacred excellencie to be blazed. Tilneie one of the queens maiesties pensioners, next vnto Tichborne, made worke for the hangman, a wretch well worthie of death, who went about to take awaie hir highnesse life. In statute law it is petie treason for a seruant to murther his maister or mistresse, being but a subiect; how detestable a treason is it then for a sworne seruant to laie violent hands on his annointed prince? The offense being in the extreamest degree, the punishment ought to be according to the seuerest censure of iustice.

Hir maiesties praise by hir enimies.

Nolite tangere Christos meos. Touch not my Christs or annointed.

Charles Tilneie a pensioner executed.

The last of these seuen that suffered was Edward Abington, whose father was an officer of good credit in hir highnes house, and for manie aduancements was bound to saie, God saue good Q. Elisabeth. But his sonne was a notable papist, and an archtraitor, who at his death did all that in him laie, to fix a feare in the hearts of the ignorant multitude, with this speech, that there could not choose but be great effusion of bloud in England verie shortlie. But Gods prouidence maketh it apparant, that the prophesies of traitors proone not euermore scripture. For Throgmorton the traitor said, that before one yeare was expired, the prosperitie and peace of England should he turned into generall calamitie. Howbeit, the daie of that diuination is out, and they both (as maie betide the rest of that rebellious rout in their appointed time) by Gods grace partakers of semblable destinie. This Abington was the last of the first seuen that were executed, and thus ended that daies worke, to the comfort of Israell, for that the execrable thing which troubled the whole land (and highlie offended the diuine maiestie) was taken awaie.

Edward Abington esquire executed, his thretning speech.

Throgmortons prophesie and Abingtons of like truth in euent.

Now when these venomous vipers were thus hewne in peeces, their tigers hearts burned in the fire, and the sentence of law satisfied: their heads and quarters were conueied awaie in baskets, to be fixed vpon poles and set ouer the gates of London, that all the world might behold the iust reward of traitors. Then decreased the multitude, and withdrew to their mansions and abodes: howbeit the fields were frequented all that daie of the weaker sex, as womenkind, with the yoonger and tenderer sort: who albeit they could not with wished opportunitie see the execution of these traitors, when it was at the quickest: yet they satisfied their eies with beholding the fier wherein their bowels were burned, and the scaffold stained with the tincture of their bloud, diuers diuerslie talking of that dismall daies worke, according as they were for that present time passionat: but all giuing God thanks, that

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the commonwelth was discharged of such putrified members, whose maladie was of such malignitie, that it was altogither desperat, and not to be helped but by extremities of cauterie or incision.

An ingression to the second daies execution.

Now making a period or stop at the dispatch of these first seuen, let vs address our pen to the description of the remanent, who being in continuall trauell of terror at the meditation of iustice still proceeding against them by moments and degrees, till the last act were ended, were miserablie tormented with multiplicitie of imaginations, fearing euerie knocke at the prison doore to be a messenger of deth: insomuch that their hearts could not but be ouercome with horror and heauinesse, the same beating and thumping (as the smiths hammer dooth the anuill) euen till it pant. In which irrecouerable distresse of theirs, whether they bethought themselues of their soules, defiled with the fog and slime of their ouglie sinnes; or of their bodie, which was made a pretious tabernacle wherein the image of God should haue beene inshrined; but now become a doongeon of discomfortable obscuritie and darkenesse: he onelie knoweth, to whome it is proper to giue that speciall grace. But to leaue all iudgement to the iudge of all, we will now proceed, and (as we haue in the former) shew what the last seuen said at their sufferings.

Thomas Salisburie esquire executed.

The last seuen traitors executed with great fauour.

On the daie following (according to generall expectation) being the one and twentith daie of September, Salisburie was laid alone vpon an hurdell, and other six, two and two in like maner, all drawne from Tower hill through the citie of London, vnto the former place of execution. Salisburie was the first man that suffered, who in all points was handled as the other seuen the daie before; sauing that he and the latter six were executed with this fauour, that they were permitted to hang vntill they were fullie dead, before the rest of their execution was performed.

Salisburie acknowledgeth his greeuous offense: a note of repentance.

And albeit this man was blinded with the superstition of papistrie, euen at the point of death, yet he mildlie acknowledged his greeuous offense against the queene, and in his last commendation charged all catholikes (for so he onelie accounted the papists) that they should leaue attempting to set vp their religion by violent hand, and by double and treble repetition exhorted them to patience, and earnestlie forbad them all maner of violence.

Violence forbidden by Salisburie.

Henrie Dun gentleman executed.

After Salisburie was with all possible fauour executed, Dun was stripped into his shirt, and seemed penitent for his greeuous offense: who after that with verie earnest persuasions he had likewise disuaded the Romanists from attempting anie matter of violence, he was executed with exceeding fauour. This Dun (as the report goeth) liued reasonable wealthilie, but it seemeth the man was of a discontented humour, and in dislike with a competent vocation; as appeared by this his vaine imagination. For in Trinitie terme last, comming into the kings bench office, among other pleasant speeches to one of his familiars; You will maruell (quoth he) to see me within one quarter of a yeare to walke vp and downe the streets with twentie men after me. Wherevpon one of his acquaintance pleasantlie answered, that he feared he should first see him followed to the gallowes with a thousand people. Dun shewed his desire, and the other read his destinie. But let the end of this traitor be a warning to all ambitious men, that destruction followeth presumption, and pride will haue a fall.

The ambitious humour of Henrie Dun.

Edward Iones esquire executed.

When the execution of Dun was finished, the next in that tragedie was Iones. This traitor (by that which was easie to be gathered of his behauiour at the gallowes) was a verie close papist, of a shrewd reach, and a most dangerous member in this common wealth. For notwithstanding his protestation that he dissuaded Salisburie from this odious enterprise; yet his owne talke shewed that his counsell proceeded of a feare which he had, that the proud humor of Babington threatened an ouerthrow of their purpose; rather than of anie dutifull zeale that he bare towards the safetie of the queens maiestie. For he neither would himselfe discouer

discouer this treason of the highest degree, neither did he counsell his friend Salisburie to preuent his owne danger in detecting the conspiracie of his companions: yea when the odiousnesse thereof brake out into publike knowledge, he (contrarie to the generall duetie of a good subiect, and in contempt of a speciall warrant directed vnto him) not onelie refused (as he himselfe confessed) to apprehend Salisburie being in his owne house, but (so far as hee might) succoured him, after that he was published to be a firebrand of that most wicked treason. One speciall thing neuerthelesse, which mooued manie to pitie him aboue the rest, was, bicause with vehement words he protested, that although he was a catholike in religion, yet he so deepelie weied the libertie of his countrie, as that he would be (and euer was) readie to spend his life in withstanding anie forren enimie, French, Italian, Spanish, or whatsoeuer: by whose opinion the tolleration of inuasion was so far from nature and christian duetie, as no excuse or punishment might satisfie the crime.

Forren inuasion reproued by Iones.

After Iones had paid the price of his treason, with all possible fauour, then Charnocke was executed, and after him Trauers, both two men (as it seemed) bewitched with an ingnorant deuotion; for that in their ends nothing was to be obserued but their praieng to our ladie, calling vpon saints, ioined with a number of ceremonies, crossings, and blessings, &c. So that it appeared that in their praiers, they were bound to forme more than to faith.

Iohn Trauers and Iohn Charnocke gentlemen executed.

When the hangman had giuen these two his heauie blessing, Gage prepared himselfe to die, who began his protestation, that there was neuer subiect more bound to a prince than his father was to hir maiestie: and from that reuerend recognizance and true acknowledgement of hir maiesties gratiousnes, he fell to excuse him selfe of the odious treasons for which he was to die: but on so weake a ground, as the simplest iudgement then present, found (by the order of his owne confession) that he was a dangerous instrument for the pope. He confessed that he accompanied Ballard the seminarie prēest (who hatched the great eg of this pestilent practise) into Yorkeshire, and that he wrote a letter for the said prēest to a Frenchman or Spaniard of account beyond the seas. To be short, in all the course of his confession, in indifferent iudgements, he accused himselfe to be an hollow hearted subiect, and a sound papist. This cunning traitor Gage could neuer haue made a confession of more infamie to himselfe, than in acknowledging the quēens maiesties most excellent fauour, shewed to his father (which a dutifull sonne ought to esteeme a benefit vnto himselfe) and so to redouble the reproch of his treasons, he condemned himselfe of ingratitude, an vnnaturall vice, which the verie foules of the aire abhorre: as (to vse one example of sufficiencie for a thousand) is reported of the storke; which so often as she hath yoong, casteth one out of the nest for the hire of the house, and reward of him that lodged hir.

Robert Gage executed.

Hir maiesties gratiousnesse commended by this traitor.

Hypocrisie of Robert Gage.

The last that suffered was one of the Bellamies, whose countenance discouered him to be a setled papist, and who as he could saie little to saue his life; so at the gallows he spake nothing to defend his death. Although this traitor had but a dull spirit, yet (as it seemed) he had a malicious heart, answerable to that of his frēends, who succored Babington and some of his associats, when feare of the law, and shame of their odious treasons, made them to shrowd themselues like foxes in holes and couerts. And it seemeth that they were as resolute to follow the treasons of Babington, as they were readie to relēeue him from the danger of the law. Otherwise if this Bellamies brother had not had an accusing conscience, he would neuer with violent hands haue hanged himselfe.

Ierom Bellamie gentleman executed.

One of the Bellamies hanged himselfe in the Tower.

Thus ended the second daies execution, to the full satisfaction of the peoples expectation; who neuerthelesse (as the daie before) were inwardlie touched with passions ingendred by the deepe impressions of the present obiects: but touched they were, as nothing pitieng their deserued deaths, in regard they were most

heinous malefactors: but as they were men, in whome humanitie should so haue preuailed, as that they should rather haue chosen losse of life and liuelod, than to haue intended the desolation of their natiue countrie, the depriuation of prince, the deposition of péeres, the destruction of people; and whatsoeuer might séeme as a directorie to bloudshed and slaughter, from the highest gouernor sitting in roialtie adorned with crowne and scepter, to the sucking babe lieng in the cradle wrapped in swathing clouts. Which extremities of butcherlie crueltie and vnnaturall sauagenesse, haue had an ancient purpose of practise, as maie appeare by a clause or two of Iohn Nichols his recantation; where speaking of Pius Quintus, excommunicating our liege souereigne, he saith that the same was within a twelue moneth of the first publication reuiued, and fiue hundred copies printed at Rome, which were dispersed throughout Italie, Spaine, and Germanie. Whereof what were the contents, is at large set downe in the treatise of execution of iustice in England for treason, not for religion.

Exlibello I. Nich. typis C. B. exeuso 1581.

But thus saith the same conuert, that a reader of diuinitie positiue, in the hearing of two hundred scholers, vomited these prophane words out of his vncircumcised mouth; that it was lawfull for anie of worship in England, to authorise the vilest wretch that is, to séeke the death of hir highnesse: whose prosperous estate the Italish préest and Spanish prince doo so maligne, that they would worke woonders, were it not for certeine impedits: as father Pais a Spaniard, reader of diuinitie scholasticall in the Romane college, affirmed in an auditorie of thrée hundred, saieng: Bona papæ voluntas trita & manifesta est, & eius crumena parata: sed R. P. aut metus subtrahit, aut potestatis defectus vetat, vt suum in Angliam exercitum ducere non audeat. Where (by the waie) would be noted an inuasion long since pretended. And that the quéens maiesties estate was then maliciouslie aimed at, maie appeare by these comminations and threats, that they would burne hir bones, and the bones of all such as loued hir, either aliue or dead; of whome, some were lords temporall, some spirituall, &c. Memorandum, that this was to be doone, when they held the sterne of gouernement: which shall be, when errant traitors are good subiects, and ranke knaues honest men.

The causes that haue so long hindered king Philip to inuade England.

And now to touch the punishment inflicted vpon the foresaid wretches, there is none (if he be not a sworne aduersarie to the state, and an enimie to iustice) but must néeds confesse, that although some of the conspirators were no lesse sharpelie executed, than by law was censured: yet considering the qualitie of their offense, it was a death tempered with lenitie, if no more but the spéedines of their execution be considered, whereby their paine and smart was but momentarie. Oh with what seueritie did the ancients punish offenses of this nature! And not without cause. For besides that nothing is more vsuall in all the whole scriptures, than prohibition to kill or to séeke the life or honor, not onelie of the prince, but also of inferior magistrats, although they be wicked (and it is said in Exodus; Thou shalt not raile vpon the iudges, neither speake euill of the ruler of the people) so is it prouided by the laws of nations, that not onelie he that hath killed his souereigne, but he also that made the attempt, that gaue counsell, that yeelded consent, that conceiued the thought, is giltie of high treason. Yea, he that was neuer preuented nor taken in the maner, in this point of the souereigne, the law accounteth him as condemned alreadie; and iudgeth him capable of death, that thought once in times past to haue seized vpon the life of his prince, anie repentance that followed notwithstanding.

The reuerend regard that subiects ought to haue of their souereignes, &c.

A gentleman iudged to die because he once thought to haue killed his prince.

And trulie there was a gentleman of Normandie, who confessed to a Franciscane frier, that he once minded to haue killed king Francis the first: but repented him of that euill thought. The frier gaue him absolution, but yet afterwards informed the king of the same; who sent the gentleman to the parlement at Paris there to be

tried, where he was by common consent condemned to die, and after executed. Amongst the Macedonians there was a law, that condemned to death fiue of their next kinsfolks that were conuicted of conspiracie against their prince. And most notable is the historie of Romilda, who seeing hir towne or citie besieged by a barbarous king, but yet youthfull and wanton; she signified vnto the enimie by messengers, that she would betraie the citizens into his hands, if he would honour hir with mariage. Which when the king had promised to doo, she in the night season opened the gates, and (the people vnwitting and ignorant) let in forren force. Now the king being entered and in possession, commanded that the towne should be sacked, and all the people slaughtered, Romilda excepted, the vse of whose bodie (for his oth sake, which he was loth to violat) he had the same night as in wedlocke: howbeit, the next daie he cast hir off, and betooke hir to twelue scullions by turns to be abused; and lastlie pitcht hir vpon a stake. Here you haue examples in both sexes (man and woman) of treason and conspiracie most seuerlie executed: which if they be compared vnto the sufferings of our late offenders, Iesu what ods shall we sée and confesse? And as the ancients had treason in mortall hatred; so could they not awaie with ingratitude, as maie be obserued by the laws of Draco (which were said to be written bloud, they were so sharpe and peremptorie) amongst which, there was a commandement, that if anie man had rseeiued a benefit of his neighbor, and it were prooued against him long after that he had beene vnthankefull for it, and had ill acknowledged the good turne receiued; such a one should be put to death. So then we sée how in old time they opposed their affections against particular vices, persecuting them with seueritie, as laboring to supplant them: this age of ours beholdeth ingratitude and treason combined, with a fowle nest of other irkesome and noisome sins, in the hearts of hellhounds (for we maie not vouchsafe them the name of men) breathing out the vapors of their venemous infection, to the damnifieng of the whole commonwelth: what fauour then deserue such to find where they haue offended, or rather what rigor are they not worthie to suffer?

A seuere law against treason.

A woman traitoresse well rewarded.

Among the Locrians there was a strict decrée, that euerie citizen, desirous to bring in a new law, should come and declare it publikelie before the people with a halter about his necke; to the end that if his new law was not thought méet to be receiued, and verie profitable for the commonwelth, he might presentlie be strangled with the same rope. If they in old time went so short a waie to worke in a case of vnaduisednesse, to teach others that they vndertake nothing without mature deliberation: what are we taught to be conuenient for such, as breake not their wits either to deuise or prefer new laws; but indeuor what they can to dissolue all law and order, all peace and societie, all gouernment and subiection; and by the impulsion of a furious mind to let in libertie, contempt, and all the enormities and abuses that accompanie a licentious life? To let passe the pluralitie of examples and authorities of this kind, the number being so great as that they would fill vp Erotostthenes siue; and to saie somewhat of seueritie, that by opposition of countrie to countrie in that respect, we maie sée the great difference betwéene ours and theirs.

Against séeking after noueltie, and to teach men to be well aduised, &c.

It is seueritie to flea men quicke, to chaine them aliue to a stake, in such sort as they maie run round thereabout, the fire inuironing them on all sides: it is seueritie to haue collops of flesh pluckt from the bodie with hot burning tongs: it is seueritie to be cast downe from a stéepe place starke naked vpon sharpe stakes: it is seueritie to be torne in péeces with wild horsses, and to haue the bones broken vpon a whéele. All these be extremities of torments awarded by law, and at this daie practised in forren regions for treason, and sometime for crimes of nothing so

Extreame kinds of torments in other countries for treason, &c.

dangerous a nature. Finallie, if we confer the seueritie of this execution, exercised vpon rebellious and traitorous subiects in a superlatiue degree of disloialtie, with that of other nations commonlie vsed, namelie in principall affaires, which concerne peace and warre, and matters of gouernment, to accept the seruice of runnagate slaues, to place them in authoritie, to change or depose at pleasure anie whatsoeuer: yea to strangle them vpon the least suspicion or dislike: our seueritie is clemencie. For in this is ripe reason and iudiciall processe; in the other will without, wit, and (as commonlie they saie) Omnia pro imperio, nihil pro officio.

Traitors iustlie rewarded, and yet nothing so as they deserue.

And therefore we conclude, that ingratitude being counted vnnaturall, and treason (a vice vomited out of hell mouth) linked togither with manie knots of other shamefull sinnes, and all concurring in the hearts and liues of these outragious conspirators as in a centre: whie should it be thought seueritie to haue iustice iustlie administred, that traitors should be drawne vpon hurdels, strangled in a halter, cut downe aliue, dismembred, their bellies ripped, their bowels taken out and burned, their heads chopt from their shoulders, their bodies clouen in foure quarters, and set ouer the gates of London, for the foules of the aire to feed vpon at full? Vnto which foule end maie all such come, as meane anie mischiefe against good quéene Elisabeth, the lords of hir highnesse councell, the bodie politike of the land, the slander or innouation of true religion, &c: wherein God make prince and people of one mind, and plant in all subiects a reuerend regard of obedience and contentment of present estate, supported with iustice and religion: least longing after nouelties, it fare with them as with the frogs, who liuing at libertie in lakes and ponds, would néeds (as misliking their present intercommunitie of life) with one consent sue to Iupiter for a king, and so did. Whereat he woondering, granted their desires, and cast them an huge trunke of a trée, which besides that it made a great noise in the water as it fell, to their terrifieng; so it was cumbersome by taking vp their accustomed passage: insomuch that discontented therewithall, they assaulted Iupiter with a fresh petition, complaining that (besides diuerse mislikes otherwise) the king whom he gaue them was but a senselesse stocke, and vnworthie of obedience: wherefore it would please him to appoint them another indued with life. Wherevpon Iupiter sent the herne among them, who entring into the water, deuoured vp the frogs one after another: insomuch that the residue, séeing their new king so rauenouslie gobling vp their fellowes, lamentablie wéeping besought Iupiter to deliuer them from the throte of that dragon and tyrant. But he (of purpose vnchangeable) made them a flat answer, that (will they nill they) the herne should rule ouer them.

A prettie apolog allusorie to the present ease of malcontents.

Whereby we are taught to be content when we are well, and to make much of good quéene Elisabeth, by whom we enioie life and libertie, with other blessings from aboue; beséeching God we maie sée a consummation of the world, before the scepter of the kingdome be translated to another. For (as the prouerbe saith) seldome commeth the better. But to the purpose, this execution being dispatched, and the testimonies thereof dispersed and visible in diuerse places about the citie, as at London bridge, where the traitors heads were ranged into their seuerall classes: manie rimes, ballads, and pamphlets were set foorth by sundrie well affected people, wherein bréefelie were comprised the plot of their conspiracie, the names of the traitors, and their successiue suffering, which growing common and familiar both in citie and countrie, were chanted with no lesse alacritie and courage of the singer; than willinglie and delightfullie listened vnto of the hearer. So that, what by one meane and what by another, all England was made acquainted with this horrible conspiracie, not so much admiring the maner of the mischéefes intended, as comforted that hir highnesse had the holie hand of God ouershadowing hir, the surest

Seldome commeth the better.

protection

protection that prince or people can haue against perill. So that England is replenished with faithfull and louing subiects, though here and there (like darnell among wheate) lurke a viper or aspe waiting opportunitie to bite or sting.

Now to make a complet discourse of all these heauie and tragicall accidents, hauing thus far continued much important matter concerning the same: the reader is with due regard to peruse the addition following, wherein is argument of aggrauation touching these treasons: which being aduisedlie read, considered, and conferred with the former narration, will yéeld as sound, pithie, and effectuall information for the knowledge of the conspirators purposed plot, as anie subiect would desire: and more than without gréefe or teares anie true English heart can abide to read or heare. Where, by the waie, is to be noted, that Marie the Scotish Q. was a principall.

It is apparant by the iudiciall confessions of Iohn Ballard preest, Anthonie Babington, and their confederats, that the said Iohn Ballard (being a preest of the English seminarie at Rheims) in Lent past (after he and sundrie other Iesuits and preests, of his sect, had trauelled throughout all parts almost of this realme, and labored to their vttermost to bréed in hir maiesties subiects an inclination to rebell against hir) he went into France, and there treated and concluded with Barnardino de Mendoza (the Spanish ambassador restant at Paris) with Charles Paget and Thomas Morgan two English fugitiues, and inexcusable traitors, for an inuasion to be made by forren forces into this kingdome. And because no assurance could then be made vnto Mendoza for the interteining, assisting, and good landing of those whome the king his maister, the pope and the house of Guise should dispatch for that seruice, he sent the said Ballard into England at Whitsuntide last, with expresse charge to informe the catholikes, that for sundrie important considerations, the king his maister had vowed vpon his soule to reforme England or to loose Spaine: and for that purpose had in readinesse such forces and warlike preparations, as the like was neuer séene in these parts of Christendome. And therefore willed him to stirre the people, and worke the meanes to make some faction to giue them landing and interteinment at their comming: and speciallie to preserue the Scotish Q. in that confusion; letting the catholiks vnderstand, that in case they did not assist the inuaders, they would then enter as conquerors, put no difference betwixt man and man.

Barnardine de Mendoza, alwaies mischéefouslie minded against the state of England: note his practises with Ballard.

With this dispatch Ballard by the speciall direction of Morgan (a notorious traitor to this state, yea a professed and sworne seruant vnto the Scotish quéene) repaired to Anthonie Babington, a gentleman to whom the said Scotish Q. vpon the commendation of Morgan and the bishop of Glascow, had long before written letters of gratulation, and with whom she had secret intelligence by sending of letters and other messages, the space almost of two yeares before. To this gentleman Ballard discouered at large the whole purpose of Mendoza, Paget, and Morgan, and said (as he had in charge) that if happilie a strong partie could be made here to assist the inuasion, and aduance the Scotish queene, men, munition, monie, and vittels should be abundantlie supplied from beyond the seas; and therefore persuaded Babington to sound the whole realme, and to vndertake the action. Babington at the first proposed manie difficulties, but principallie this, that the inuaders or their assistants could haue no hope (the state being so well setled) to preuaile during hir maiesties life. Wherevpon Ballard presentlie replied, that hir life could be no hinderance therein. For vpon like doubts mooued beyond the seas by meanes alreadie laid, Iohn Sauage (a conspirator conuicted hereof by his owne confession) through the persuasion and procurement principallie of one William Gifford (an English fugitiue, and reader of diuinitie in the English seminarie at Rheims) had vowed and sworne

The Scotish quéene is an actor in this purposed conspiracie.

Iohn Sauage had vowed and sworne to kill the quéene.

sworne to kill hir maiestie, as a thing resolued vpon to be lawfull, honor able, and meritorious.

This difficultie being thus remooued, and Ballard from daie to daie continuing his persuasions, and highlie commending the murthering of hir maiestie as a deed of great honor, singular merit, and easie to effectuat: Babington vndertooke the managing of the whole action, and hauing first with his complices entred into manie seuerall propositions of sundrie treasonable natures, as to surprise hir maiesties person by force, to kill the lord treasuror, the earle of Leicester, and sir Francis Walsingham, to remooue hir councellors, and to place new, to murther the nobilitie whilest they were set in administring iustice, to sacke the citie of London, to fire the nauie of the realme, to surprise some forces and hauens, to furnish the paie of their forces by an vniuersall spoile and robbing of the richer sort; hauing (I saie) first entred into these and such like propositions) in fine, he with Ballard and others resolued vpon these three principall points: first, that the inuaders should be assisted by a prepared readinesse in the people to rebell in diuerse places, and to ioine with them vpon their first landing; that hir maiestie should be murthered by six gentlemen of resolution; and lastlie, that the Scotish quéene should be aduanced to the crowne of England. For the better performance of these resolutions, Ballard and Babington sounded diuerse, and dealt with manie; and so farre Babington proceeded in short time, that a choise was made by him of the six that should execute the attempt against hir maiesties person, that some others were especiallie assigned by him to attend and assist the inuasion, with direction from Babington to be popular vnto their vttermost; and that himselfe resolued vpon the first assurance either of hir maiesties death, or of the strangers arriuall, to proclame the quéene of Scots queene of England.

Babington vndertaketh the managing of the whole action: note their tresons.

Things standing in these terms, and Babington deferring onelie the execution of this plot, vntill signification therof were giuen to the Scotish queene, and hir good pleasure knowne therein (God so ordeining it) the Scotish quéene in *Iune* last wrote vnto Babington a short letter in cipher, signifieng hir discontent for the breach of their intelligence, and requiring him to send by that bearer a packet receiued for hir in Aprill before, and vntill that time retéined by Babington, as wanting good meanes of conueieng, and therefore fearing the danger of that seruice. Wherevpon Babington vsing that opportunitie, both deliuered hir packet vnto that messenger, and by him wrote vnto hir touching euerie particular of this plot aboue mentioned, and how farre he had procéeded therein; signifieng amongst manie other things, how desirous he was to doo hir some seruice, how well it might be performed, if assurance were giuen from beyond the seas for that which was vndertaken thense, and how necessarie it were that rewards were promised vnto the chéefe actors for their better incoragement, and to be giuen to their posterities, in case they miscaried in the execution. And therefore he required, that she would grant authoritie to some such as it might like hir, to giue certeine offices and dignities necessarie for this action. Vnto this letter Babington about twentie daies after in the same cipher, by which he did write before, receiued answer from the Scotish quéene, with which she also sent inclosed (as hir secretarie now confesseth) a new alphabet in cipher, to be vsed bétweene them from that time forward.

The Scotish quéene writeth vnto Babington in cipher: with his aduise, direction, and request.

And in this hir letter she not onelie declared hir good opinion of Babington, gaue him due thanks for his readinesse to doo hir seruice, promised correspondencie in all that she might, and willed that the resolution being taken, he should with all spéed impart it to Barnardino de Mendoza, considering first what forces on foot or horssebacke he could make, what place for their assemblie, what leaders

in

in euerie shire, what generall or chéefe leaders; but also amongst infinit other traitorous directions (apparant by the verie letters) she aduised that vpon returne of answer from Mendoza, with assurance that all things were in a readinesse, then and not before it should be conuenient to sound the countrie. And to colour the prouision and préparation, it should be giuen out, that what they did, was not vpon anie euil or disloiall disposition towards hir maiestie, but for the iust defense of catholikes, their bodies, liues, and lands, against the violence of the Puritans, the principall wherof being in the low countries with the chéefe forces of the realme, purposed at his returne to ruine not onelie the whole catholikes, but also meant to depriue hir maiestie of the crowne. And that they should giue it out, that therefore the preparation was for the defense of hir maiestie, and hir lawfull successors, not naming the Scotish quéene: vnder which pretense an association also might be made amongest the catholikes.

The Scotish quéenes aduise in this mischiefous plotse fauoring altogither of inhumanitie.

Which being doone, and all things in readinesse both within and without the realme, it should be then time for the six gentlemen to worke, taking order that (because the time would be somewhat vncerteine of the exploit vpon hir maiesties person) there should be continuallie some men in readinesse about the court well horssed, to bring word in post into the countrie (by foure seuerall waies for feare of intercepting) when that designment was performed, to the end she might be taken awaie before hir kéeper could either conueie hir awaie or fortifie the place. She wished that some fire might be kindled in Ireland, to the end the councellors attention might be distracted from that part whense the stroke should come, which was from Flanders, Spaine, and the house of Guise. She aduised Babington to deale carefullie and vigilantlie, to prouide all things necessarie for effecting the enterprise, in such sort that it might take good effect by the grace of God (for so it pleaseth hir to vse the phrase.) Lastlie, after great promises of large requitall to all the conspirators, and manie other particular aduises tending wholie to the subuersion of this state, and depriuation of hir maiesties life, she groweth towards a conclusion, with praier for his good successe in the aforesaid conspiracie. It were néedlesse to expresse more particularie the contents of his or hir letters, the originals themselues being extant and surprised.

Six gentlemen of resolution, &c.

To these letters Babington wrote for answer by the same messenger, that so soone as the resolution was fullie taken with Mendoza, he would informe hir more; and therevpon within thrée daies after addressed Ballard towards Mendoza with signification, that all things were here in a readinesse, and attended onelie the arriuall of their forces. But God, who hath alwaies protected hir maiestie in all mercie beyond the expectation of man, euen almost in the verie point of execution, discouered the conspiracie. And therevpon Ballard (being readie to imbarke himselfe) was taken, vpon whose apprehension Babington forced (as he said) with the extreme danger to be discouered, and the no hope of anie pardon for so hatefull an offense, entred a new resolution with Sauage aforenamed and Charnocke, to take hir maiesties life awaie presentlie, otherwise intended to haue béene respited vntill the inuasion, which (as Ballard from the mouth of Mendoza swore) must at the vttermost haue beene performed by September. But Babington, finding himselfe restreined before he wist, and thereby assuring himselfe that all was knowne, found the means to escape, in hope to haue recouered the sea, and so to haue saued himselfe and his confederats. Yet after ten daies search through all countries adioining to London, though disguised in clownes attire, and discolored with walnut leaues, he was discouered, apprehended, and with some other of the conspirators brought vnto London, with greater manifestation of true ioie in the people for their surprise, than toong can expresse or pen maie write.

Ballard apprehended being readie to be imbarked and transported ouer sea.

The conspirators disguised themselues, thinking by that meane to shift the matter.

The

The apprehension of Ballard and flight of Babington dismaied the rest, and dispersed the other conspirators; yet not so farre, but that iustice hath since laid hold vpon the most of them. And though in the beginning they seemed all resolued to stand vnto the deniall of euerie part of this action; yet such is the force of truth, that without either hope of fauour or fear of torture, they haue all acknowledged the conspiracie, and confessed their seuerall offenses, aguising the Scotish quéene to be the principall comforter, directer and imbracer of these treasons, and imputing this error to their deceiuable expectation of hir future greatnesse in this land, the hope whereof ioined with hir allurements, hath heretofore as the world can witnesse (though these could not beware thereby) bred diuerse rebellions within this kingdome, ouerturned manie happie estates, and defiled sundrie families of vnspotted fidelitie in former time.

Magna est veritas & præualet.

All which notwithstanding our catholikes and others owe and attribute so great a priuilege to hir person onelie, that being past expectation (as they terme it) of anie good from the king hir sonne, and not regarding the interest of anie other to the succession of this state, if she by death or otherwise maie not be aduanced vnto this kingdome: they are then determined to set the crowne on the house of Spaine, either by pretense of some putatiue title, to which effect some pamphlets haue béene alreadie composed; or rather (to auoid all controuersies) by some grant and inuesture from the see apostolike: for the dispatch wherof (as the conspirators confesse) doctor Allen an English fugitiue, and some others attend in Rome to solicit the pope. Which being once performed, some of the grauer and more reuerend sort (as they call them) of our fugitiue diuines, must secretlie make their repaire hither, and in auricular confession persuade the principall catholikes of this land, and such as are able to swaie the rest, to fauor, maintcine and aduance that title of Spaine against all others, vnder paine of damnation. By meanes whereof it is intended that Spaine shall mount to so huge a greatnesse, as to be able of himselfe to giue lawes to all the states of christendome. ¶ With this note, being the verie flower and grace of all the former discourse, we will conclude, hauing now no more to saie touching the conspiracie, but these few verses, which we will vse in lieu of a conclusion, and so procéed vnto other matters of consequence, conuenient for the booke:

How the popish catholiks are affected to the Scotish quéene.

What the fugitiue diuines must doo for their parts.

In nefariam Babingtoni cæterorumque coniurationem, hexastichon.

Quid non papa ruens spondet, modo iussa capessas?
En diadema tibi, sceptráque, pactus Hymen.
Dissimilem votis mercedem nacta, sed ausis
Et sceleri retulit turba nefanda parem.
Successere rogi regno, coruíque coronæ,
Pro sceptro laqueus, pro thalamo tumulus.]

In this meane time, to wit, on thursdaie the 22 daie of September, sir Philip Sidneie knight, a most valiant and towardlie gentleman, sonne and heire to sir Henrie Sidneie late deceased (as is before shewed, in seruice of his prince, and defense of his countrie, in the warres of the Netherlands) was shot into his thigh with a musket at Zutphen in Gelderland, whereof he died on the 17 of October, whose bodie was conueied into England, to be honourablie buried. On the eight of October, Iohn Low, Iohn Adams, and Robert Dibdale, being before condemned for treason, in being made préests by authoritie of the bishop of Rome, since the feast of Iohn Baptist in the first yeare of hir maiesties reigne, and remaining here after the terme of fourtie daies after session of the last parlement, were drawne to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered.

Sir Philip Sidneie s'aine at Zutphen in Gelderland.

Seminarie préests executed at Tiborn.

On the same daie at night being saturdaie, there arose the greatest storme that happened since the wind which some doo call Douer wind; and some others, the

The note of *R. S.* esquire, A tempestuous wind in October terrible and hurtfull.

wind

wind that blew awaie Calis, which was in the time of the reigne of quéene Marie. For besides great harmes, which happened that night vpon the seas, there were vpon the land in euerie quarter ouerthrowne thereby, houses, cottages, barnes, haiestacks, tiles, chimneies, pales, and gates innumerable, and manie trées both great and small were not onelie torne and rent asunder, but grubd vp by the roots: in so much as vpon the mondaie next in manie places men could not passe on horsebacke in the high waies, by reson of the trées that laie blowne and broken downe crosse ouerthwart the stréets. And among other strange chances happening in that tempest, I thought good (for a tast) to recite thrée accidents which befell not farre asunder within the countie of Kent. The one was at Sittingborne, where a woman passing in the stréet by hir neighbors house, saw a great tree standing close by the same, to wauer and wag at the verie root, in such sort as she suspecting the ruine thereof, called vnto hir neighbors who were then in bed, and told them the danger thereof, who presentlie arising, descouded from out of the loft where they ledged, and were no sooner departed thense, but downe fell the trée, and brake through the roofe of that house, and rested on the bed where they laie.

The accidents noteworthie by meanes of this blustering wind.

There was also blowne downe with the violence of the same wind not far off a great walnut trée, the armes and branches wherof bare and bent a couple of imps, in such sort as the owner in the morning to saue them, did cut off two branches from the walnut trée, and so departed to the church to heare morning praier: but before he was returned home to dinner, his walnut trée stood as vpright as euer it did, and so remaineth and groweth as before. The third strange chance happened that night at Dartford in the said shire, at the dwelling house of maister Béere esquire, where by the force of the said wind, all the coping of one side of a great gable hed of bricke (reaching from below the top or roofe of the same house almost to the eaues thereof) was blowne quite ouer the house vnder which it stood, and neuer touched anie part thereof at anie side. By these accidents happening within so small a circuit, it maie be conceiued what great harmes were doone that night throughout the whole realme. For it was thought vniuersall, as was also that which raged in the end of September, wherewithall fell such sharpe shewers of raine, that the drops thereof beating against the faces of trauellers made them to smart, as with twigs of birch: and so vehement they were that they persed through their clothing to their skin: so that manie wringing wet and sore beaten with wind and weather, being verie ill appaid, were glad to shorten their purposed iournies, by taking the next towne for their present succour, where they might sée the roofes and rafters of houses naked of tiles, and heare the donging of belles as they hoong in the steeples, &c. At what time it was reported by people of great age, that they had béene in manie tempests they thanked God, but none comparable to this: which might well be so, if a man were disposed to set downe a register of the particular casualties, losses, damages, hurts, hinderances, &c: thereby occasioned. In the table if you looke for tempests and winds, you shall read strange matter and worthie obseruation, though some account this and manie more but ridiculus stuffe: which kind of people I doubt are not of the number that woonder at Gods works, but are too too much addicted to naturall philosophie.

A strange accident of a walnut trée blowne downe with the wind, &c.

The third strange chance.

One of the west gates of the citie of London, commmonlie called Ludgate, being sore decaied, and in perill to haue fallen, was taken downe, the prisoners thereof in the meane time remaining vnder the charge of Thomas Lutwich custos or keeper of Ludgate, in the southeast quadrant to the same gate adioining: which quadrant, for the ease of the prisoners freemen of that citie, was sometime builded by sir Steuen Foster fishmonger, lord maior of that citie in Anno 1453. And this yeare, the said gate was againe not onelie newlie, but also stronglie and beautifullie builded,

Ludgate of London newlie builded.

at

at the charges of the citizens of the same citie, the foundation whereof, in the name and presence of sir Wolstan Dixie maior, certeine of his brethren the aldermen, Anthonie Ratclife and Henrie Pranell shiriffes, was laid on the second daie of Maie, and so foorthwith so diligentlie applied by William Kirwine frée mason (and other woorkmen of diuerse crafts vnder his charge) who for a certeine sum had taken vpon him for all maner of stuffe and workemanship to the same belonging, that the same gate was fullie finished in the space of six moneths or lesse. So that on the 29 daie of October in the same yeare, the said gate was set open to sir William Cicill knight lord treasuror, who first entered the same on horsebacke, accompanied of diuerse other honorable persons, and noble men of hir maiesties priuie councell, who all rode to the Guildhall, where on the same daie kept his feast George Barnes lord maior of that citie, after he had taken his oth and charge in the exchecker at Westminster.

Parlement at Westminster.

On the 29 daie of October the archbishop of Canturburie, the lord treasuror, and the earle of Derbie, representing the quéens maiesties person, began the high court of parlement by proxe, which session of parlement was at this time assembled for matters concerning Marie quéene of Scots, as more plainlie shall appeare, by that which followeth the end of that session. In the moneth of Nouember about the 23 daie, the right honorable lord Robert earle of Leicester, lieutenant generall of all hir maiesties forces in the vnited prouinces of the low countries, returning from thense, arriued at London and went late to the court, where as he was not so suddenlie come, as forwardlie welcome of the principall, and others, to the great reioising of all estates throughout the whole realme, as maie appeare by verses of gratulation, in part as followeth:

An. Reg. 29.

The earle of Leicester returned from the low countries, and arriued in England.

In reditum magnanimi herois, Roberti Comitis Lecestrij, Δωδεκάστιχον gratulatorium. *T. N.*

Solonem ingenio, magnum qui Nestora vincis
Consilio, pietate Numam, grauitate Catonem:
Gratus ades, ter gratus ades, Comes inclyte, ab oris
Teutonicis, salsi emensus vada cærula ponti:
Rauca fuit Wansteda diu, te absente, nec vllas
Lætitiæ ediderat voces: Ilfordia eclypsin
Passa fuit, modulis fleuit Laitona canoris:
Hammáque mœstificis vlulauit percita curis.
At veluti auricomus dispellit nubila Titan,
Exhilarat tua sic nostros præsentia vultus
Magne Comes, terræ decus, immortale Britannæ,
Magnanimos inter meritò numerande dynastas.

The parlement proroged.

On the second daie of December, the session of parlement (begun the nine and twentith of October as is afore shewed) was dissolued and broken vp, and was proroged vntill the fiue and twenttih of Februarie next following. The substance and effect of matters handled in the same parlement, is set downe in a letter learnedlie penned, and directed to the right honorable the earle of Leicester, as followeth.

THE COPIE OF A LETTER TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARLE of Leicester, lieutenant generall of all hir maiesties forces in the vnited prouinces of the low countries, written before, but deliuered at his returne from thense: with a report of certeine petitions and declarations made to the queenes maiestie at two seuerall times, from all the lords and commons latelie assembled in parlement: and hir maiesties answeres therevnto by hir selfe deliuered,

uered, though not expressed by the reporter with such grace and life, as the same were vttered by hir maiestie.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE EARLE OF LEICESTER, &c.

ALBEIT with earnest desire of my heart (right honorable my verie good lord) I haue alwaies indeuored to doo your lordship some acceptable seruice, for the honour you first vouchsafed me from beyond my cradle, and after confirmed with the fauorable opinion wherewith you haue alwaies countenanced me euer since, euen thus far onward on my daies, which also togither with my yeares hath increased faster than mine abilitie to performe, being crossed in nothing more deepelie, than when I was letted by the ouermuch tendering of me by my parents, to attend your lordship in your late voiage and honorable expedition into the low countries: yet haue I béene euer since most studious to obserue and apprehend some good occasion, or fit opportunitie, to testifie the dutifull reuerence I beare to your lordship: wherein if hitherto I haue béene slacke in performance during your absence, it hath procéeded of the care I had, not to interteine your lordship with matter either friuolous or vulgar: though] things of that nature might best become my condition, and well agrée with my vnderstanding.

In which cogitation it came to my mind, that the report of the spéeches deliuered by the queens most excellent maiestie in a late and weightie cause dealt in this parlement, in answer to the petitions presented to hir maiestie the twelfe and foure and twentith daie of Nouember at Richmond by the lord chancellor and speaker, respectiuelie, in the name and behalfe of both estates, accompanied with diuerse of either sort, would doubtlesse be a thing to your lordship most gratefull, as one euer pleased iustlie to admire the rare perfections of hir mind, and approoued iudgement, wherewith according to your estate and place, deseruedlie, your lordship hath béene vsuallie acquainted: as also worthie of eternall monument and euerlasting memorie, for as much as on the sudden they were deliuered by hir selfe, for answer of a matter propounded, debated, resolued, and digested, with great labor and premeditation of the greatest, grauest, wisest, and most choise persons of the whole realme, whereof although I haue but slenderlie purtraied the lineaments, without expressing to life the externall ornaments of hir roiall speach, accompanied with all princelie and gracefull accomplements: yet doubt I not but your lordship will easilie find hir inward vertues, whereof it is impossible for me to make the least adumbration.

And because in the dailie expectation of your lordships returne, I rested vncerteine how these might come safelie to your lordships hands: I did therefore aduise to haue this my letter with the included copies to be readie to attend your first arriuall, in gratulation of the safetie thereof, which hath beene long desired. Wherein, as I striue to performe a particular dutie to your lordship, so trust I you will haue that honorable consideration, that in the communication thereof that others, there grow not anie preiudice to me for my presumption, in aduenturing to be a reporter of that, which in the deliuerie wrought so great astonishment to all the hearers, as it exceeded the fulnesse of euerie mans expectation: and therefore, without some fauorable construction of mine attempt, I might incurre great blame by my slender maner of report, so to haue blemished the excellencie of hir maiesties spéeches, whereof I humblie beséech your lordship to haue fauorable regard. Thus referring them to your lordships disposition, and my selfe to your fauorable protection, I humblie take my leaue. 25. Nouember. 1586.

Your lordships most humblie in all dutie to command, R. C.

THE BRIEFE OF THE LORD CHANCELLORS FIRST SPEACH, AT THE

Time when he deliuered hir most excellent maiestie a petition in writing, for and in the name of the lords and commons: which speaches were of more length then here are by me collected: but sure I am, the substance thereof is here trulie expressed.

THAT the lords and commons, hauing of long time to their intolerable greefe, found, by how manie practises the Scotish quéene had compassed the destruction of hir highnesse most roiall person (in whose safetie next vnder God they acknowledged their chiefe felicitie to consist) thereby not onelie to bereaue them of the sincere and true religion in this realme professed and established, but to bring backe againe this noble realme into the thraldome of Romish tyrannie, and to ouerthrow the happie estate thereof: wherein, although hir highnesse of hir abundant, gratious, naturall clemencie, and princelie magnanimitie, hath either lightlie passed them ouer, or with no small indulgence tolerated, notwithstanding the often and earnest instances of hir nobilitie and commons in sundrie parlements heretofore: and further hath protected hir from the violent pursute of hir owne people: she yet, as a person obdurat in malice (as it appeareth) continued hir former practises, as had béene latelie manifested by certeine wicked conspiracies plotted by one Anthonie Babington, and diuerse desperat persons, that had combined and confederated themselues by vow and oth in a most horrible enterprise, by murther to take awaie the life of hir maiestie: wherein the Scotish quéene did not onelie aduise them, but also direct, comfort, and abbet them, with persuasion, counsell, promise of reward, and earnest obtestation.

Wherevpon hir maiestie at the earnest request of such as tendered the safetie of hir roiall person, and the quiet of the realme, did direct commission vnder the great seale to sundrie lords and others of hir maiesties priuie councell, and a great number of lords of parlement, of the greatest and most ancient degrée, assisted with some of the principall iudges of the realme, to heare, examine, and determine the same, according to a statute in that behalfe, made in the seuen and twentith yeare of hir reigne. Who to the number of thirtie and six, hauing attended the execution of the said commission, and diuerse daies and times heard the allegations against the said Scotish quéene in hir owne presence and hearing (she being permitted to saie what she would in hir owne) excuse did with one assent, find hir culpable both in priuitie and consent to the said crimes obiected, and also in compassing the quéens maiesties death.

Which sentence, by hir owne directions, vpon the hearing of the proofes and processe in parlement was iudged to haue béene most honorable and iust. And thereupon they all beséech hir maiestie, that forasmuch as the said quéene of Scots, was the verie ground and onelie subiect, wherevpon such dangerous practises and complots had béene founded, against hir maiesties most roiall person, and the estate of this realme for these manie yeares, to the ouerthrow of sundrie of the nobilitie of the land, and danger of christian religion, and that they could sée no hope of hir desisting, and hir adherents; but that still hir maiesties safetie must be hazarded, and stand to the euent of the like miraculous discoueries.

Therefore, as most humble and instant suppliants, they did vpon their knées at hir most gratious féet, beséech and request in most earnest maner, that as well for the continuance of Gods religion, the quiet of this kingdome, preseruation of hir person, and defense of them and their posterities, it would please hir highnesse to take

take order, that the said sentence might be published, and such further direction giuen, as was requisit in this so weightie a cause, according to the purport and intent of the said statute. Wherein, if hir maiestie (pursuing hir woonted clemencie) should now be remisse, besides the imminent danger to hir person, she might by the staie thereof, procure the heauie displeasure of almightie God, as by sundrie seuere examples of his iustice in the sacred scriptures dooth appeare. And so he deliuered to hir maiesties owne hands the petition in writing, which he said had béene with great deliberation assented vnto by all the whole parlement.

A SHORT EXTRACT OF SVCH REASONS, AS WERE DELIUERED IN

Speach by maister sargent Puckering, speaker of the lower house, before the queens most excellent maiestie in hir presence chamber at Richmond, the twelfe of Nouember 1586, in the eight and twentith yere of hir reigne, conteining diuerse apparant and imminent dangers, that maie grow to hir maiesties most roiall person, and to hir realme from the Scotish queene and hir adherents, if remedie be not prouided.

FIRST TOUCHING THE DANGER OF HIR MAIESTIES PERSON.

1 BOTH this Scotish quéene and hir fauorers, doo thinke hir to haue right, not to succeed but to inioie your crowne in possession: and therefore as shée is a most impatient competitor, so will shée not spare anie meanes whatsoeuer, that maie bereaue vs of your maiestie, the onelie impediment that she inioieth not hir desire.

2 She is obdurat in malice against your roiall person, notwithstanding you haue shewed hir all fauour and mercie, as well in preseruing hir kingdome, as sauing hir life, and saluing hir honor. And therefore there is no place for mercie, since there is no hope that she will desist from most wicked attempts: the rather, for that hir malice appeareth such, that she maketh (as it were) hir testament of the same, to be executed after hir death, and appointeth hir executors to performe it.

3 She boldlie and openlie professed it lawfull for hir to mooue inuasion vpon you. And therefore, as of inuasion victorie maie insue, and of victorie, the death of the vanquished: so did she thereby not obscurelie bewraie, that she thought it lawfull for hir to destroie your sacred person.

4 She thinketh it not onelie lawfull, but honorable also and meritorious to take your life from you, as being alreadie depriued of your crowne by the excommunication of the holie father. And therefore it is like she will (as hitherto she hath doone) continuallie séeke it by whatsoeuer meanes.

5 That she is gréedie of your maiesties death, and preferreth it before hir owne life and safetie: for in hir direction to one of hir late complices, she aduised (vnder couert termes) that whatsoeuer should become of hir, that tragicall execution should be performed vpon you.

1 IT is most perillous to spare hir, that continuallie hath sought the ouerthrow and suppression of true religion, infected with poperie from hir tender youth, and being after that a confederat in that holie league when she came to age, and euer since a professed enimie against the truth. The danger of the ouerthrow of the true religion.

2 She resteth wholie vpon popish hopes to deliuer and aduance hir, and is thereby so deuoted to that profession, that aswell for satisfaction of others, as for feeding of hir owne humor, she will supplant the gospell, where and when so euer she maie,

which euill is so much the greater, and the more to be auoided, as that it slaieth the verie soule, and will spread it selfe not onelie ouer England and Scotland, but also into those parts beyond the seas, where the gospell of God is mainteined, the which cannot but be exceedinglie weakened, by the defection of this noble Iland.

The perill of the state of the realme.

1 As the Lydians said, Vnum regem agnoscunt Lydi, duos autem tolerare non possunt: So we saie, Vnicam reginam Elisabetham agnoscunt Angli, duas autem tolerare non possunt.

2 As she hath alredie by hir allurements brought to destruction more noble men and their houses, togither with a greater multitude of the commons of this realme, during hir being here, than she should haue beene able to doo, if she had béene in possession of hir owne crowne, and armed in the field against vs: so will she still be continuall cause of the like spoile, to the greater losse and perill of this estate: and therefore this realme neither can, nor maie indure hir.

3 Againe, she is the onelie hope of all discontented subiects, she is the foundation whereon all the euill disposed doo build, she is the root from whense all rebellions and trecheries doo spring: and therefore whilest this hope lasteth, this foundation standeth, and this root liueth, they will reteine heart, and set on foot whatsoeuer their deuises against the realme, which otherwise will fall awaie, die, and come to nothing.

4 Mercie now in this case towards hir would in the end prooue crueltie against vs all. Nam est quædam crudelis misericordia, and therefore to spare hir is to spill vs.

5 Besides this, it will exceedinglie greeue and in a manner deadlie wound the hearts of all the good subiects of your land, if they shall see a conspiracie so horrible not condignlie punished.

6 Thousands of your maiesties most liege and louing subiects, of all sorts and degrees, that in a tender zeale of your maiesties safetie, haue most willinglie both by open subscription and solemne vow, entered into a firme and loiall association, and haue thereby protested to pursue vnto the death, by all forcible and possible meanes, such as she is by iust sentence now found to be: can neither discharge their loue, nor well saue their oths, if your maiestie shall keepe hir aliue: of which burthen your maiesties subiects are most desirous to be releeued, as the same maie be, if iustice be doone.

7 Lastlie, your maiesties most louing and dutifull commons doubt not, but that as your maiestie is dulie exercised in reading the booke of God: so it will please you to call to your princelie remembrance, how fearefull the examples of Gods vengeance be, that are there to be found against king Saule for sparing king Agag, and against king Achab for sauing the life of Benadad; both which were by the iust iudgement of God depriued of their kingdoms, for sparing those wicked princes, whome God had deliuered into their hands, of purpose to be slaine by them, as by the ministers of his eternall and diuine iustice. Wherein full wiselie Salomon proceeded to punishment, when he tooke the life of his owne naturall and elder brother Adonias, for the onelie intention of a marriage, that gaue suspicion of treason against him. Herein we your maiesties most louing and obedient subiects earnestlie depend vpon your princelie resolution, which we assure our selues shall be to God most acceptable, and to vs no other than the state of your regall authoritie maie affoord vs, and the approoued arguments of your tender care for our safetie vnder your charge dooth promise to our expectation.

A REPORT

A REPORT OF HIR MAIESTIES MOST GRATIOUS ANSWER,

Deliuered by hir selfe verballie, to the first petitions of the lords and commons, being the estates of parlement, in hir chamber of presence at Richmond, the twelfe daie of Nouember 1586, at the full almost of eight and twentie yeares of hir reigne. Whereof the reporter requireth of all that were hearers, a fauorable interpretation of his intent, because he findeth that he can not expresse the same answerable to the originall, which the learned call Prototypon.

THE bottomlesse graces and immesurable benefits bestowed vpon me by the almightie, are, and haue béene such, as I must not onelie acknowledge them, but admire them, accounting them as well miracles as benefits; not so much in respect of his diuine maiestie, with whome nothing is more common than to doo things rare and singular: as in regard of our weakenesse, who can not sufficientlie set foorth his woonderfull works and graces, which to me haue béene so manie, so diuerselie folded and imbroidered one vpon another, as in no sort I am able to expresse them. And although there liueth not anie, that maie more iustlie acknowledge themselues infinitelie bound vnto God than I, whose life he hath miraculouslie preserued at sundrie times (beyond my merit) from a multitude of perils and dangers: yet is not that the cause, for which I count my selfe the deepeliest bound to giue him my humblest thanks, or to yéeld him greatest recognition; but this which I shall tell you hereafter, which will deserue the name of woonder, if rare things and seldome séene be worthie of account. Euen this it is, that as I came to the crowne with the willing hearts of my subiects, so doo I now after eight and twentie yeares reigne, perceiue in you no diminution of good wils, which if happilie I should want, well might I breath, but neuer thinke I liued.

And now, albeit I find my life hath béene full dangerouslie sought, and death contriued by such as no desert procured: yet am I therein so cleare from malice (which hath the propertie to make men glad at the fals and faults of their foes, and make them séeme to doo for other causes, when rancor is the ground) as I protest it is and hath béene my gréeuous thought, that one, not different in sex, of like estate, and my néere kin, should fall into so great a crime: yea I had so little purpose to pursue hir with anie colour of malice, that as it is not vnknowen to some of my lords here (for now I will plaie the blab) I secretlie wrote hir a letter vpon the discouerie of sundrie treasons, that if she would confesse them, and priuatlie acknowledge them by hir letters to my selfe, she neuer should néed be called for them into so publike question. Neither did I it of mind to circumuent hir: for then I knew as much as she could confesse, and so did I write. And if euen yet, now that the matter is made but too apparant, I thought she trulie would repent (as perhaps she would easilie appeare in outward shew to doo) and that for hir, none other would take the matter vpon them; or that we were but as two milke maids with pailes vpon our armes, or that there were no more dependencie vpon vs but mine owne life were onelie in danger, and not the whole estate of your religion and well dooings, I protest (wherein you maie beléeue me, for though I maie haue manie vices, I hope I haue not accustomed my toong to be an instrument of vntruth) I would most willinglie pardon and remit this offense.

Or if by my death other nations and kingdoms might trulie saie, that this realme had attained an euer prosperous and florishing estate: I would (I assure you) not desire to liue; but gladlie giue my life, to the end my death might procure you a better prince. And for your sakes it is, that I desire to liue, to kéepe you from a

woorse.

woorse. For as for me, I assure you I find no great cause I should be fond to liue: I take no such pleasure in it that I should much wish it; nor conceiue such terror in death, that I should greatlie feare it; and yet I saie not, but if the stroke were comming, perhance flesh and bloud would be mooued with it, and séeke to shun it. I haue had good experience and triall of this world: I know what it is to be a subiect; what to be a souereigne; what to haue good neighbors, and sometime méet euill willers. I haue found treason in trust, séene great benefits little regarded, and in stead of gratefulnesse, courses of purpose to crosse.

These former remembrances, present féeling, and future expectation of euils (I saie) haue made me thinke, An euill is much the better, the lesse while it indureth: and so, them happiest, that are soonest hense: and taught me to beare with a better mind these treasons, than is common to my sex: yea, with a better heart perhaps, than is in some men. Which I hope you will not meerelie impute to my simplicitie or want of vnderstanding, but rather that I thus conceiued, that had their purposes taken effect, I should not haue found the blow, before I had felt it: and though my perill should haue béene great, my paine should haue béene but small and short: wherein, as I would be loth to die so bloudie a death, so doubt I not, but God would haue giuen me grace to be prepared for such an euent, chance when it shall, which I refer vnto his good pleasure. And now, as touching their treasons and conspiracies, togither with the contriuer of them. I will not so preiudicat my selfe and this my realme, as to saie or thinke, that I might not, without the last statute, by the ancient laws of this land, haue proceeded against hir, which was not made particularlie to preiudice hir; though perhaps it might then be suspected, in respect of the disposition of such as depend that waie. It was so far from being intended to intrap hir, that it was rather an admonition to warne the danger thereof: but sith it is made, and in the force of a law, I thought good, in that which might concerne hir, to proceed according therevnto, rather than by course of common law: wherein, if you the iudges haue not deceiued me, or that the books you brought me were not false (which God forbid) I might as iustlie haue tried hir by the ancient laws of the land.

But you lawiers are so nice in sifting, and scanning euerie word and letter, that manie times you stand more vpon forme than matter, vpon syllables than sense of the law. For in the strictnesse and exact following of common forme, she must haue béene indicted in Staffordshire, haue holden vp hir hand at the barre, and beene tried by a iurie: a proper course for sooth, to deale in that maner with one of hir estate. I thought it better therefore, for auoiding of these and more absurdities, to commit the cause to the inquisition of a good number of the greatest and most noble personages of this realme, of the iudges and others of good account, whose sentence I must approoue: and all little enough. For we princes, I tell you, are set on stages, in the sight and view of all the world dulie obserued; the eies of manie behold our actions; a spot is soone spied in our garments; a blemish quicklie noted in our doeings. It behoooueth vs therefore to be carefull that our procéedings be iust and honorable.

But I must tell you one thing more, that in this last act of parlement you haue brought me vnto a narrow streict, that I must giue direction for hir death, which cannot bée to mée but a most gréeuous and irksome burthen. And least you might mistake mine absence from this parlement (which I had almost forgotten) although there bée no cause whie I should willinglie come amongst multitudes, for that amongst manie some maie bee euill: yet hath it not béene the doubt of anie such danger or occasion that kept me from thense; but onlie the great griefe to heare this cause spoken of; especiallie, that such a one of state and kin should néed so

open a declaration, and that this nation should be so spotted with blots of disloialtie. Wherein the lesse is my gréefe for that I hope the better part is mine, and those of the woorse not so much to be accounted of, for that in séeking my destruction, they might haue spoiled their owne souls. And euen now could I tell you, that which would make you sorie. It is a secret, and yet I will tell it you; although it is knowne I haue the propertie to keepe councell, but too well oftentimes to mine owne perill. It is not long since my éies did sée it written, that an oth was taken within few daies, either to kill me, or to be hanged themselues: and that to be performed yer one moneth were ended. Hereby I see your danger in me, and neither can nor will be so vnthankefull or carelesse of your consciences, as not prouide for your safetie.

I am not vnmindfull of your oth made in the association, manifesting your great good wils and affections, taken and entered into, vpon good conscience, and true knowledge of the guilt, for safetie of my person, and conseruation of my life: doone (I protest to God) before I heard it, or euer thought of such a matter, vntill a great number of hands with manie obligations were shewed me, at Hampton court, signed and subscribed with the names and seales of the greatest of this land. Which as I doo acknowledge as a perfect argument of your true hearts, and great zeale to my safetie: so shall my bond be stronger tied to greater care for all your good. But for as much as this matter is rare, weightie, and of great consequence, I thinke you doo not looke for anie present resolution: the rather, for that, as it is not my maner, in matters of far lesse moment, to giue spéedie answer without due consideration; so in this of such importance, I thinke it verie requisit with earnest praier to beséech his diuine maiestie, so to illuminat my vnderstanding, and inspire me with his grace, as I maie doo and determine that, which shall serue to the establishment of his church, preseruation of your estates, and prosperitie of this common wealth vnder my charge. Wherein (for that I know delaie is dangerous) you shall haue with all conueniencie our resolution deliuered by our message. And what euer anie prince maie merit of their subiects, for their approoued testimonie of their vnfained sinceritie, either by gouerning iustlie, void of all parcialitie, or sufferance of anie iniuries doone (euen to the poorest) that doo I assuredlie promise inuiolablie to performe, for requitall of your so manie deserts.

¶ THE OCCASIONS OF THE SECOND ACCESSE.

THIS answer thus made by hir maiestie, the lords and commons were dismissed. And then hir highnesse some few daies after, vpon deliberation had of this petition, being (as it appeared) of hir mercifull disposition of nature, and hir princelie magnanimitie, in some conflict with hir selfe what to doo in a cause so weightie and important to hir and the realme, sent by the lord chancellor (as I heard) and by the mouth of an honorable person, and a right worthie member of the lower house, this message to both houses: mouing and earnestlie charging them to enter into a further consideration, whether there might not be some other waie of remédie, than that they had alreadie required, so far disagreeing from hir owne naturall inclination. Wherevpon, the lords and commons in either houses assembled, had sundrie consultations, both in their seuerall houses generallie, and by priuat committees deputed speciallie. And after conference had betwixt the said committées, it was resolued with vnanimitie of consent amongst them in the lower house, and by vniuersall concord in the vpper house (the question there propounded to euerie one of the lords) that there could be found no other sound

and

and assured meane, in the depth of their vnderstanding, for the continuance of the christian religion, quiet of the realme, and safetie of hir maiesties most roiall person, than that which was conteined in their former petition. The reasons whereof were summarilie these that follow, which are more shortlie reported than they were vttered.

A BRIEFE REPORT OF THE SECOND ACCESSE

The foure and twentith of Nouember 1586: and of the answer made in the name of the lords of the parlement, to a message sent from hir maiestie by the lord chancellor after hir first answer.

THE lord chancellor, accompanied with aboue fiue or six and twentie lords of parlement, came before hir highnesse in hir chamber of presence, to deliuer the resolution of all the lords of parlement, concerning a message which he had not long before deliuered from hir maiestie, for further consultation, whether anie other means could be thought of, or found out by anie of them, how the Scotish quéens life might be spared, and yet hir maiesties person saued out of perill, and the state of the realme preserued in quiet; declared, that according to that he had receiued in commandement from hir maiestie, he had imparted the same vnto the lords assembled in the vpper house, whom he found by their generall silence much amazed at the propounding thereof, considering the same had béene before in deliberation amongest them, and resolued vpon, and as appeared by their former petition exhibited to hir highnesse, wherein they had expressed the same resolution.

Notwithstanding, for hir maiesties further satisfaction, they had entred into a new consultation, and for that purpose selected a great number of the choisest persons of the higher house of parlement to confer thereof, either priuatlie or togither with the lower house: which also was doone accordinglie at seuerall times. At all which conferences it was concluded by them all, and so afterwards by the whole assemblie of both houses, that there could be no other assured means for the preseruation of hir maiesties life, and continuance of Gods religion and quiet of this state, that by the full execution of the sentence according to their former petition, instantlie pressing hir maiestie with manie arguments and reasons tending thereto. All which, though by distance from his lordship I could not well conceiue, yet this I did remember preciselie and especiallie was one: that as it were iniustice to denie execution of law at the sute of anie one particular, and the meanest of her people: so much more not to yéeld to the earnest instance and humble praiers of all hir faithfull and louing subiects. And so concluded, with earnest petition for hir maiesties resolute determination and answer, for a present and spéedie direction by proclamation, and otherwise also, according vnto the forme of the statute.

A SUMMARIE REPORT OF THE SECOND SPEACH, VTTERED BY THE SPEAKER OF THE LOWER HOUSE, BY DIRECTION OF ALL THE COMMONS.

THAT if hir maiestie should be safe without taking awaie the life of the Scotish quéene, the same were most likelie and probablie to grow, by one of these means following.

1 First,

1 First, that happilie she might be reclamed and become a repentant conuert, agnising hir maiesties great mercie and fauors in remitting hir heinous offense, and by hir loialtie hereafter performe the fruits of such conuersion.

2 Or else by a more streict gard be so kept, as there should be no feare of the like attempts hereafter.

3 Or that good assurance might be giuen by oth, bonds or hostages, as cautions for hir good and loiall demeanor from henseforth.

4 Or lastlie by banishment, the realme might be voided of hir person, and thereby the perils further remooued that grow to hir maiestie by hir presence. The moments whereof being dulie pondered, did yet appeare so light in all their iudgements, that they durst not aduise anie securitie to rest in anie, no not in all of them. For touching hir conuersion, it was considered, that if pietie or dutie could haue restreined hir from such heinous attempts, there was cause abundantlie ministred vnto hir on hir maiesties behalfe, when she not onelie protected hir against the violence of hir owne subiects, who pursued hir to death by iustice, but couered hir honor when the same by publike fame was touched, and by verie heinous and capitall crimes (obiected and proued against hir before certeine commissarie delegats assigned to examine the same) more than blemished; and spared hir life, when for hir former conspiracies and confederacies with the Northerne rebels, hir highnesse was with great instance pressed by both the houses in the foure-téenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, to doo like iustice vpon hir, as now is desired, and as hir treasonable practises then had most iustlie deserued.

And where the penaltie of this act sufficientlie notified vnto hir, should haue terrified hir from so wicked attempts; she hath neuerthelesse insisted in hir former practises, as a person obdurat in malice against hir maiestie, and irrecouerable; so as there was no probable hope of anie conuersion, but rather great doubt and feare of relapse and recidiuation, forasmuch as she stood obstinatlie in the deniall of matter most euidentlie prooued, and now most iustlie sentenced against hir, and was not entred into the first part of repentance, the recognition of hir offense, and so much the further off from the true fruits that should accompanie the same.

As for a surer guard and more streict imprisonment, it was resolued that there was no securitie therein, nor yet in the other two means propounded of bonds and hostages: forasmuch as the same meanes that should be practised to take hir maiesties life awaie, (which God forbid) would aptlie serue for the deliuerie of hir person, and release of the bonds and hostages that should be giuen for cautions in that behalfe: which being vnhappilie atchiued, and to our irreparable losse, who should sue the bonds, or deteine the hostages? Or being deteined, what proportion was there in bonds or hostages whatsoeuer, to counteruaile the value of so pretious and inestimable a iewell, as hir maiestie is to this realme, and to vs all? But she will solemnlie vow and take an oth, that she will not attempt anie thing to the hurt of hir maiesties person. She hath alreadie sundrie times falsified hir word, hir writing, and hir oth; and holdeth it for an article of religion, that faith is not to be holden with heretiks, of which sort she accounteth your maiestie and all the professors of the gospell to be: and therfore haue we little reason to trust hir in that, wherof she maketh so small a conscience.

As for banishment, that were a step A malo in peius, to set hir at libertie, a thing so greatlie desired and thirsted for by hir adherents, and by some princes hir alies, who sought hir inlargement chéeflie to make hir a head to be set vp against hir maiestie, in time of inuasion. To the which were added some few reasons collected out of hir owne letters and the confession of Babington, hir instrument and conspirator: by which appeared how hir owne conscience bewraied what might iustlie

fall vpon hir, in case anie of hir intended designements came to light, that she might haplie be shut vp in some more close and strict prison, as the Tower of London, if there befell hir no woorse thing. And in that she directed Babington, in case he failed in the action of hir deliuerie, that he should neuerthelesse proceed in the residue; which was the death of hir maiestie: who also confessed, that vpon assurance of hir maiesties death, or the arriuall of strangers, he intended to proclame the quéene of Scots, and made no doubt of the desired successe: and therefore hir maiesties death being so earnestlie sought, for aduancement of this competitor, hir highnesse could not remaine in quietnesse or securitie, if the Scotish queene should longer continue hir life.

THE SECOND ANSWER

Made by the queens maiestie, deliuered by hir owne mouth, to the second speach, vttered in the names of the lords and commons of the parlement.

FULL gréeuous is the waie, whose going on, and end, bréed cumber for the hire of a laborious iourneie. I haue striued more this daie than euer in my life, whether I should speake, or vse silence. If I speake and not complaine, I shall dissemble; if I hold my peace, your labour taken were full vaine. For me to make my mone, were strange and rare: for I suppose you shall find few, that for their owne particular, will cumber you with such a care. Yet such I protest hath beene my gréedie desire and hungrie will, that of your consultation might haue fallen out some other meanes to worke my safetie ioined with your assurance (than that for which you are become such earnest sutors) as I protest, I must néeds vse complaint, though not of you, but vnto you, and of the cause; for that I doo perceiue by your aduises, praiers, and desires, there falleth out this accident, *that* onelie my iniurers haue must be my lifes suertie.

But if anie there liue so wicked of nature, to suppose, that I prolonged this time onelie, Pro forma, to the intent to make a shew of clemencie, thereby to set my praises to the wierdrawers to lengthen them the more: they doo me so great a wrong, as they can hardlie recompense. Or if anie person there be, that thinke or imagine, that the least vaineglorious thought hath drawne me further herein, they doo me as open iniurie as euer was doone to anie liuing creature, as he that is the maker of all thoughts knoweth best to be true. Or if there be anie, that thinke, that the lords appointed in commission durst doo no other, as fearing thereby to displease, or else to be suspected to be of a contrarie opinion to my safetie, they doo but heape vpon me iniurious conceipts. For either those put in trust by me to supplie my place, haue not performed their duties towards me; or else they haue signified vnto you all, that my desire was, that euerie one should doo according to his conscience, and in the course of his proceedings should inioie both freedome of voice and libertie of opinion; and what they would not openlie declare, they might priuatlie to my selfe haue reuealed. It was of a willing mind and great desire I had, that some other meanes might be found out, wherein I should haue taken more comfort, than in anie other thing vnder the sun.

And sith now it is resolued, that my suretie can not be established without a princesse end, I haue just cause to complaine; that I, who haue in my time pardoned so manie rebels, winked at so manie treasons, and either not produced them, or altogither slipt them ouer with silence, should now be forced to this proceeding, against such a person. I haue besides, during my reigne, séene and heard manie opprobrious

opprobrious books and pamphlets against me, my realme and state, accusing me to be a tyrant; I thanke them for their almes: I beleeue, therein their meaning was to tell me news, and news it is to me in déed; I would it were as strange to heare of their impietie! What will they not now saie, when it shall be spread, that for the safetie of hir life, a maiden queene could be content to spill the bloud, euen of hir owne kinswoman? I maie therefore full well complaine, that anie man should thinke me giuen to crueltie, whereof I am so giltlesse and innocent, as I should slander God, if I should saie he gaue me so vile a mind: yea, I protest, I am so far from it, that for mine owne life I would not touch hir: neither hath my care beene so much bent how to prolong mine, as how to preserue both: which I am right sorie is made so hard, yea so impossible.

I am not so void of iudgement, as not to sée mine owne perill; nor yet so ignorant, as not to know it were in nature a foolish course, to cherish a swoord to cut mine owne throte; nor so carelesse, as not to weigh that my life dailie is in hazard: but this I doo consider, that manie a man would put his life in danger for the safegard of a king, I do not saie that so will I: but I praie you thinke, that I haue thought vpon it. But sith so manie haue both written and spoken against me, I praie you giue me leaue to saie somewhat for my selfe, and before you returne to your countries, let you know, for what a one you haue passed so carefull thoughts. Wherein, as I thinke my selfe infinitlie beholding vnto you all, that seeke to preserue my life by all the meanes you maie: so I protest vnto you, that there liueth no prince, that euer shall be more mindfull to requite so good deserts. And as I perceiue you haue kept your old woonts, in a generall séeking of the lengthning of my daies: so am I sure that I shall neuer requite it, vnlesse I had as manie liues as you all: but for euer I will acknowledge it, while there is anie breath left me. Although I maie not iustifie, but maie iustlie condemne my sundrie faults and sinnes to God: yet for my care in this gouernment, let me acquaint you with my intents.

When first I tooke the scepter, my title made me not forget the giuer: and therefore began, as it became me, with such religion, as both I was borne in, bred in, and I trust shall die in. Although I was not so simple, as not to know what danger and perill so great an alteration might procure me: how manie great princes of the contrarie opinion would attempt all they might against me: and generallie, what enimitie I should breed vnto my selfe; which all I regarded not, knowing that he, for whose sake I did it, might, and would defend me. For which it is, that euer since I haue béene so dangerouslie prosecuted, as I rather maruell that I am, than muse that I should not be: if it were not Gods holie hand that continueth me, beyond all other expectation. Then entred I further into the schoole of experience, bethinking what it fitted a king to doo: and there I saw, he scant was well furnished, if either he laked iustice, temperance, magnanimitie, or iudgement. As for the two latter, I will not boast, my sex dooth not permit it: but for the two first, this dare I saie; amongst my subiects I neuer knew a difference of person, where right was one: nor neuer to my knowledge preferred for fauour, whome I thought not fit for woorth: nor bent my eares to credit a tale that first was told me: nor was so rash, to corrupt my iudgement with my censure, before I heard the cause. I will not saie, but manie reports might fortune be brought me by such as might heare the case, whose parcialitie might mar sometime the matter: for we princes maie not heare all our selues. But this dare I boldlie affirme, my verdict went euer with the truth of my knowledge. As full well wished Alcibiades his frend, that he should not giue anie answer, till he had recited the letters of the alphabet: so haue I not vsed ouer sudden resolutions, in matters that haue touched me full neere: you will saie that with me, I thinke.

And therefore, as touching your counsels and consultations, I conceiue them to be wise, honest, and conscionable: so prouident and carefull for the safetie of my life (which I wish no longer than maie be for your good) that though I neuer can yéeld you of recompense your due: yet shall I indeuour my selfe to giue you cause, to thinke your good will not ill bestowed, and striue to make my selfe worthie for such subiects. And now for your petition, I shall praie you for this present, to content your selues with an answer without answer. Your iudgement I condemne not, neither doo I mistake your reasons, but praie you to accept my thankefulnesse, excuse my doubtfulnesse, and take in good part my answer answerlesse: wherein I attribute not so much to mine owne iudgement, but that I thinke manie particular persons maie go before me, though by my degrée I go before them. Therefore if I should saie, I would not doo what you request, it might peraduenture be more than I thought: and to saie I would doo it, might perhaps bréed perill of that you labour to preserue, being more than in your owne wisedoms and discretions would séeme conuenient, circumstances of place and time being dulie considered.

Thus far the proceéding against the Scotish quéene, as the same is reported by R. C. Now followeth the publication of the same, which was doone with great port and statelinesse. For vpon tuesdaie, being the sixt daie of December, the lord maior of London, assisted with diuers earls, and barons, the aldermen in their scarlet gownes, the principall officers of the citie, the greatest number of gentlemen of the best accompt in and about the citie, with the number of fourescore of the most graue and worshipfullest citizens, in cotes of veluet, and chaines of gold, all on horsse backe, in most solemne and statelie maner, by the sound of foure trumpets, about ten of the clocke in the forenone, made open and publike proclamation and declaration of the sentence latelie giuen by the nobilitie against the quéene of Scots, vnder the great seale of England, bearing date at Richmont the fourth daie of December, being openlie read by master Sebright, towne-clerke of London, and with lowd voice solemnelie proclamed by the sargent at armes of the said citie, in foure seuerall places, to wit, at the crosse in Cheape, at the end of Chancerie lane in Fleetstreet, ouer against the Temple, at Leaden hall corner, and at saint Magnus corner néere London bridge.

The sentence giuen against the Scotish quéene solemnlie proclamed.

During which time, the like solemne proclamations were made with great solemnities in the countie of Middlesex, namelie in the palace at Westminster, without Temple barre, and in Holborne, by the shiriffes of London and Midlesex, assisted with sundrie noblemen, gentlemen of good account, and the iustices of peace of the said countrie, to the great and woonderfull reioising of the people of all sorts, as manifestlie appeared by their eger running after the portlie traine, their thronging to heare the same published, their ringing of bels, making of bonfires, and singing of psalmes in euerie stréet and lane of the citie. The said proclamation followeth.

A TRUE

A TRUE COPIE OF THE PROCLAMATION

Latelie published by the queenes maiestie, vnder the great seale of England, for the declaring of the sentence latelie giuen against the queene of Scots, in forme as followeth.

ELISABETH by the grace of God, quéene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Whereas we were giuen to vnderstand very crediblie, though to our great greefe, that diuerse things were, and of late time had beene compassed, imagined, and resolutelie intended, tending directlie to the hurt and destruction of our roiall person, and to the subuersion of the state of our realme by forren inuasions and rebellions at home, as well by the quéene of Scots, remaining in our realme vnder our protection, as by manie diuerse other wicked persons with hir priuitie, who had fréelie confessed the same, and had therevpon receiued open triall, iudgement, and execution according to the lawes for their deserts. And though in verie truth we were greatlie and deeplie gréeued in our mind, to thinke or imagine that anie such vnnaturall and monstrous acts should be either deuised, or willinglie assented vnto against vs, by hir being a princesse borne, and of our sex and bloud, and one also whose life and honor we had manie times before saued and preserued: yet were we so directlie drawne to thinke all the same to be true, by the sight and vnderstanding of such proofes as were manifestlie produced afore vs, vpon matters that had as well procéeded from hir selfe, as from the conspirators themselues, who voluntarilie and fréelie without anie coercion had confessed their conspirations, both iointlie with hir, and directed by hir, against our person and our realme: and therefore also we saw great reason, to thinke the same ouer dangerous to be suffered to passe onward to take their full effect.

Wherefore we were by sundrie lords of our nobilitie, and others our louing subiects, earnestlie mooued and counselled, to take vndelaied order for the inquisition and examination of all these dangerous enterprises and conspiracies, by sundrie waies directlie auowed to be by the said quéen of Scots against vs and our realme certeinlie intended; and also to vse all present meanes with expedition to withstand or rather to preuent the same. And for that we were verie vnwilling to procéed against hir, considering hir birth and estate, by such vsuall sort as by the common lawes of the realme we might haue lawfullie doone, which was by indictment and arreignment by ordinarie iuries: therefore, in respect both of our owne honor, and of hir person, we yéelded, by good aduise giuen to vs, to procéed in the most honorable sort that could be deuised within our realme, to the examination hereof, according to a late act of parlement, made the thrée and twentith daie of Nouember, in the seuen and twentith yeare of our reigne.

Wherevpon by our commission vnder our great seale of England, bearing date at our castell of Windsore in our countie of Barkeshire, the sixt daie of October now last past, we did (for that purpose) according to that statute, assigne, name, and appoint all the lords and others of our priuie councell, and so manie other earls and barons lords of parlement, of the greatest degrée and most ancient of the nobilitie of this our realme, as with the same lords and others of our priuie councell, made vp the number of fortie and two, adding also thereto a further number according to the tenor of the foresaid act of parlement, of certeine of the cheefest and other principall iudges of the courts of record at Westminster, amounting in the whole to the number of fortie and seuen, to examine all things compassed and imagined,

imagined, tending to the hurt of our roiall person, as well by the said quéene of Scots, by the name of Marie the daughter and heire of Iames the fift late king of Scots, commonlie called the quéene of Scots and Dowager of France, as by anie other by hir priuitie, and all the circumstances thereof, and therevpon according to the tenor of the said act of parlement, to giue sentence or iudgment, as vpon good proofe the matter vnto them should appeare, as by the same commission more fullie appeareth.

And where afterwards the more part of the said councellors, lords, and iudges, in our said commission named, that is to saie, the number of six and thirtie, did in the presence and hearing of the said quéene of Scots, where she remained at our castell of Fodering[h]aie, at diuerse daies and times in publike place, verie exactlie, vprightlie, and with great deliberation examine all the matters and offenses, whereof she was charged and accused, tending vnto the dangers afore rehearsed and mentioned in our said commission and all the circumstances thereof, and heard also at large in all fauorable maner, what the same quéene did, or could saie for hir excuse and defense in that behalfe. Wherevpon afterwards on the fiue and twentith daie of October now last past, all the said councell, lords, and iudges, that had heard and examined the same cause in the said queenes presence, as afore is mentioned, with one assent and consent, after good deliberation did giue their sentence and iudgement, in this sort following.

That after the first daie of Iune, in the seuen and twentith yeare of our reigne, and before the date of our said commission, diuerse things were compassed and imagined within this realme of England by Anthonie Babington, and others, with the priuitie of the said Marie, pretending title to the crowne of this realme of England, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of our roiall person. And likewise, that after the same first daie of Iune, and before the date of our said commission, the said Marie, pretending title to the same crowne, had compassed and imagined within the same realme, diuers things tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of our roiall person, contrarie to the forme of the said statute: which sentence and iudgement the same lords and commissioners haue with one full consent caused to be put in writing, and dulie ingrossed, with the whole processe of their procéedings therevnto belonging, and haue subscribed the same with their hands, as by a record thereof shewed to vs more fullie and largelie dooth appeare.

And whereas also, sithence the same sentence and iudgement so giuen and recorded, the lords and commons in this present parlement assembled, haue also at sundrie times in open parlement, heard and considered the principall euidences, proofes, and circumstances, wherevpon the same sentence and iudgement was grounded, and haue by their publike assent in parlement affirmed the same to be a iust, lawfull and true sentence, and so haue allowed and approoued the same in writing presented vnto vs: and haue also notified to vs, how déepelie they did foresée the great and manie imminent dangers, which otherwise might and would grow to our person, and to the whole realme, if this sentence were not fullie executed: and consequentlie therefore, they did by their most humble and earnest petitions in that behalfe, of one accord, hauing accesse vnto vs (vpon their sundrie requests) most instantlie vpon their knées, praie, beséech, and with manie reasons of great force and importance, moue and presse vs, that the said sentence and iudgement so iustlie and dulie giuen, and by them approoued, as is aforesaid, might (according to the expresse tenor of the said act of parlement) by our proclamation vnder our great seale be declared and published, and the same also finallie executed.

But after such most earnest request, so made to vs from all the said lords and commons in parlement, they perceiuing by our owne speeches and answers, how

déepelie

déepelie we are greeued to heare of these horrible and vnnaturall attempts and actions of that quéene, whose manie former offenses, manifestlie and dangerouslie committed against vs, our crowne and realme, we had ouer passed with our ouer great clemencie, contrarie to the manie aduises and requests of our subiects, aswell in parlement as otherwise: and therefore they also vnderstanding from our selfe, how desirous we were to haue some other meanes deuised by them in their seuerall places of parlement, to withstand these mischiefes intended both against our selfe, and the publike quiet state of our realme, and suertie of our good subiects, than by execution of the foresaid sentence, as was required: they did after their sundrie consultations apart, and conferences iointlie with one accord, in the names of all the lords of parlement, euen by the particular votes of them all assembled, and also of the commons with one vniuersall assent, representing the state of all our realme, at their seuerall times of accesse vnto vs, alledge, declare, and protest, that vpon their long, manie, and aduised consultations and conferences by our commandement, and for our satisfaction in that behalfe had, they could not by anie meanes find or deuise, how the suertie of our roiall person, and the preseruation of themselues and their posteritie, with the good state of the realme, might be prouided for and continued, without the publication and due execution of the said sentence.

Wherevpon, being not onelie mooued to our gréefe, but also ouercome with the earnest requests, declarations, and important reasons of all our said subiects, the nobles and commons of our realme, whose iudgement, knowledge, and naturall care of vs, and the whole realme, we know dooth farre surmount all others, being not so interessed therin, and so iustlie to be esteemed: and perceiuing also the said sentence to haue béene honourablie, lawfullie, and iustlie giuen, agréeable to iustice and to the lawes of our realme: we did yéeld, and doo according to this said statute by this our proclamation vnder our great seale of England, declare, notifie, and publish to all our louing subiects, and other persons whatsoeuer, that the said sentence and iudgement is giuen in maner aforesaid, to the intent, that they and euerie of them, by this our proclamation may haue full vnderstanding and knowledge thereof. We doo also will you, that you returne this our proclamation into our court of Chancerie, as spéedilie as you maie conuenientlie, with the place and time of the proclaming thereof therevpon indorsed, whereof faile you not. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused this our proclamation to be made patent, and sealed with the great seale of England. At our manor of Richmont the fourth daie of December, the nine and twentith yeare of our reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six.

Now to conclude with a remembrance of perpetuitie concerning the queens maiestie, of whose louing care and tender affection towards all her faithfull subiects as we haue manifold testimonies in the historie of hir highnesse time, whereby their hearts are linked vnto hir maiestie with an indissoluble knot of deserued loue and loialtie: so we maie not omit in anie case the publike witnesse of hir highnesse naturall care and mercifull prouidence ouer hir liege people, euen those of the poorer sort, vnto whome the comfortable streames of hir rare regard for their benefit and welfare, in a hard time of scarsitie, doo most plentifullie flow. But because our barren and saplesse stile is insufficient, with conuenient dignitie to describe, naie not so much as to delineat or shadow out this incomparable pitie and pietie of hir highnesse tender heart to hir commons, I will surcease to intermedle therein, reseruing the same vnto the due consideration of euerie particular member of this bodie politike (whereof hir maiestie is the soueraigne head) by the view and perusall of the proclamation and orders here annexed.

A TRUE

A TRUE COPIE OF THE SAID PROCLAMATION CONCERNING CORNE, &c.

THE quéenes most excellent maiestie, foreséeing the generall dearth growne of corne and other vittels, partlie through the vnseasonablenesse of the yeare past, whereby want hath growne more in some countries than in others, but most of all generallie through the couetousnes and vncharitable gréedines of such as be great cornemasters and ingrosers of corne, vsing all the subtill meanes they can, to worke their owne present vnconscionable gaine against the rules of charitie, which hir maiestie of hir princelie care and loue towards hir people, vtterlie condemneth, and earnestlie desireth to remedie, for the reléefe of the poorer sort. And therefore, hir maiestie with hir princelie care towards hir people, hauing (with the aduise of hir councell) had good consideration hereof, dooth by this hir proclamation, giue expresse commandement and charge vnto all such to whom it shall or maie apperteine, that such good orders as hir maiestie hath commanded to be deuised for that purpose, and now also are sent to all parts of hir realme, be diligentlie and effectuallie put in spéedie execution: signifieng withall vnto all hir good and lóuing subiects, that if anie shall be found obstinat or negligent in the due execution, or otherwise in the obseruation thereof, that then vpon due information and proofe thereof made vnto hir highnesse said councell, which she requireth not to be spared by anie, hauing iust cause of complaint, for respect of anie person, she hath giuen speciall commandement and order, that they shall be spéedilie called to answer; and therevpon, according to the qualitie of their offenses, shall receiue sharpe punishment, whereby others maie take example to auoid the like contempt, negligence, or other defaults.

And although this dearth hath in sundrie parts of the realme first growne by the visitation of almightie God, in the alteration of seasonable weather this last yeare, which neuerthelesse of his great mercie hath not beene so extreme in this realme, as in manie other countries adioining, where the dearth is by manie occasions manifestlie knowne to be far greater than is in this realme hitherto, or by his goodnesse is like to be: yet it is manifestlie knowne the said dearth to haue bin wilfullie increased in verie manie places of this realme, not onelie by and through the couetoushes of manie ingrosers of corne and cornmasters, but also by vnlawfull transportation of graine, and lacke also of preseruation of store in time requisit. Hir highnesse acknowledging this maner of Gods mercie and fauour in a more fauourable measure towards hir countrie and hir people, than to other forren parts neere adioining, hath thought good and necessarie, for a further remedie against the vncharitable couetousnesse of the cornemasters, as cause shall require, to notifie, that if such as be the great cornemasters and owners of graine, or of other necessarie vittels for food of the poore, shall not be willing, or doo not performe these orders, whereby the poorer sort maie be releeued in the markets at reasonable prices; or that it shall appeare that other néedfull vittels shall by couetousnesse of anie persons grow to excessiue prices, to the pinching of the poorer sort: then hir highnesse dooth hereby signifie, that she will not onelie seuerelie punish the offendors for their cruell couetousnesse and offenses against hir orders; but will also for redresse of the excessiue prices of other néedfull vittels, giue order that reasonable prices shall be set both on corne and other vittels, to be sold for the reléefe of hir maiesties poore subiects, according both to hir prerogatiue roiall, and to the order of iustice, as by speciall law of parlement therefore made in the fiue and twentith yeare of the reigne of hir late noble and deare father king Henrie the eight, is speciallie in such cases prouided. Giuen at Greenewich the second daie of

Ianuarie,

Ianuarie, one thousand fiue hundred fourescore and six, in the nine and twentith yeare of hir highnesse reigne.

Now the said orders before specified, being a matter of coherence (deuised by the speciall commandement of hir maiestie, for the releefe and staie of the present dearth of graine within the realme) and published at large, doo here follow (agréeable to that which was sent from the court at Gréenewich abrode into the realme, the second daie of Ianuarie, one thousand fiue hundred foure score and six, in the nine and twentith yere of hir maiesties reigne, by hir maiesties priuie councell) but abridged according to the annotations. And first; That the iustices shall diuide themselues into sundrie parts to execute these orders: To appoint sundrie iuries to inquire of things hereafter following: The oth of the iurors, with charge to inquire what number of persons be in the houses of them that haue store of corne: For badgers, broggers, and carriers of corne: Maltmakers, bakers, and brewers: Buiers of corne to sell againe: Buiers of corne vpon the ground: Against such as shall refuse to declare the truth of the matters inquirable: Parties offending to appeare afore the councell: A consideration of all persons that haue corne, to determine how they shall serue the markets with such portions as they maie spare: The forme of the recognisance to be freelie taken. An abridgment of the orders deuised for the releefe of the poore in this time of dearth, &c.

Orders to be obserued by such as shall be appointed to serue the markets with corne, for the releefe of the poore people first: To whome corne shall be sold, after that the poore are serued: No corne brought to the market vnsold, to be caried out of the towne: None to buie such kind of corne as they shall bring to sell, but by warrant vpon reasonable cause: No corne to be bought and to sell againe: No corne to be bought but in open market: Inquirie to be made against ingrosers: An order for all licences from the iustices of the peace, to be kept in a record: Regard to the bakers for kéeping of the sise of bread: Bread faultie in anie excesse to be sold towards the releefe of the poore: No badger to buie corne but in open market, and with a sufficient licence in writing: The badgers to shew wéekelie their books of buieng: No iustices seruant to be a badger, nor none other, but such as shall be licenced in open sessions: No badger, baker, brewer, or purueior, to buie graine, vntill an houre after the full market begin: Some iustices to be present in the market, to sée the poore releeued vpon reasonable prices.

Where iustices are wanting in anie hundred for to appoint some rich persons to supplie the want: That ministers and preachers exhort the rich sort to be liberall to helpe the poore with monie or vittels needfull: To make malt of oates in countries where there hath béene vse thereof: No waste of bread corne superfluouslie, nor anie expense thereof but for féeding of people: None suffered to make starch of anie graine: Able poore people to be set to worke: Stocks of monie for prouision of works for poore people: Clothiers to continue their workefolks: Souldiors hurt, and impotent people, to be releeued in their dwelling places: That no millers be suffered to be common buiers of corne, nor to sell meale, but to attend to the true grinding of the corne brought, and to vse measurable tole these deare seasons: Conferences to be had betwixte the iustices of peace in the shires, and the principall officers of cities and townes corporat for prouisions of graine, for the inhabitants in cities and corporat towns: Order for places exempted from the iurisdiction of the iustices of peace in the bodies of the shires: Regard to staie all transportation of graine out of the realme: Certificat to be made of the execution of these orders monethlie to the shiriffe, and he to certifie the same to the priuie councell within euerie fortie daies: To certifie what iustices be absent from the seruice, that such as without iust excuse shall not attend, maie be displaced, and their rooms, if there be need, supplied. Starch.

The conclusion of these orders is this, Ad verbum, That if anie shall offend against the true meaning of these instructions, or of anie part thereof, or shall vse anie sinister meane to the defrauding thereof, that such be seuerelie punished according to the lawes; and for such obstinat persons as shall not conforme themselues, the iustices shall at their plesure bind them to appeare before the quéenes maiesties priuie councell by a daie certeine, there to be further delt with by seuere punishment for the better example of all others.

A. T. Now as Holinshed and such as with painfull care and loue to their countrie haue thought good before me, to knit vp the seuerall reigne of euerie seuerall king with a generalitie of the seuerall writers in that princes daies: so haue I béene importuned by manie of my frends, to knit vp the said whole historie with a particular catalog of all such as haue purposelie in seuerall histories of this realme, or by the waie in the histories of other countries written of England and English matter. For which cause (with the title of other anonymall chronicles) I haue here for that purpose, by order of alphabet set downe the same. Wherein, although I shall not set downe euerie mans name, nor of what time and qualitie euerie one was (for he is not liuing I suppose that can doo the same) yet hauing doone my good will therein, and that more than perhaps some others would haue doone, I praie thée to beare with the defaults, and accept that which I haue doone and could doo. And although perhaps I maie set downe one man twise, as first by his name, and then set downe the worke without his name, as another seuerall thing: yet is it not of purpose doone, or to the end that I would make a great shew, and séeme ambitious of names or knowledge; but for that I haue not as yet atteined to that perfection, which hereafter I hope to doo in distinguishing of the same. For Rome was not built in one daie, and yet if one daies foundation thereof had not beene first laid, it had neuer béene after builded: and so to the matter.

A, Abbo Floriacensis liued in the time of Dunstane archbishop of Canturburie, to whome he dedicated his booke: Abbas Wiseburgensis, Nicholaus Adams liued in the daies of king Edward the sixt, Alfric Abbas, Alfric that gathered the liues of the saints in Saxonie, which I sometimes had, it maie be that these two were all one man; Alfridus Beuerlacensis thesaurarius whom Leland calleth Aluredus Fibroleganus; Alanus abbat of Teukesburie, one of the foure that writ the Quadrilogium of Thomas Becket in the time of king Iohn; Alexander Hessebiensis, he writ Epitome Brittannicæ historiæ; Alexander Somersetensis, Alexander Staffordiensis, Aelius Spartianus, Alured or Alfred king of England in the yeare of Christ nine hundred and thrée, Adam Merimuth canon of Paules in the reigne of Richard the second, Anianus Marcellinus, Richardus Angeruil surnamed De Berie, bishop of Durham, died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand thrée hundred fortie and fiue; Antoninus, Arnold of London in the time of king Henrie the eight, Asserius Meneuensis, Aurelius or Aluredus Riualensis, Robert Auersberie.

B, Sir Nicholas Bacon knight lord kéeper of the great seale vnto quéene Elisabeth, Benedictus Claudiocestrensis, Balantine a Scot, William Baldwin liued in the time of king Edward the sixt, Stephan Batemaine died in the yere one thousand fiue hundred eightie and foure, Beda an English Saxon died in the yere of Christ seuen hundred thirtie and two; G. de Barrie archdeacon of S. Dauids writ the life of Remegius bishop of Lincolne, Iohn Bale flourished in the time of Edward the sixt, Barnardus Andreas writ a chronicle intituled Liber Barnardi Andreæ Tolosati poetæ laureati regij historiographi de vita atque gestis Henrici septimi, in whose time he flourished; Robert Boston in the time of Edward the second, Rafe Baldocke bishop of London vnder Edward the second, Peter Basset in the time of Henrie the fift, whose life he did write; Rober Bale recorder of London, he died in the yere of

our Lord one thousand foure hundred three score and one, about the latter end of the reigne of Richard the second; Edmund Bedenhame writer of the chronicles of Rochester; Iohn Bramus, and not Bromus as saith Bale, a moonke of Tedford; Iohn Bracklow a Benedictine moonke, in the yeare one thousand two hunded fourteene; Iohannes Brompton, historia vetus quam contulit Iornal. monasterio, as hath Mathew Parker In vitis episcop. Cantu. Ferdinando Blake liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred foure score and foure, Bodinus, Iohn Bouchet a Frenchman of Aquitaine, Nicholas Brodingham or Brodringham, Iohn Bosue of Burie, Blondus Foroliuiensis, Henrie Bradshaw borne in Chester a blacke moonke there in the time of Henrie the eight, Iohn Burgh a moonke in the daies of K. Edward the third, Nicholas Bungeie borne in a towne of the same name in Northfolke in the daies of king Henrie the sixt, sir Iohn Bourchier knight lord Barnes translated Froissard, Bullerus, Roger Bond, Thomas Buckhurst lord Buckhurst now liuing, Stephan Birchington, George Buckhanan liued in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred and foure score.

C, Thomas Castleford: sir William Cicill knight lord Burleigh lord treasuror of England now liuing, William Caxton liued in the daies of king Edward the fourth, Campbell, Carion a Germane, Caradocus Lancarnanensis liued in the daies of K. Stephan, Iulius Cæsar a Romane, Iohn Capgraue borne in Kent an Augustine frier died in the fourth yere of king Edward the fourth, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred three score and foure; Cornelius Hibernensis, Cornelius Tacitus, Albertus Crantz, Iohn Caius died in the reigne of our quéene Elisabeth, William Campden now liuing, George Cauendish gentleman vsher vnto cardinall Woolseie, whose life he did write, Iohn Clinu or Linu an Irishman, he flourished in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred and fiftie, Iohn Coggeshall abbat of Coggeshall in Essex liued in the time of king Henrie the third and writ the appendix to Radulphus Niger, Thomas Cooper bishop of Winchester now liuing, Richard Carguent flourished in the daies of king Edward the first, Thomas Churchyard now liuing. D, Demetrius a Britaine, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius, Dion Cassius, Thomas Dando a Carmelit frier of Marleborow, writ the life of Alphred king of Mercia or rather of west Saxons, and liued in the time of king Henrie the sixt; Diouionensis, Dolensis writ De laudibus Britonum.

E, Edmerus a moonke of Canturburie liued in the time of Henrie the second; Elwardus, Eutropius a Romane préest, Enguerrant de Monstrelat a Frenchman, and scholer in Paris in the time of king Henrie the fift; Edmund Campian a Iesuit brought vp in Oxford, and executed in the yere of our Lord 1581; Iohn Euersden a moonke of Burie flourished in the time of king Edward the first, and so continued in the time of king Edward the third; Ernulphus bishop of Rochester liued in the time of king Henrie the second, and compiled Textus Roffensis, conteining the grants of the lands to the same house, and the copies of sundrie ancient lawes in the Saxon toong, Thomas Elmeham prior of Lenton.

F, Robert Fabian alderman of London liued in the time of Henrie the seuenth, Geffreie Fenton now liuing; Samuell and Abraham Flemings both liuing, brethren by one bellie, and Londoners borne, Quorum prior historiolam quandam de regimine Mariæ nuper Anglorum principis eámque elegantem, Latino idiomate (nunquam tamen excusam) contexuit: posterior in hisce chronicis detergendis atque dilatandis, vna cum vberrimorum indicum accessione, plurimùm desudauit; Iohannes Fibernis or Beuer writ the historie of Westminster, Iohn Froissart, Ferculphus Flaccus Albinus or Alcuinus, Philip Flattesberie a woorthie Irish gentleman flourished in the yere 1517, Iohn Fourdon a Scot, Iohn Fox a learned diuine, that writ the Acts and Monuments,

numents, and is now liuing; George Ferres liuing in the yere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred thrée score and eight, Fabius Questor, Florentius Wigornius died about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and eightéene, being about the eightéenth yeare of king Henrie the first.

G, Robert Gagwin a Frenchman, Iohn Greie bishop of Norwich in king Iohns time, Thomas Gardiner a moonke of Westminster in the time of Henrie the eight; Robert Glouer by office named Somerset, now liuing a most rare antiquarie, and woorthilie deseruing to be named Scientissimus antiquitatum; Francis Guiciardine an Italian liuing in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred three score and eightéene, Laurence Guiciardine, Gildas Sapiens, Gildas Cambrensis, Gildas Badonicus, Gildas Albanius, Geffreie of Munmouth liued in the time of king Stephan, Iohn Gower knight died about the second of Henrie the fourth, Giraldus Cambrensis liued in the time of Henrie the second, Richard the first, and king Iohn; Nicholas Gill a Frenchman, Gocelinus first a moonke of saint Berrine beyond the seas, and after a moonke of Canturburie; Giraldus Cornubiensis De gestis Anglorum, Gulielmus Malmsberie in the daies of K. Stephan, Gulielmus Parus aliàs Gulielmus Nouoburgensis or Newberie, Geruasius Dorobernensis Geruasius Tilberiensis, Richard Grafton in the time of quéene Elisabeth, Robert Gréene, Guido de Columna.

H, Iohn Hales, Hugo Albus Petroburgensis, in the time of king Iohn; Iohn Harding esquier liued in the daies of Edward the fourth, Edward Hall a counsellor of Greies inne flourished in the time of Henrie the eight and Edward the sixt, Abrahamus Hartwellus Academicus Cantab. that writ in verse Regina literata; Henrie of Marleborow, Walter Hemigsford a moonke of Gisborne in the daies of Edward the third, Hector Boetius a Scot, Hirmannus archdeacon in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three score and ten, Heribert de Borsham one of the foure that writ the life of Thomas Becket, Hoclet one that liued in the time of Henrie the sixt in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fiftie and foure, Iohn de Hexam and Richard de Hexam liued in the daies of king Richard the first, Wilfrio Holme vnder Henrie the eight, Raphaell Holinshed in the time of queene Elisabeth, William Harrison now liuing, Iohn Harrison doctor of arts and of physike, Rafe Higden aliàs Cestrensis flourished in the time of Edward the third, Iohn Higgins now liuing, Roger Honeden liued in the time of king Iohn, Hugo de sancto Victore; Hugo Abbas Petroburgensis, it maie be that Hugo Abbas before and this Hugo were one man although for this time I suppose the contrarie; Hugo de Genesis an Italian, Iohn Hooker aliàs Vowell now liuing.

I, Iehan de Baugy Iohannes Maior a Scot, Iohannes Seuerianus, Iohannes Carnotensis one of the foure that writ the Quadrilogium of the life of Thomas Becket, Iohannes Anglicus writ Historiam auream, Iehan Maior de Belgis, Iohannes Londoniensis, Iohn a moonke of Ford, Iossridus Crowlandensis Ingulfus abbat of Crowland in the daies of William Conqueror, Thomas Ichingham whome Leland calleth Thomas Vicanius, Iosephus Domnoniensis, Ioceline of Furneis, Peter de Icham or Icham a moonke, whose booke beginneth Non solùm audiendis sacræ scripturæ verbis aurem sedulus auditor accomodare tenetur, which booke Caius de antiquitate Cantab. dooth ascribe to Robert Remington, as after shall appeare; Iulius Capitolinus In vita Antonij Pij.

K, Albertus Krantz a Dane, Kentigernus, Henrie Knighton liued in the time of king Richard the second. L, Lanfrancus that writ a chronicle in Welsh, Stephan Langton bishop of Canturburie writ the life of king Richard the first, Iohn Leland in the time of Henrie the eight and Edward the sixt, William Lambard esquire now liuing, and deseruing well of all antiquitie; George Lillie, Humfreie Lhoid, he died in the time of queene Elisabeth; Piers de Longtoft, Thomas Lanquet, Iohn

Lesle a Scot bishop of Rosse in Scotland now liuing, Iohn Langden bishop of Rochester.

M, Marcerius an Englishman, of whom Iohn Baconthorpe speaketh in the prolog of the fourth booke of Senten. quæst. 10. Iohn Maluerne moonke of Worcester continued Ranulphus in the yeare of Christ, one thousand three hundred three score and sixteene; Marianus Scotus liued about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure score and ten, Matthew Paris, Matthew Westminster aliàs Flores historiarum a moonke of Westminster, and liued in the time of king Edward the third; Thomas More knight lord chancellor of England, Thomas de la More knight liued in the daies of Edward the second, Radalphus Marham, Merlinus Ambrosius, Merlinus Syluester, Melkinus, Nicholas Montacute liued in the time of Henrie the sixt, Edmund Molineux now liuing, Sebastian Munster a Germane.

N, Nennius Helius brother to Cassiuelane and Ludkings of Britaine, Nennius Banchorensis, Nauclerus Alexander Neuill now liuing, Laurence Nowell died about the sixteenth yere of quéene Elisabeth, Ninianus that wrote Eulogium. O, Osbert de Clare prior of Westminster, Osbernus Dorobernensis in the time of William the Conqueror, Thomas Otterborne a Franciscan or greie frier liued in the time of Henrie the fift, Abraham Ortuelius now liuing a Fleming; Christopher Ocland now liuing sometime schoolemaister in Southworke.

P, William Pakington clerke and treasuror to the black prince of his household in Gascoigne, Patricius Consul, Ioannes de Prato a writer of Aquitaine and protonotarie, Paulus Aemilius, Petrus Blessensis archdeacon of Bath, Philip de Comines alias monsieur de Argentone secretarie to Charles duke of Burgoine, Polydor Virgill an Vrbinat Italian and canon of Paules in the daies of Henrie the eight, Paulus Iouius an Italian bishop of Nucerne, Iohn Pike, Iohn Price knight died in the reigne of quéene Elisabeth, *William Paten* now liuing, Iohn Proctor schoolemaister of Tunbridge to whom I was sometime scholer, Ptolomeus, Dauid Powell now liuing.

R, Iohn Read in the time of Edward the first, Iohn Rastall, Radulphus Londoniensis, Radulphus Niger liued in the daies of king Henrie the third, Radulphus de Diceto deane of Paules in London in the time of king Iohn, Reutha king of Scots, Michael Ricius, William Rishanger a moonke of saint Albons in the daies of Edward the second, Richester a moonke of Westminster liued in the time of Edward the third, and wrote an excellent chronicle beginning at the comming of the Saxons in the yeare of our Lord foure hundred fortie and nine and continued it vntill the yeare one thousand three hundred fortie and eight conteining eight hundred fourscore and ninetéene years; Richardus Deuisiensis, Richardus Cadneus, Richardus Eliensis whose storie beginneth Cùm animaduertem excellentiam Eliensis insulæ, &c. Richardus Eliensis an other from the former that wrote an other historie of Elie, Robert abbat of saint Michaels mount flourished in the yeare of Christ one thousand fiue hundred fiftie and eight; Robertus Montensis, Robertus sine cognomento, Robertus Remingtonus De gestis Anglorum, cuius initium, Non solùm audiendis sacræ scripturæ verbis, &c. This saith Caius In antiquitate Cantabrigiæ. But others attribute that worke to Peter Ioan, See before in the letter I.

Robert Record liuing in the time of quéene Marie, Robert bishop of Hereford which liued in the yeare of our redemption one thousand threescore and twelue, Robertus de Paterna that wrote the register of Oxford, Robert a frier of Shrewsburie, Roger of Abindon, Roger of Winsore, Roger de Wind, Roger of Chester liued in the daies of Edward the third, Iohn Rouse borne in Warwikeshire liued in the daies of Henrie the seuenth, and being a canon of Oseie *died* at Warwike in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fourescore and

eleuen,

eleuen, Thomas Rudborne archdeacon of Sudberie after bishop of Dauids in Wales liued in the time of Henrie the fourth, Henrie the fift, and Henrie the sixt; Thomas Rudborne an other from the former was a moonke of Winchester and followed manie other authors, amongst which was the said Thomas Rudborne bishop of S. Dauids.

S, Saxo Grammaticus a Dane, Samuel Britannus, Sextus Aurelius, Sentleger, Edward Sedgeswike now liuing, Iohannes Sulgenus or Sulgenus, Solinus, Sigebertus Gemblacensis, Thomas Spot who liued in the reigne of Edward the first, Antonius Sabellicus a Venetian, Iohn Sleidan a Germane, Richard Sowthwell, Reginald Scot now liuing, Simon Dunelmensis, Iohn Stow now liuing, Iohn Knish a Cornish man in the daies of Henrie the eight, Richard Stamhust borne in Ireland now liuing, Shaxton now liuing, Iohn Swapham, Stephanides aliàs Fitzstephan. T, Titus Liuius Patauiensis, Titus Liuius Foroliuiensis an Italian liued in the time of Henrie the fift, Iohn Taxtor a moonke of Burie, Andrew Theuet a Frenchman, Nicholas Triuet a blackefriar borne in Northfolke sonne to sir Thomas Triuet knight one of the kings justices liued in the daies of Edward the third, and died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and eight; Iohn Tilberie florished in the yere of Christ one thousand one hundred fourescore and ten; Iohn Treuisa a Cornishman a éest and vicar of Barkleie, Telesinus a Briton, Francis Boteuile aliàs Thin now liuing, Brian Tuke knight liued in the daies of Henrie the eight, Iohn Twin liued in the reigne of quéene Elisabeth, William Thorne liued in the daies of Richard the second, Richard Turpin borne of a worshipfull familie in England served in the garison of Calis, he died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred fortie and one; Tobias Roffensis, Turgotus which liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and eight in the time of William Rufus wrote a chronicle of Durham.

V, Veremund a Spaniard, Raphaell Volateran, Giouanni Vilani a Florentine, Ponticus Virunnius an Italian, Iohn Vfford, Iohn Vton. W, Iohn Whethamsted otherwise called Fomentarius a learned man abbat of S. Albons liued in the daies of Henrie the sixt, Roger Wall an herald who in Latine writ the dooings of Henrie the fift, Thomas Walsingham a moonke of the abbeie of S. Albons liued in the reigne of Henrie the sixt, William of Riuall liued in the age of king Stephan, Willielmus Cantuariensis one of the foure that wrote the Quadrilogium of Thomas Becket liued in the time of king Iohn, Willielmus Gemeticensis, Willielmus filius Stephani a clerke of the Chancerie and deane of the chapell of Thomas Becket in the daies of Henrie the second, Willielmus Summersetensis Willielmus Crowlandensis (for the other Williams sée in the letter G, in the name of Gulielmus) Thomas Wike canon of Osneie, Iohn Walworth, Walterus Excestrensis, Walterus Cantrensis.

Anonymall or namelesse chronicles, treating wholie or in part of England.

Annales Burtonenses, Memoriale historiarum, Chronica Dunstable, Chronicle of Tinmouth, Chronicles of S. Albons, Deflorationes Galfridi, Historia obsidionis Eliensis insulæ, Chronica, cuius initium, Calendarium Bruti, Chronicle beginning Rex Pictorum, Chronica Westmonast. Chronicle beginning In diebus sanctissimi regis Edwardi, Chronicle beginning Aeneas cum Ascanio, Chronica chronicorum, Supplementum chronicorum, Fasciculus temporum, Historia Richardi secundi beginning De parte Bruti Eulogium, Historia Iornalensis, Historia Carina written in Latine compiled in the thirteenth yeare of Richard the second by whom it was caused to be written as the title declareth, which for that it sheweth no name of the author, and that maister Fox borowed the same of maister Carie citizen of London, maister Fox in his Acts and Monuments the second edition calleth the same booke Historia Carina.

The epitome of chronicles from Brute to Henrie 6. beginning Ab origine mundi concurrunt anni secundum Hebræos, 6646. Chronicle beginning Chronicorum verò quæ

agines historiarum, Chronicle of genealogies beginning Cuilibet prin-
m, The chronicles of S. Swithin, The commentaries of Hide, The
s of Roger Houeden beginning Excerpta ex dictis viri religiosi, An
nicle of S. Albons beginning Fecit rex Edwardus tertius comites, Hi-
a vel sancti Edmundi, Chronicle of Elie beginning Anno ab incarna-
inica, 616. qui est annus 21, ex quo Augustinus cum socijs ad prædi-
genti Anglorum missus est, Historia Anglorum beginning Considerans hi-
ritonum, Pictorum Scotorum, Saxonum, Anglorum, Danorum, & Nor-
um prolixitatem, &c. Le mer des histoires, Les annales de France, Les An-
Acquitaine, Les grand cronicqz de Britane, Les petit cronicqz de Britane,
onicqz de Normandi, Le Rosarie, Les genelogies des roys, Chronicles de
res, The chronicles of London, The chronicle called Brute, The Saxon
icle of the church of Worcester, the Saxon chronicle of the abbeie of Peter-
w, The Saxon chronicle written in the yeare of Christ eight hundred foure
e and fiue, The chronicles of England. Thus far this catalog. Now perad-
ture some will looke for a rehearsall omnigatherum of such as haue written in
e reigne of our blessed souereigne: but herein as it passeth our possibilitie to
tisfie their expectation, their number being infinit, and manie of them vnknowne
nd vnworthie of remembrance: so it were to be wished that some fauourer of
earned mens fame, would comprise their names and works in a particular volume,
therein imitating either the order of Bale, or Gesner; or else the commendable
method of Iohn Iames the Frislander, printed at Tigurie one thousand fiue hun-
dred fourescore and three, either of which courses being taken would well serue
the turne.

Thus far (blessed be Christ) the extent of English chronicles; a long labour, The conclusion of A. E.
of great care and expense: howbeit at length conquered and ouercome, by the
benefit of his grace who enableth vs to go through with all things that be good:
his name be praised therefore. Wherein if the helpe of such as are furnished with
varietie of knowledge, or as by gorgeous shew of words and rich pompe of phrase
pretend profound skill, had béene as forward to aduance this worke (being of vnex-
pected magnitude by means of the multitude of contents) as some of low saile,
willing to laie out their poore talent, haue affoorded what furtherance they
were able (somewhat to the satisfieng of those honest-minded men and parte-
ners, at whose great costs and charges the same is now newlie printed, though
not to their full contentment, who were euer desirous and diuerslie made
assaies to haue it so absolute, as nothing might want of due perfection if
the meanes might haue béene obteined) the chronicles of England, both for
matter and maner, had béene comparable to anie historie or annals in Christ-
endome. Howbeit perfected as it is, though not with exquisit curiosnes to
please euerie fickle fansie, yet according to the proportion of skill vochsafed of
God to the dealers therein (men of commendable diligence though not of déepest
iudgement) somewhat to satisfie the well affected and indifferent mind, the same is
now come abrode, yéelding matter no lesse manifold than the spring dooth floures,
and the same maruellous frutefull, if they haue their right vse and due application:
which indéed is the verie end of histories and chronicles. And so crauing a fauor-
able acceptation of this tedious trauell, with a toleration of all such defaults as
haplie therein lie hidden, and by diligent reading maie soone be spied; we wish that
they which best maie would once in their life grow resolut and at a point, in this
laudable kind of studie (most necessarie, next to the word of God, for common
knowledge) little or much to exercise their head and hand. Finallie beséeching
God to blesse the realme of England, and the pretious fewell of the same (euen

good

good queene Elisabeth) to saue as the apple of his eie; to protect h
target of his power against all the pernicious practises of satans instr
lengthen the liues of hir highnesse honorable councellors, by whose vigi
this whole land fareth the better; in preuenting, intercepting and maki
(God directing and prospering their consultations and procéedings) all th
of traitors, to whom, O Lord in vengeance giue the iudgement of Iudas,
haue beene partakers of his sinne; let them be intangled and taken in the
their trecheries, and swallowed vp in the seas of deserued confusion, that
no more a familie. And we beséech God to increase the multitude of loiall s
to make them strong in faith towards him, and in loue one with another, t
gospell (which is the doctrine of pacification and obedience) maie be glorif
the commonwealth of England, a corner of the world, O Lord, which thou
singled out for the magnifieng of thy maiestie, and wherof we praie thee to gi
a dailie remembrance: so shall we make conscience of sin, and addict our selue
the exercises of righteousnesse, Amen.

FINIS.

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